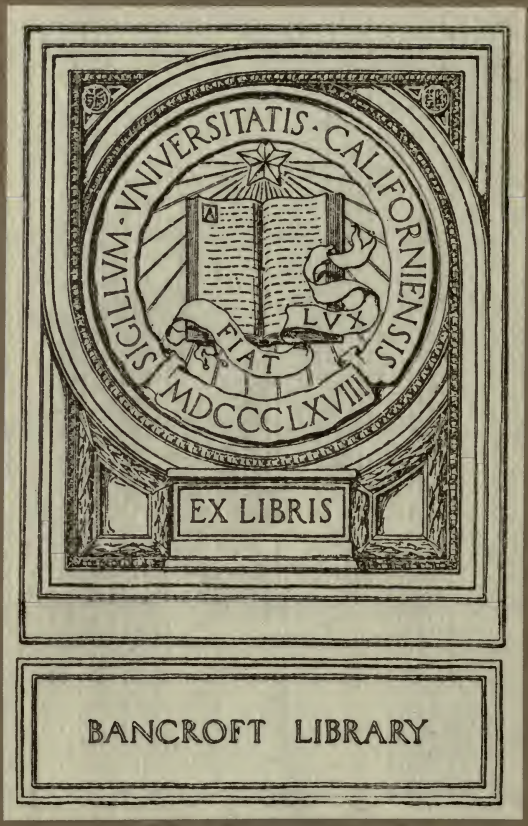

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HISTORY OF MEXICO.

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OPENING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1601–1620.

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We have learned something of the count of Monterey, of his character and abilities as a governor and representative of royalty; we have noted his policy with regard to the Indians and other affairs, and have seen how his name has been retained for the capitals of two provinces, namely, those of Nuevo Leon and of California, to both of which countries he despatched expeditions.

Little remains to be said in taking leave of him. We have found him on the whole a well-meaning man, and rather inclined to caution. He was deeply enough impressed with the duties of a ruler, and quite ready to carry out reforms. He fell into few serious errors, and these he was prepared to acknowledge and remedy so that even the Indians, the

main sufferers by reason of his mistakes, recognized the benevolence of his motives. Certain measures toward the last, and the attendant vacillations, seemed to indicate less of that soundness of judgment and firmness which were at first ascribed to him. This verdict is sustained by his leniency toward those who by their corrupt dealings contributed to his failures. The absence of severity, and the neglect to enforce other needed reforms, may have been dictated by a prudential regard for powerful Spaniards, who had shown themselves so ready to retaliate in malignant letters to the home government whenever their interests were assailed. Nevertheless, the reports on the whole must have been rather favorable, for, the viceroyalty of Peru becoming vacant soon after the turn of the century, Monterey was advanced to this more lucrative place.[1] His departure was generally regretted, and the Indians filled the air with lamentation. One reason for his popularity lay in a showy openhandedness which spared not even the royal coffers, as we have seen. He did not long survive the change, for he died in Peru in March, 1606.[2]

Of the foundation of the capital of Nuevo Leon I have already spoken. California's capital was not established till nearly two centuries later, when it assumed the name of the bay discovered by Sebastian Vizcaino. This navigator, to whom the north-west latitudes were already somewhat familiar, had been despatched from Acapulco in May 1602, with three vessels carrying nearly two hundred men, having instructions to examine the coast of California for a suitable port wherein vessels from the Philippines

[1] Felipe III. fixed the salary at 30,000 ducats, due from the date of setting out for Peru. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 158. That of the Mexican viceroy was 20,000, with a smaller guard of honor than was granted to the Peruvian. Monterey received 8,000 ducats to aid him in entering his new office, and 10,000 he borrowed. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 55.

[2] After a rule of a little over two years. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 12; *Moreri, Gran. Dic.*, viii. 152. He was affable but slow to determine. 'Sino se huviera metido en estas Congregaciones...avia sido de los mejores, y mas acertados Governadores.' *Torquemada*, i. 726–7.

might find shelter. He was also to explore generally and seek for the flitting strait of Anian, in which interest had been roused anew by mariners' tales. While the results of this expedition add little to the knowledge gained by Cabrillo, sixty years before, yet the records of Vizcaino's discoveries furnished for more than a century and a half the sole guide to the north-west. They name a number of points, islands, and inlets, including the bay of Monterey, and leave the impression that in latitude 42°, the extreme point reached, a great river had been discovered which students found little trouble to identify with Anian Strait.[3]

Vizcaino sought in vain to promote a further exploration of this region, for the interest therein had subsided, but an opportunity presented itself in a different direction. Franciscans had reached Japan, and had succeeded after many tribulations in prevailing on the emperor to admit more missionaries and to send envoys to Spain in order to establish intercourse with the Spanish people.[4] They arrived at Mexico during the rule of the marqués de Salinas, and brought news also of some islands rich in gold and silver, which a drifting Portuguese vessel was said to have found in Japan waters. Whether this report proved the main incentive or not, the viceroy determined to respond to the advances made, and in 1611 Vizcaino was sent as embassador[5] with instructions to establish commercial relations between the two countries, and to spend a winter in Japan examining the coast and harbors, and gaining information about the rich isles, which were then to be sought for. He was accompanied by six barefooted Franciscans, three being lay brothers, and

[3] For a detailed account of the voyage see *Hist. Cal.*, ii. 97 et seq., and *Hist. North Mex. States*, i. 153 et seq.

[4] The embassy was headed by Friar Alonso Muñoz, and appears to have reached New Spain in 1610, accompanied by a number of Japanese. *Vizcaino, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 114.

[5] In the narrative of this voyage Vizcaino is termed the son of the viceroy, Velasco the younger. Perhaps he was a *hijo político*, son-in-law; he certainly must have had high connections as he was 'encomendero de los pueblos de la provincia de Avalos.' *Id.*, 102. Burnèy wrongly states that Vizcaino died in 1606. *Hist. Discov. South Sea*, ii. 259.

the native members of the embassy from Japan,[6] and set sail from Acapulco on March 22d with one vessel, the *San Francisco.*

He arrived in Japan three months later, and was favorably received, whereupon he proceeded to examine the coast and in the following year to seek for the rich isles, though in vain. Meanwhile jealous Hollanders obtained the imperial ear and denounced the Spaniards as seeking to add Japan to their extensive conquests. The result was that Vizcaino's embassy failed at the chief court. He prevailed, however, upon another ruler, called Mazamune, to assist him in fitting out a new vessel, to replace the damaged *San Francisco,* and to send therein an embassy to New Spain. With this he reached Zacatula in January 1614. During the following years other efforts were made to establish intercourse, and to obtain better treatment for the persecuted missionaries, but without avail.[7]

While explorations in northern latitudes proved failures, or little short of them, expeditions from Peru had opened a new field for enterprise in the southern Pacific, under Mendana in 1595, and more successfully under Pedro Fernandez Quirós, the companion of Mendana, who in 1605–6 made important discoveries in the Australasian groups, and concluded his voyage in New Spain.[8]

[6] Their leader was evidently a convert, to judge from his name, Francisco de Velasco, baptized at Mexico probably. They numbered 23 and the crew 50 or more. The names of friars and officers may be found in *Vizcaino, Rel.,* 102.

[7] Vizcaino's failure is also attributed to the indiscreet zeal of a friar. *Id.,* 198, etc. This appears to have been Luis Sotelo who proceeded with a Japanese convert to Rome and Madrid and obtained more missionaries, two of whom, Bartolomé de Burguillos and Diego de Santa Catarina, were appointed envoys by Felipe III., and reached Japan in 1616. The feeling against Spaniards had meanwhile grown stronger and the friars were forced to depart without executing their commission. Japanese from a more friendly court accompanied them, and were favorably received at Mexico in 1617, but do not appear to have accomplished anything. *Medina, Chron. S. Diego,* 148–50. Cavo mentions an embassy in 1615 from Idates, probably identical with one of the above. *Tres Siglos,* i. 261, 254, 257–8. The rich isles long continued to be an object of search to Philippine navigators and others.

[8] Whence he proceeded to Madrid with his report. *Id.,* i. 244. The voyage is fully related in *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea,* ii. 273–317.

The successor of Viceroy Monterey, Juan Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna, marqués de Montesclaros,[9] arrived in September 1603, accompanied by his wife Ana de Mendoza, and was met at Otumba by the conde de Monterey, who had there prepared the most magnificent reception, attended by people from far and near. The festivities lasted eight days, and are said to have cost Monterey a whole year's salary.[10]

If this reception was intended to propitiate Montesclaros, it probably failed, for on reaching Mexico and proclaiming the residencia of his predecessor according to instructions, he appears to have made no attempt to shield him. Monterey was condemned to pay the two hundred thousand pesos wantonly spent in the unfortunate attempt to gather the scattered Indians into settlements. Although the sentence was set aside by the king, the count felt it deeply as a reproach on his administration. Montesclaros showed himself possessed of an indomitable will and an ability which under more trying circumstances might have been of great value to his sovereign. As it was, nothing rose to disturb tranquillity, save the complaints of descendants of the conquerors, whose clamor[11] for office he chose to disregard in favor of really meritorious applicants. His policy met with approval, and, the viceroyalty of Peru becoming vacant in 1606, he was promoted to it.[12]

A successor had not as yet been selected, but soon

[9] Knight of Santiago and gentleman of the bed-chamber. He appears to have been born at Seville, the posthumous son of the second marquis, and held the coveted office of *asistente* in that city. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 272; *Moreri, Gran. Dic.*, vii. 362. Portrait and autograph in *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 80.

[10] *Torquemada*, i. 727. They entered Mexico October 27th. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 12.

[11] Forty of them became quite turbulent, and the marquis, already on the way to Peru, was with difficulty restrained from turning back to inflict chastisement. Their complaints against him resulted merely in a decree favoring his policy. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 246. His views on these points are given in *Advertimientos de Montes Claros*, in *Instrucciones de Virreyes*, MS., i. 254.

[12] He was permitted to govern till his departure, and as a mark of distinction an oidor accompanied him to Acapulco. *Torquemada*, i. 737. He died October 9, 1628. *Moreri*, vii. 362.

after came the appointment, for the second time, of Luis de Velasco, whose previous rule had endeared him both to king and people. Weighted by years, he had shortly before retired from the government of Peru to spend the remainder of his life on his encomienda of Atzcapotzalco, near Mexico. Duty compelled him, perhaps not unwillingly, to forego retirement, and on July 2, 1607, he made his entry into the capital, after meditating for a week in the Franciscan convent of Tlatelulco over the suggestions imparted by his predecessor. This appointment was assumed by many to have been heralded by a beautiful comet which in the previous month appeared to hover above Atzcapotzalco. Besides the viceroy's inauguration, the year was made memorable by the ceremony of swearing allegiance to the prince of Asturias, the later Felipe IV., on a scale of grandeur surpassing any previous display of the kind.

Velasco's path was smoothed in several respects by the licentiate Landeras de Velasco, late oidor of Seville, who came as visitador, and proceeded with great strictness to investigate charges against the audiencia and departments in connection with it. At the entrance to his house a box was placed for those who wished to make secret complaints and memorials. The result was that Oidor Marcos Guerrero and Doctor Azoca, alcalde of the court, were suspended and subsequently sent to Spain. The visitador's strictness evoked hostility in several quarters, but this served merely to render him more imperious. A sermon by Martin Palaez, rector of the Jesuit college at Mexico, appearing to reflect on his course, he caused his arrest and sent him off toward Vera Cruz in charge of two negroes. Although his departure was suspended, indignities were continued till the royal cédula came with excuses for the hasty action of Landeras.[13] This may have been one cause for the recall of the

[13] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 442–4, places this occurrence in the early part of 1607.

visitador, in 1609, to the relief of the officials, who had sought to hasten his removal by charges of bribery and other misconduct. Torquemada condemns his opponents, and lauds him highly as a man of unimpeachable rectitude, a friend of the Indians, and one who returned poorer than he came.[14]

In the first year of Velasco's rule was begun the famous drainage work of Huehuetoca, already projected by Enriquez, whereby Mexico hoped to obtain relief from the inundations which had caused such oft-repeated misery. The rains in the autumn of 1604 had been so heavy as to inflict great damage, and leave some parts of the city under water for a year. In the midst of this suffering a Franciscan spread terror among the people by preaching in the public square against the prevailing wickedness, and declaring that the city deserved to be destroyed. Quite a panic fell on all classes, and the churches were crowded all night by penitents. No cataclysm followed; but three days later an earthquake was felt, which frightened several persons to death.[15]

So discouraged were the people that they seriously considered the expediency of removing the capital to the hills of Tacubaya;[16] but property-owners, who had over twenty millions of pesos at stake, succeeded in preventing the movement. Montesclaros, then ruling, favored the drainage undertaking, but so many objections were raised that he turned his attention wholly to repairing the dike of San Lázaro and the causeways of San Antonio and Chapultepec, while he finished that of San Cristóbal, in addition to constructing the causeway of Guadalupe.[17] Notwithstanding

[14] *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 759. The papers of the visita were taken by the president of Guadalajara audiencia, Juan Villela.

[15] The startling sermon was delivered on the eve of Santo Tomás, during a heavy rain, by Friar Solano, guardian of the Recollects. *Id.*, 728.

[16] Royal permission appears to have been granted to this effect. For other reasons see *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 506–7; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 76–8.

[17] The latter occupying nearly 2,000 Indians for five months. *Torquemada,*

all these measures the city was again submerged in 1607, and in a council held by Velasco drainage was agreed upon as indispensable.

The valley of Mexico lies, as is well known, more than seven thousand feet above the sea-level, in a vast basin enclosed by porphyritic ranges, from whose slopes a number of rivers unite to form four groups of lakes, the Chalco-Xochimilco, Tezcuco, Cristóbal, and Zumpango. The first was a fresh-water body, lying two varas higher than the salt Tezcuco, above whose level the last two also rose to the north in their terrace beds four and ten varas respectively. Zumpango received the two largest streams, notably the Quauhtitlan, which contributed a larger volume than that of all the other valley rivers combined. During the rainy season the excess of water overflowed into the Cristóbal lake, which again discharged into the Tezcuco, causing its waters to rise considerably. At certain periods, once in twenty-five years on an average, this overflow proved destructive, especially to the capital, whose main square lay barely four feet above the lake. Taught by experience, the Aztecs had sought to stem the waters with dikes, not only round the city but on the northern lakes. Both of these were, besides, divided into two sections by transverse causeways. Although strengthened and extended under Spanish rule the barriers proved ineffective, as we have seen, and drainage was at last declared to be the only means.

One natural outlet from the valley existed in the small stream of Tequisquiac, but measurements showed that the cost of making it available for drainage would be too great, and that the only practicable point for an outlet was near the village of Huehuetoca, as demonstrated already in 1580 by Licenciado Obregon

i. 728–9. Among the works attributed to him is the *presa* de Oculma. *Inund. de Mex.*, MS., 356. *Cepeda, Rel.*, 10, is less exact; and so is Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 209. On the Mexicalzinco branch of the southern causeway two flood-gates were added. Nevertheless this construction proved prejudicial to Xochimilco and adjoining towns. He also began a new aqueduct. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 243–4, 264–5; *Beltrami, Mexique*, ii. 62–3.

and Arciniega. By means of a tunnel between the mount Sincoe and Nochistongo hill the ever threatening waters from most elevated northern lakes of Zumpango could be carried through the Tula tributary of Rio Pánuco to the gulf of Mexico. This being decided upon, Enrico Martinez, a Hollander,[18] and the Jesuit Juan Sanchez[19] submitted plans for the work, one of which embraced also a partial drainage of the middle lakes, while another proposed merely to divert the waters of Rio Quauhtitlan from the Citlaltepec section of Zumpango Lake. The latter was adopted as the speedier and cheaper, and on November 28, 1607, the viceroy broke the first sod in presence of a vast concourse of officials and citizens. The work was intrusted to Martinez,[20] who displayed great energy, and set an immense number of Indians to the task, at different points. The expense was covered by a tax of one and a half per cent on the city property, and a levy on wine.[21]

A canal conducted the waters from the Citlaltepec section of Zampango Lake, or rather from its great tributary, Rio Quauhtitlan, to Huehuetoca, and thence they passed through a tunnel more than a league in length, and four by five varas in height and width, fol-

[18] Educated in Spain, it seems. He enjoyed the title of royal cosmographer and wrote *Repertorio de los Tiempos y Historia Natural de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1606; *Antonio, Bib. Hist. Nova*, iii. 564. Humboldt mentions a treatise on trigonometry, *Essai Pol.*, i. 211, but it is probably embraced in the above.

[19] Alegre intimates that the plans are due to him, and that he at first had chief control. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 438–9. Spanish writers of course prefer to keep the foreigner in the background. Among others connected with the surveys and plans were fathers Mercado and Santos and Doctor Villerino.

[20] Sanchez, the associate, soon quarrelled and retired. *Torquemada*, i. 758. Cavo places the inaugural day on December 28th. *Tres Siglos*, i. 247.

[21] The real estate, valued at 20,267,555 pesos, yielded over 304,000 pesos. *Cepeda, Rel.*, 14. Wine was taxed 50 pesos for every pipe. The clergy were not exempt. *Torquemada*, i. 758; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 91–2. The laborers received five reals for seven days, an almud of maize every week, and a pound of meat daily. A hospital was erected for their sick. They came from different provinces, to the number of 471,154, with 1,664 female cooks. *Cepeda, Rel.*, 18. He adds that the actual money paid them between November 1607 and May 1608 was 73,611 pesos. The authoritative writer of *Mex., Rel. Estad.*, 2, declares that 50,000 natives lost their lives during the work, while Cepeda and others maintain that quite an insignificant number perished. They had reasons, however, for hiding disagreeable facts.

lowed by a canal to Rio Tula.[22] On May 15, 1608, the first canal was completed, and on September 17th water passed through the tunnel in presence of the viceroy, amidst the rejoicings of the colonists who had reason to be proud of an engineering feat so rare at that time. It was not long, however, before the inefficiency of the work became apparent, the conduit being too small, on too high a level, and so poorly vaulted and faced as frequently to choke with its own debris. The efforts to remedy the latter defect proved of no avail,[23] and it was even proposed to construct another channel, for which, in 1611, Alonso de Arias made surveys. Martinez could not well be held to answer, for he had submitted other more thorough plans than the cheap and speedy one adopted.[24] Three years later the celebrated Dutch engineer, Boot, reported in favor of the ancient Aztec dike system for the capital, on the ground that the southern lakes were fully as dangerous as the northern. Martinez agreed to some of his views, but insisted that it was above all necessary to maintain the tunnel outlet.[25]

[22] Cepeda's figures, *Rel.*, pt. i. 25, iii. 21, are 9,600 varas for the tunnel when first opened; afterward reduced by extending it into an open cut. Humboldt is not very exact in giving the tunnel a length of 6,600 mètres, a width of 3.5, and a height of 4.2.

[23] Unbaked mud bricks were soon rejected for wood facings, and these for masonry, but instead of an elliptic arch a mere vault was constructed, resting on an insecure foundation, so that the walls were undermined and fell in. The extent of the different facings some years later is given in *Cepeda, Rel.*, iii. 21 et seq.

[24] Yet several writers seek to blame him, and assume that the rejected plans had been made by Sanchez. The canal project in 1604 was estimated to require a length of 6 to 9 leagues; now the length of a perfect drainage of the three lakes was placed at 70,000 varas, with a depth of 40. *Cepeda*, ubi sup.; *Gemelli Careri, Giro*, vi. 122. By this time the expenditure for the work according to official accounts amounted to 413,324 pesos out of 540,000 collected. In *Mex., Rel. Estad.*, 2, the cost is placed at 1,140,000 pesos up to 1623. *Instruc. Virreyes*, 262. Gonzalez Dávila makes it 3,952,464 for the first few years, during which 128,630 laborers had been employed. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 2.

[25] Martinez prevailed on the authorities to let him perfect the tunnel, but he failed to carry out the agreement, probably because his estimate of 100,000 pesos appeared on closer inspection to be too low. Boot's reports, and the discussion thereon, are given in *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. ii. 1–17. His views were strengthened by troubles from the southern lake water. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 249. Boot appears to have been retained as active or consulting engineer from 1613 until 1640, with 1,200 ducats pay. *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, v. 358–9.

The value of either plan was disputed till Viceroy Gelves, in 1623, caused the tunnel to be closed in order to test the effect of the Quauhtitlan and Pachuca tributaries on Zumpango Lake and consequently on the Tezcuco. The rise proved considerable, and in December came unexpected rains which so increased it that the city was endangered, and the Huehuetoca tunnel had again to be opened;[26] and work was renewed upon it in accordance with a neglected royal decree of 1516, although not without much discussion and numerous reports.[27]

In 1609 occurred a serious revolt among the negroes in the Vera Cruz district. Tired of their masters' yoke, a number of slaves had escaped from different towns and plantations, to unite with their free brethren near the present town of Córdoba, and ensconce themselves among the rugged hills in that vicinity, whence they would pounce upon travellers and settlements. Their leader was an aged man named Yanga, who for thirty years had been seeking to stir his race to united action against the colonists.[28] The raids had been endured for some time, attended by the defeat of escorts and improvised troops, under cruel circumstances; but finally the insecurity of the road to Mexico called for stringent measures against the bands, which were growing both in number and daring. Pedro Gonzalez de Herrera of Puebla was commissioned to subdue them, and set forth toward the end of January 1609 with one hundred soldiers, as many volunteers, and a number of native archers, to whom some two

[26] The statement of a December flood rests on Gemelli Careri, ubi sup., and has been disputed, but it finds confirmation in the report of a commission of 1624, showing that damage was done to the city by a sudden rise of waters. *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. ii. 19; *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 11; *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 282–7. Early documents bearing on this subject are to be found in *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 146 et seq.

[27] In 1629 came disasters which gave energy to operations, as we shall see.

[28] Torquemada, i. 759, intimates that at Mexico also a revolt was projected, for Epiphany, when a king would be elected 'y otros con Titulos de Duques,' etc. It was quickly suppressed.

hundred Spaniards and half-breeds were added from settlements on the way.

A tiresome march brought him near the haunts of the insurgents, though without knowing where or how to meet them. From this dilemma he was relieved by the arrival of a message from Yanga and his military lieutenant Matosa, brought by a captive, who had been defiantly instructed to guide the troops to the foot of the negroes' stronghold, so that they might measure arms with them. Herrera gladly availed himself of this vaunting challenge, to which the chieftain's companions had objected, and in the last week of February he came in sight of the negro camp, on the summit of a mountain. Regardless of the missiles showered upon them, the Spaniards climbed the rugged slope, and though many a one was felled, now by a dart, now by some thundering rock or beam which crushed everything in its path, they persevered and gained the camp, which contained fully three score houses, with church, public edifices, and newly planted fields. The negroes retired to several strong points around, with the loss of quite a number, including several leaders, yet still defiant. Their spirit failed, however, with succeeding reverses, and, as they saw their families falling captive, their houses burned, and their effects seized or destroyed, they submitted terms of capitulation to the viceroy. On condition that Yanga and his free companions be given a site for a new settlement in the neighborhood, they promised to surrender all fugitive negroes in the camps, and thereafter to assist, if duly rewarded, in the capture of any who took refuge in that region. This was agreed to; and soon after they founded the village of San Lorenzo, remaining thenceforth comparatively faithful.[29]

In the following year a more extensive campaign

[29] An alcalde appears to have been appointed from among them, while a neighboring curate attended to their spiritual wants. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 10–16.

had to be undertaken against Indian rebels in Durango. This region was frequently disturbed by one tribe or another, abused as the natives were by miners, and favored by the physical features of their country, which on one side presented rugged ranges, and on the other plains and deserts. The private explorations of Francisco de Ibarra in this direction had revealed vast agricultural and mineral resources, and aided by his influence with the viceroy he had secured a commission as governor and captain-general to conquer and rule the still unsubdued country to the north. He entered with a strong force, and laid claim to all the region beyond the line now dividing Jalisco and Zacatecas from Sinaloa and Durango, applying to it the name of Nueva Vizcaya, a term which soon became confined to the district east of the Sierra Madre range, embracing, for a while, a part of Coahuila. In 1563 he formally established the still existing settlement of Nombre de Dios as a villa;[30] and beyond, in Guadiana Valley, he founded as his capital Durango, known also by the name of the valley. In 1621 this was made a city and the seat of a new diocese extending over all of Ibarra's government.[31] He pursued his discoveries as far as San Bartolomé Valley, in southern Chihuahua, and thence westward into northern Sinaloa, where he founded San Juan de Sinaloa, laying claim also to the two southern districts of Culiacan, with the settlement of San Miguel, and to Chametla, with San Sebastian, which had maintained a precarious existence since Guzman's time.

The tribes of Sinaloa proved very hostile, and San Juan had to be abandoned. It was refounded in 1583 under the name of San Felipe, but only after 1596, when it became a presidio, was the perma-

[30] The control of this was long disputed by the government immediately south, and then seized upon by the viceroy; but in 1611 it was restored to Nueva Vizcaya.

[31] The Augustinian, Gonzalo de Hermosilla, was the first prelate.

nency of this settlement secured. In 1610 the border was advanced to Rio del Fuerte, so named after the fort of Montesclaros there erected; and now the Jesuits began the conversion of Mayos and Yaquis. Thirty years later San Juan Bautista was founded in Sonora Valley, already made known by expeditions which had passed into the northern regions. All this country west of the Sierra Madre was ruled by a military captain appointed by the viceroy, but subject in civil matters to the governor at Durango. In Coahuila, Saltillo was formally founded in 1586, and Parras in 1598, partly by Tlascaltecs, while in Chihuahua it was not till 1631 that a presidio rose at Parral in the rich mining region, and permanent missions in 1639 among the Tarahumaras.[32]

Side by side with settlers and miners strode the friars, in this region, notably the Jesuits, whose aim was not alone to convert, but to pacify and prepare the natives for the yoke of Christ and the colonists. It was cheap and effective, this subjugation by the cross. Warfare against the wilder tribes of the north proved quite different from that against the more cultured and settled communities encountered by Cortés. Here the capture of a capital, the treaty with a ruler, generally sufficed to control the people; but among the northern tribes treaties availed little with the petty, irresponsible chieftains unless they were specially commissioned by the people, and to ravage their villages was seldom effective. Hence, after many and costly military operations, Viceroy Velasco had toward the close of the preceding century found it necessary to adopt a different course, and stoop to what may be termed humiliating concessions. But he stooped to conquer, for under shelter of this purchased peace missionaries crept forward to fasten a gradually tightening bond, secured at different points by military colonies. This policy did not succeed in every quar-

[32] The history of Nueva Vizcaya, based on such standard authorities as *Ibarra, Relacion; Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS.; *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS.; *Al-*

ter, nor was it effected elsewhere without occasional struggles. The resolute opposition of the Sinaloa tribes to the encroachments of the Spaniards served to animate also adjoining peoples who had already submitted and found just cause for discontent in the oppression and outrages practised by miners and others.

In 1601 the Acaxées, who occupied the mountain regions of Topia and San Andrés,[33] rose to the number of five thousand, with a solemn determination to kill or drive away every Spaniard. They swooped down with unexpected suddenness on the villages and mining camps, whose number may be estimated from the statement that over forty churches shared in the destruction. The first effective resistance encountered was at San Andrés, where the small garrison managed to hold out for a fortnight, till Governor Urdiñola learned of their strait and came to the rescue with sixty men. The warriors now withdrew to the mountain fastnesses, and kept the pursuing troops constantly engaged in toilsome marches and sharp skirmishes, ever on the alert to entrap them into ambuscades, though with little success. What arms failed to achieve was accomplished by means of Urdiñola's generous treatment of a number of captured Acaxée women. This touched the hearts of the husbands, and with the gentle persuasion of Father Santaren they submitted and began to rebuild their churches.[34] The Sabaibos held out for a while longer under the guidance of a sorcerer who proclaimed himself bishop, and even God, and proceeded with the aid of associated apostles to carry on a peculiar spiritual and political administration. His rule was soon cut short, and with him disappeared the last trace of the revolt.

bieuri, Hist. Mis., MS.; *Arlegui, Ribas, Alegre, Beaumont, Mota-Padilla*, is fully related in my *History of the North Mexican States*, this series.

[33] For particulars see *Native Races*, i. 614.

[34] For a detailed account of the campaign with its interesting happenings, see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., this series.

This submission appears to have either irritated or emboldened the Xiximes, a tribe of cannibalistic tendencies, who adjoined the Acaxées on the south, and ranked as their bitter foes. The neighbors soon began to appeal for aid against their onslaughts, and with intercession of friars they were in 1607 induced to relent; but three years later they broke out in open revolt, and an expedition of two hundred Spaniards and eleven hundred Indians marched against them. Their two strongholds were quickly reduced, and after the execution of the ringleaders the excuses of the remainder were accepted with a readiness that served only too often to encourage hostilities, as may be seen throughout the history of this frontier region to the present time. Had the same policy been pursued by Cortés and his contemporaries, Spanish domination might have been deferred for years. This temporizing was owing in part to a change in the character of the settlers, and a diversion of public interest from the career of conquest, and partly to actual weakness and indecision; but under the circumstances it was dangerous to display it so freely.

Of this an instance may be found in the more serious outbreak in the same province, in 1616, among the Tepehuanes, for no outrages or other good reason appear to have afforded the pretext. This tribe covered a wide-spread area in Durango, extending into southern Chihuahua and bordering east and north on Topia, and had yielded good fruit to the Jesuit missionaries. Dismayed by the downfall of their influence, the native sorcerers strove hard to combat the new religion; and encouraged by the example of the Sabaibo bishop, one of them proclaimed himself a messiah divinely appointed to free his people from the foreign yoke. This character he sustained by a number of cleverly executed miracles, and by alluring prospects disseminated by active agents.

His plans succeeded, and his people rose almost *en masse*. At Atotonilco nearly two hundred Spaniards,

men, women, and children, were massacred; at Papasquiaro a number were lured to destruction by treachery; at Zape ninety persons fell. Durango city, the seat of government, might also have been surprised but for the premature outbreak on the part of certain greedy chieftains, which gave the alarm, and enabled measures to be taken against the great simultaneous attack on the 21st of November. These measures extended also to the Acaxées, Xiximes, and other tribes who were prevailed upon to withhold at least active coöperation in the revolt.

Nevertheless the outlook became so serious that appeal for aid was sent to the viceroy, who gave orders upon the royal coffers at Zacatecas and Durango for funds, wherewith to raise more troops. The Tepehuanes generally avoided an encounter. With the spring of 1617 the revolt was practically ended. Deserted by their messiah, who mysteriously disappeared, the still rebellious bands took refuge in the mountains, there to be exposed to repeated attacks from different quarters, to which a price upon their heads gave incentive. After suffering heavy losses they were induced gradually to rejoin their submissive brethren. As it was, the outbreak had caused a drain on the royal treasury of several hundred thousand pesos, besides losses in revenue and to settlers, and retarded material progress in the province for a number of years.[35]

A lenient policy characterized more and more the attitude of the government toward the natives, and experiments were continually tried for promoting their welfare. In 1602 came a cédula recommending a system of public hiring of Indians, to take the place of repartimientos. A fair was accordingly established in the principal squares at Mexico[36] under supervision of a judge, where employers might come to engage

[35] For a full account see *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., this series.
[36] On Sundays. *Cavo*, *Tres Siglos*, i. 237.

laborers. As usual, corruption crept in to counteract the intended benefits. Speculators found it lucrative to engage, with connivance of the judge, a large number of the Indians, and hire them to others at higher rates. This abuse became so great that the system had to be abandoned.[37]

In pursuance of this step, and with a view to remove cause for revolt, an important decree appeared in 1609, commanding that provisions and clothing must be sold to Indians at reasonable prices, and that those who attempted to defeat this measure should be punished. In the mining districts the Indians were to be gathered into villages and given land to cultivate, and churches and hospitals. Those who settled in these villages were to be exempt for six years from the usual repartimientos; but they must not leave the place. Since it was necessary to encourage work and progress among all classes, repartimientos must be maintained till the increase of slaves and voluntary workers allowed them to be reduced or abolished. Not more than one seventh of a village population should be called away at a time, in due turn, nor must they be sent to a very distant place or one differing greatly in temperature from that to which they were used. The pay must be fair, and cover the time for coming and going to work. The time and nature of labor should not be exceeded or changed. None could be condemned for crimes to personal service, nor could encomenderos exact it in lieu of tribute. The carrying of loads was restricted, particularly where beasts of burden could be introduced.[38] Not long before this a law had been issued exempting from enco-

[37] 'Clamaron los Indios...con instancia, bolver à lo pasado.' *Torquemada*, i. 726.

[38] An earlier decree prohibited even voluntary carrying of goods, but this could not be obeyed. Those in charge of herds should not be held responsible for lost stock. Officials connected with repartimientos must be men well known for kindness and probity; they could accept fees only from the employer. Further minor regulations are given in *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 216–26, 14, 15; *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 139. This important letter was dated May 26, 1609. In accordance with its tenor Velasco regulated the hours of labor and other matters.

miendas, and from tribute for ten years, all hitherto unsubdued Indians who voluntarily gave allegiance to church and king.[39] It was a measure well calculated to aid the missionaries and to promote a peaceful conquest. In the settled regions on the other hand we find a contrast in the confirmation of encomiendas to the third and fourth life.

The execution of reform measures was by no means easy, but Velasco sought to do his duty, and though exercising no undue severity he brought upon himself the hostility of a large class. His friendly feeling toward the natives is displayed in several recommendations, notably that of giving to them all the land required, leaving only the balance to Spaniards.[40] His zeal was not overlooked, for in 1609 he received the title of marqués de Salinas, and two years later promotion to the presidency of the India Council.[41] So distinguished a preferment could not be refused, and he set sail for Spain June 12, 1611,[42] leaving behind the reputation of a wise and humane ruler, against whom the only objection may be an excessive leniency which served well for the time, but left the seed of future troubles.[43]

As his entry into the government had been preceded by a comet, to which his successful rule lent a favorable significance, so his departure was attended by an eclipse of the sun; and the terror which this phenomenon inspired received fresh impulse two months later from an earthquake whereby a number of build-

[39] This law was issued on November 25, 1607, and confirmed in 1671 and 1672. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 2.

[40] *Advertimientos*, in *Instruc. Virreyes*, 256.

[41] Together with 20,000 ducats 'ayuda de costa.' He already received a pension of 6,000 at the end of his former rule in Mexico, and now his children were granted additional allowances. The title of marquis appears to have been issued in 1607, *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 55, though Vetancurt intimates a year or two later. *Trat. Mex.*, 13.

[42] Exercising the power of viceroy to the day of sailing. *Torquemada*, i. 767. Calle writes 17th of June.

[43] His partiality for the Dominicans is spoken of in *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 202. Already very aged, he did not long survive his promotion.

ings were destroyed in different parts, notably at Mexico, involving the loss of several lives.[44]

Although Velasco ruled until the day of his departure, the successor to the viceroyalty was already to be found at Mexico in the person of Archbishop García Guerra, a Dominican, born about 1560 at Fromesta, near Valencia, of a noble house.[45] As prior at Valladolid he managed to gain favor in the eyes of Felipe III., and a first result was his appointment to the vacancy caused by the death in October 1606 of García de Santa María y Mendoza, archbishop of Mexico. This prelate had been prior of the convent at the Escorial, general of the Jeronimite order, and a great favorite of Philip II., who named him one of his executors. The successor to the throne extended this favor by conferring on him the archdiocese in New Spain which he administered in a satisfactory manner, living ever the humble life of a friar, yet staining his memory by the bigoted act of defacing native sculptures. While the destruction was not so serious as that caused by the iconoclast Zamárraga,[46] Santa María deserves even greater condemnation than this earlier bishop, whose vandalism finds excuses to a certain extent in the conversion-zeal of his period, and in its inferior enlightenment.

Guerra made his entrance into Mexico as prelate September 29th, and by his wise rule confirmed the royal choice to such extent that with the promotion of Velasco came his own appointment as twelfth vice-

[44] The eclipse was total and lasted till 6 P. M. June 10th. *Torquemada*, i. 768. The earthquake occurred on August 26th. 'En ocasion que por mandado del Arçobispo Virrey...se corrian toros.' *Sigüenza y Góngora*, *Carta*, MS., 15; *Id.*, *Paraysò Occid.*, 24. There were more than 40 shocks within 30 hours, says Father Franco. On December 27th a rain of ashes fell at Mexico, *Dávila*, *Continuacion*, MS., 203; and Mota-Padilla, who places the eclipse on April 15, describes a similar shower in Colima, caused by the eruption of the volcano. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 271. In the same month of the following year another earthquake occurred. *Cavo*, *Tres Siglos*, i. 257.

[45] Of the family of De la Vega Guerra. His parents were Andrés de Rojas and María Guerra. He professed as a Dominican in 1578, at Valladolid, where he became preacher and prior. Gonzalez Dávila writes his name De Enguerra. *Teatro*, i. 44; *Dávila*, *Continuacion*, MS., 198–200.

[46] As Torquemada, iii. 208, regretfully points out.

roy. It was the second time that the supreme political and ecclesiastical power had been vested in one man, and, as the benevolence and sagacity of Guerra were recognized, his inauguration June 19, 1611, created wide-spread joy.[47] This was not to be of long duration, however. Guerra had for some time been an invalid, a fall from his carriage being one of the causes, and soon a cold caught during an exposure to rain laid him low with fever. The phlebotomy so prevalent among doctors of the time tended to weaken him; and when an operation was demanded on an abscess he sank under it February 22, 1612, at the age of fifty-two.[48] Manifestations of grief were both general and profound, and the obsequies surpassed in solemnity any that had so far been conducted in New Spain. A description may prove interesting.

The embalmed body, arrayed in pontifical robes of purple taffeta garnished with gold and silver, rested in the chapel on a catafalque, covered with black gold-bordered velvet, and surrounded with candles. The interior of the chapel was draped in black. The head of the corpse reclined on a black velvet cushion, ornamented with gold and silver, and bore on the brow a mitre. Close to it rose the guidon of the captain-general, a rank held by the deceased in virtue of his office as viceroy. At the left shoulder rested the pastoral staff, and in the right hand the archiepiscopal cross; at the feet were two royal maces of gilt silver, and between them the prelate's hat.

For three days a constant stream of visitors appeared at the chapel to give a last look at the beloved face, while friars and clergy held vigils, masses, and chants

[47] He had been staying at the convent in Atlacubaya, and entered by way of Tlatelulco, under arches and amidst great pomp, on a Sunday. *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 202; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 13. Cavo dates his power from June 17th; and Lorenzana, from June 12th. *Concilios Prov.*, 1556–65, 216, he counting no doubt Velasco's departure.

[48] *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ubi sup. Cavo states that the carriage accident occurred while he as viceroy was inspecting certain public works, and this injured one of his ribs, giving rise to the abscess. *Tres Siglos*, i. 256. On the 29th of January a solemn procession had been held to implore restoration of his health.

here as well as at other temples. The bells tolled solemnly all the while, and nearly every person exhibited some token of mourning, especially officials and men of means.

On the 25th a vast concourse gathered at the palace to escort the body to the cathedral tomb. First marched the school children with white lighted tapers; then came thirty-eight brotherhoods, according to age, with standards, crosses, and other paraphernalia; the different monastic orders, closing with the Dominicans, to whom belonged the deceased, followed by over four hundred members of the clergy, the prebendaries of the chapter being last. Then came the coffin, having at the feet the prelate's hat, and a cap with white tassel, the insignia of a master of theology. Behind were borne the cross and guidon, draped in black, between two kings-at-arms. On either side of the coffin strode the viceregal guard, while halberdiers assisted in keeping back the crowd. Following the guard came the deacons; the commercial court; the university representation, with sixty-four of its graduated doctors bearing the insignia of the faculty; the municipality, preceded by their mace-bearers; the audiencia, with three nephews of the deceased; the royal officers, bearing a black standard with royal arms in gold; three companies of infantry in lines of seven, with arms reversed, marching to the sound of four muffled drums and two fifes; the maestre de sala of the viceroy, bearing aloft on a half-pike the arms of the deceased, gilded on a black surface; the master of horse and chamberlain, leading a steed in deep mourning with a long train; another gentleman of the court, on horseback, bore the guidon of captain-general, with royal arms on crimson velvet. The procession closed with the servants of the palace, led by the majordomo.

Between the palace and the cathedral five catafalques had been erected, to serve as resting-places for the coffin as it was transferred to different bearers. The oidores bore it from the chapel to the first station;

then the cathedral chapter, the municipality, the university corporation, and the commercial representatives carried it successively, the oidores taking it from the last station into the cathedral, where it was placed in a lofty position, amid a blaze of lights. As the alféreces approached they lowered the standards, and placed them at the foot of the coffin. On the left rested Guerra's coat of arms; on the right were the cross and the guidon. After service the coffin was buried at a late hour by the high altar, on the evangel side. It was a grand and glorious casting-forth.

During the novenary each religious order came to chant masses, assisted by ecclesiastic and civil bodies. On March 7th the members of the procession marched in the same order as before to the cathedral, where the vigil was chanted, and a funeral oration delivered in Latin. The following day the funeral sermon was preached by the dominican provincial.[49]

The government now passed into the hands of the audiencia, and the senior oidor, Pedro de Otalora, a pious man,[50] took possession of the palace. Affairs were by no means such as to require a strong hand at their head; yet the loss of the recognized chief seems to have created an unsettled feeling, and the revelation of an intended uprising among the negroes so alarmed the capital that on Monday and Thursday the customary religious processions of the week did not take place. On the evening of Thursday a trampling of feet was heard, with much grunting and yelling, and the cry spread that the negroes were upon them. The panic-stricken people either closed their doors or fled for protection toward the palace, and terror reigned until morning, when the cause of the uproar appeared in a drove of pigs for the Satur-

[49] *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 205–7; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 52–4.

[50] 'Hombre desinteresado de las cosas de esta Vida, y mui gran Ministro,' is Torquemada's estimate of him. i. 767. Among his associates are mentioned the licentiates Diego Nuñez de Mosquecho and Pedro Juarez de Molina.

day slaughter, which had been mistaken for a negro advance.[51]

This play upon the feelings of people and audiencia could not be allowed to pass unavenged, and thirty-three unfortunate blacks were convicted on doubtful evidence and hanged.[52] As during a previous interregnum, the government sought to cover its weakness under a mask of cruelty. A measure against outbreaks on the part of negroes was attempted by means of a decree ordering free persons of their race, including mestizos, who possessed no trade, to enter the service of known masters and take up their abode with them.[53]

The audiencia's rule terminated with the entry into Mexico, on October 28, 1612, of the thirteenth viceroy, Diego Fernandez de Córdoba, marqués de Guadalcázar, and his consort María Rieder.[54] His rule proved exceedingly quiet, though at one time a cloud appeared in the form of a freebooter. The Dutch had for some time struggled for a foothold in the Moluccas, and to promote this effort their East India Company in 1614 despatched a well-equipped fleet of six vessels, under Joris Spilbergen,[55] with instructions to do what damage he could to Spanish shipping and interests on his way, notably to the fleet between Manila and Acapulco. He left Texel in August, touched at the Brazilian coast, passed through Magellan Strait in April 1615, and began a series of petty and cautious raids on the

[51] Panes assumes that this false alarm served to defeat the intentions of the negroes by rousing the people. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 94–5.

[52] The bodies were exposed in different parts, till public health demanded their removal. Four of the victims were women. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 13. Torquemada makes the total number 36.

[53] 'Pena de docientos açotes.' Decree of the audiencia April 12, 1612. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, pt. ii. 49.

[54] Lorenzana writes Riedrer. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 21.

[55] Also written Georg Spilberg, von Spilbergen, Spilberger. The flag-ship was the *Zon*, and the next, the *Halve Maen*, under command of Jansen. Two of the vessels were smaller, and built for speed. The force carried was 1,200 men besides sailors; so at least declares Osten, a member of the expedition who escaped to New Spain, and whose account appears to have been overlooked by Burney and others. See *Nicolai, Newe vnd Warhaffte Rel.*, 17–18. He, Purchas, and Gottfried differ on several points, about names, dates, etc.

Pacific coast of South America. In this occupation he was interrupted by a fleet of eight vessels under Rodrigo de Mendoza, who had vowed to capture the Hollander. Fortune favored the latter, however, and the Peruvians retired with a loss of two vessels, one of them under command of the vice-admiral, who preferred to go down with his ship rather than surrender.

On the 10th of October Spilbergen appeared before Acapulco, sadly in want of fresh provisions and anti-scorbutics for his sick crews. He would prob-

PORT OF ACAPULCO.

ably have helped himself but for some well-timed shots which intimated that the place was prepared.[56] "Hanging out a flagge of peace, two Spaniards came aboord, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Prouision, which was accordingly performed. On the 15th Melchior Hernardo came aboord, to take view of the fleete, which had vanquished the Kings. He was Nephew to the Vice-Roy

[56] 'The Castle had seuentie Brasse Pieces, hauing intelligence eight moneths before of their comming.' *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, 1, pt. ii. 84.

of New Spaine, and was kindly entertained of the Admirall." The squadron left Acapulco on October 18th and cruised off the coast for some time, capturing a California pearl-fishing vessel with two friars.[57] A consort vessel, under Iturbide, proved more fortunate in bringing safe to port a cargo of pearls, including one valued at the then high price of four thousand five hundred pesos.[58]

Spilbergen now proceeded to Salagua, or Santiago Bay, where several of his men, while in quest of fresh provisions, were killed and captured by an ambuscaded party which is said to have been commanded by the navigator Vizcaino. The fleet passed on to Santiago, and to Navidad, where a captured monk procured lemons on being promised his liberty. When the time came to fulfil the promise, the crews objected to lose so valuable a prisoner, and Spilbergen had to quell a mutiny to keep his word with the monk.

Toward the end of November sail was set for Cape San Lúcas, there to watch for the Manila galleon; but the wind proving unfavorable the prows were turned for the Ladrones and Moluccas, and after staying here awhile Spilbergen completed the circumnavigation of the globe with a portion of his fleet. While falling short of the anticipated results of the voyage, he confirmed the opinion of his ability as a navigator.[59]

While disaster was averted from Acapulco, it overtook the opposite port of Vera Cruz in another guise. New Vera Cruz, as it was called, to distinguish it from the old town on Rio Antigua, which still lin-

[57] Cardona, the captain, and a portion of the crew escaped by swimming ashore. The authorities differ as to whether the vessel was on the way from or to California. She was incorporated into the fleet under the name of the 'Pearlship,' says Osten, *ubi supra*.

[58] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 202–4; *Cardona, Mem.*, 46; *Mota-Padilla, Cong. N. Gal.*, 272–3.

[59] For an account of the voyage, see, besides the authorities quoted, *Gottfried, Newe Welt*, 454 et seq.; *Boss, Leben der See-Helden*, 393–402; *Kerr's Col.*, x. 157–8; *Berenger, Col. Voy.*, i. 262, 288–93; *Burney, Chron. Hist. Voy.*, ii. 330–53.

gered, had rapidly risen from a landing-station, known by the name of Buitron, the chief settler, to receive in 1615 the title of city. But the buildings were hastily and irregularly constructed, chiefly of wood, and when, in December 1618, a fire broke out in the barracks, the flames spread under a strong north wind, and consumed the best part of the place, inflicting a loss of over two million pesos.[60] Prompt aid was given toward rebuilding on a safer and more regular plan.

On February 13th the whole country was startled by an earthquake which lasted for a quarter of an hour, and extended from Central America far northward. "It demolished buildings, rent hills and mountains, disclosed deep caverns, and brought forth new lakes. Rivers flowed with black waters. At sea terrible sights were seen, and many vessels went under. Fish sought refuge on land from their natural element."[61]

Owing to the insecurity of the road between Vera Cruz and Mexico, infested by robber bands, the town of Córdoba was in April 1618 founded in the foothills, on the more southern route later followed by the railroad to the capital. Its prosperity was soon assured by extensive sugar and tobacco plantations, and it received also a share of health-seekers from Vera Cruz,[62] as did the more important town of Orizaba, to the west, where sanitary facilities still attract people.[63] Córdoba received its name from the vice-

[60] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 263. In the beginning of 1619, says Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 115. *Panes, Veracruz*, MS., 2; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes*, 267. A decree was thereupon issued ordering government buildings to be separated from other edifices fully 15 paces, and urging the employment of night watches. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 27.

[61] 'Corrió quinientas leguas de Norte à Sur, y mas de sesenta de Este á Loeste.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 59. This author writes at 11:30 A. M. on February 14th.

[62] In May 1714, an earthquake ruined many buildings. In 1850 it counted 4,500 inhabitants. *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 549. Incited by the faulty accounts in *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, Dr Rodriguez, curate at Córdoba, prepared a full history and description of the town which was published at Mexico in 1759, under the title of *Cartilla, Historica y Sagrada Descripcion de Cordova*, 4to, 164 pp. He gives the names of the first 30 settlers, the coat of arms, and other interesting material. See also *Cordara, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 175.

[63] The order of San Juan de Dios erected here a hospital about this time.

roy, whose title of Guadalcázar was also perpetuated in that of a mining town founded in 1614 north-east of San Luis Potosí.[64] Another town rose about the same time, on the lake of Toluca, under the name of Lerma, in honor of the favorite minister of Felipe III.[65] The same rule was signalized at Mexico by the completion of the new aqueduct begun by the previous viceroy. It brought additional water from Santa Fé by way of Chapultepec, and rested for a long distance on arches, nine hundred in number.[66]

After a government of eight years Guadalcázar was promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru. Yet not from any merit as a ruler, for although his reign had proved peaceful, corruption had spread fast in almost every department, until both social and economic interests were so seriously imperilled as to rouse the attention of the crown. Guadalcázar, in truth, was a mild man, easily imposed upon, and not much disposed to sacrifice his comfort and peace of mind by inquiries into matters with which subordinates and associates were intrusted. The oidores had not been slow to take advantage of such neglect to extend their own importance, and even openly interfered in affairs not pertaining to their jurisdiction, violating the laws intrusted to their watchful care.

On a small salary[67] they lived in the style and luxury of the great lords of Spain, surrounded by relatives and friends, to whom the most desirable offices were given, and who were protected by their benefactors from what should have been the results of frequent and glaring malefeasance. In the audiencia the causes of the rich were despatched promptly, while the calendar was encumbered by the innumer-

[64] *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 70.

[65] Founded in 1613 says *Alcedo, Dic.*, ii. 572. Cavo places the founding of both in 1620.

[66] And 6 varas in height. The cost was fully 150,000 pesos. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 243–4, 264–5.

[67] At this time an oidor of Mexico receives annually three thousand pesos.

able suits of the poor. For the decision of a case it was sufficient that an oidor should signify his wishes in the matter, and he was allowed also to sit in judgment of questions wherein he was directly interested. As a body they sent judges in commission to districts where ordinary justices existed, this having been expressly forbidden.[68] They went further than this, and released at will even malefactors condemned to death or to the galleys of Terrenate. All that seemed to be lacking to them was the investiture and title of viceroy. The minor officials and the very lawyers of the supreme tribunal committed excesses with insolent impunity in the assurance that their respective patrons would shield them from harm. Imitating an example so plainly set before them, the minor tribunals throughout New Spain, each in its microcosm, perverted justice at their will.

Protected by those in power, who not infrequently were partners in their gain, the rich had monopolized the very necessaries of life, and this during a time of great scarcity, when famine was raging in many parts of the country,[69] so that the poor had to subsist on roots or die of want. The regidores of Mexico had seized and divided among themselves the annual subsidy of one hundred and thirty thousand reales granted by the crown in aid of the public granary, and they, in conjunction with a few wealthy men, had forced the price of maize, the staple food of the lower classes, from twelve reales the fanega to forty-eight. Even at this price the official in charge of the granary frequently turned away the starving poor, while to the servants of the rich and powerful he gave a

[68] It was again prohibited by the cédula of November 12, 1621. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 164.

[69] In Querétaro 'congoxandose los Labradores, y vezinos oyendo las muertes de los ganados, y perdida de las sementeras.' *Medina, Chron..S. Diego*, 55. Alegre relates similar misery in Yucatan. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 136. See also *Gelves, Rel. Estad.*, 1–2; *Mex. Rel. Sum.*, 1. There are periodic records of famines in different parts of the country. In 1610, 1616, 1625, and 1629, they extended over a number of districts. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 254, 261, 277; *Diario, Mex.*, v. 139.

superabundance which was disposed of to their own advantage. So, too, these imitators of their masters, lying in wait just without the city, forced the Indians who supplied the general market to give up, at a nominal price, the scant produce of their toil that the spoilers might receive the profit. Some of the meat thus obtained was retailed at an exorbitant price in a shop established in the palace of the archbishop.

The crown was robbed or defrauded of its dues by the royal officials and their friends. Shipments to Peru of prohibited goods brought from Manila were made openly, and were productive of great gain. The supplies sent by the king to the Philippines were purchased by his agents at twice their market value, and complaints came from that colony of their poor quality, or rottenness, as well as of scant measure. At the treasury it was the custom to receive for the payment of dues coin or silver bullion indifferently; the oidores and the treasury officials, substituting the former for the latter, divided among themselves a gain of three reales in such wares. In all the pueblos the tax-collectors speculated with the royal funds, which they withheld from the treasury, either without a shadow of excuse or on the ground that these sums proceeded from partial payments of taxes which were not due to the crown until those payments should be completed. By collusion of those in charge of the mines and the traders the king was defrauded of his fifth.

Religious ministers would not unfrequently meddle in these affairs, even when they concerned neither their interests nor their native protégés. On the anniversary of the fall of Mexico, 1618, a Jesuit spoke in his sermon rather scathingly of the conquerors and especially of their descendants, as corrupt, unfit to hold office, and tyrannical toward the Indians. The remarks were probably exaggerated by inimical persons, who caused such a stir in the matter that the archbishop was called upon to arrest the preacher. The

provincial naturally objected to so stringent an interference, and caused testimony to be taken, which modified the expressions and induced the viceroy to release the Jesuit, only to embitter the already unfriendly relations between the civil and ecclesiastic chiefs, and to rouse fresh feeling against the society.[70] Both clergy and friars were for that matter infected to a great extent by the general disorder, and engaged with anything but meekness in disputes concerning doctrines and other affairs, or in frequent and unseemly bickering concerning the election of prelates, in which respect the comparatively quiet Augustinians made themselves notorious for a time. Two oidores were accused by the visitador of the order with having harbored mutinous friars and sought to influence him by threats and bribes to promote the election of a provincial favored by them. In the report and counter report on this subject the leading men of the country, including the archbishop, were called on to testify.[71]

As the natural consequence of all this iniquity among the rich and powerful, the lower classes gave themselves up to such wickedness as was attainable to them. Drunkenness, ever prevalent, had increased to a frightful extent, and was accompanied by its usual train of want and crimes. The church itself seemed powerless to check infractions of the law which to churchmen have ever seemed misdeeds more flagrant than murder. Led by vicious inclination or driven by want, idle men formed themselves into associations of bandits which infested the highways, and which made life and property insecure even in the precincts of the viceregal palace.[72] Roused at times to some exhibition of interference, Guadalcázar

[70] The preacher was the learned and eloquent Cristóbal Gomez, who died in 1638. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 108, 207; *Mex. Disturbios*, MS., i. 669–76.

[71] One of the oidores was the corrupt Gaviria, whom we shall soon meet. The voluminous testimony in this case is given in *Mex. Disturbios*, MS., i. 16–54, 289–91. The same order created trouble also at Ixmiquilpan by carrying off from the mine of Guerrero a miraculous image. *Id.*, 55–119.

[72] 'Tenia el alma en los dientes.' *Grambila, Tumultos.*

succeeded only in arraying against himself now the church, now the oidores, or other officials whose power and influence may have been concerned. Their representations to the crown must have had some effect, for his promotion to Peru does not appear to have been accompanied by the customary privilege to govern until his departure. At any rate, the audiencia assumed control.[73]

[73] Licenciado Juan Paez de Vallecillo is named as presiding oidor, assisted by Galdos de Valencia and Gomez Cornejo, but Verzara Gaviria should be added. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 1; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 265; *Ribera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 108. It has been said that Guadalcázar left Mexico for his new post on March 14, 1621, escorted by the audiencia and other bodies. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 13; but several official reports show that he remained till Gelves arrived. *Gelves, Rel. Estado*, 1 etc. 'Virrey priuadamente retirado, todo este tiempo (nearly a year), fuera de Palacio, en vna casa particular.' *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 1; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Parayso Occid.*, 25–6. He ruled for seven years in Peru.

CHAPTER II.

QUARREL OF THE VICEROY AND ARCHBISHOP.

1621–1624.

APPOINTMENT OF GELVES — HIS ENERGETIC AND EXTENSIVE REFORMS — WHICH ARE FORCED ALSO ON THE CLERGY — HOSTILITY OF GAVIRIA AND THE REGIDORES—ARCHBISHOP SERNA ROUSED—MORAL LAXITY IN NEW SPAIN—ARREST OF VARAEZ—SERNA INTERFERES—THE VICEROY IS EXCOMMUNICATED—ATTITUDE OF THE OIDORES—THE PAPAL DELEGATE PLAYS A PART—MORE ANATHEMAS—THE PRELATE FORCES HIMSELF INTO THE PRESENCE OF THE AUDIENCIA — HE IS EXILED AND CARRIED AWAY—IMPRISONMENT OF REPENTANT OIDORES—A MEXICAN Á BECKET.

WHILE not aware how wide-spread was the disorder in New Spain, the newly enthroned Felipe IV. felt convinced that reform was needed, and looked about for a man whose character and attainments should fit him for the task of restoring order. Such a one soon presented himself in the person of Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, second son of the marquis of Tavara, himself conde de Priego and marqués de Gelves.[1] For many years the marquis had governed Aragon, and was actually a member of the council of war. In the discharge of these high trusts his rectitude and love of justice had been proven, while personal valor was common to those of his princely house. At the same time the long habit of command had developed a disinclination to brook any question of his authority, especially where the extent of his jurisdiction was concerned, and advancing age, for

[1] He was also a knight of Santiago, holding the commandery of Villanueva de la Fuente.

his years were more than sixty, had but served to strengthen this trait.

The usual instructions were given to Gelves, May 11, 1621, in addition to certain special directions from the king. Urged to hasten his departure, he embarked at Seville the 3d of July, in a vessel of the fleet commanded by Juan de Benavides, attended by quite a slender following of officials and dependants.

After a prosperous voyage the fleet arrived at Vera Cruz in August, and the marquis entered with great energy on the discharge of his duties. He visited San Juan de Ulúa and the fortifications of the city itself, giving orders for the repairs which he deemed necessary. Personally he inspected the king's slaves, informing himself minutely of their number and condition, and ordering that they should be employed only in the royal service, and under no circumstances in that of officials, or of private individuals, as had been customary. Gelves, having made these and other reforms at the very threshold of the viceroyalty, went on with the work all along the road to Mexico.

Contrary to established usage, he would not allow either Spaniards or Indians, at the places where halts were made, to be at the least expense for the entertainment of himself and his retinue, peremptorily ordering that everything should be paid for at the highest current value. Nor would he receive gratuitously gifts suggested by the hospitality of the people or those offered to him by the many anxious to curry favor with a new ruler. In this respect he made the rule inflexible during his whole term of office, for his servants as well as for himself. The fame of the marquis preceded him, and on his arrival at Mexico, on the 21st of September, he was received with great pomp.

His inauguration was made particularly brilliant by the elaborate ceremonies and rejoicings which attended the swearing of allegiance to the new king, an

event deferred till this time, and leading to prolonged festivities throughout Spanish domains.[2] There was a significance in it all more than usual in a coronation, for Felipe III. had not only shown himself incapable, but under his rule Spain had suffered many humiliations, under which she was rapidly descending from the high position attained during the golden rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, and sustained by Charles and Philip. The opening acts of Felipe IV. who ascended the throne at the age of sixteen, no less than his generous and reflective disposition, gave promise of better things; but the unformed youth fell too early into the hands of scheming courtiers and his nobler instincts were perverted. He yielded too much to the fascinations of literature and less commendable pursuits, while the administration was surrendered to inefficient and corrupt favorites, who accelerated the descent of Spanish prosperity and influence.

The reform measures of Gelves on the way to the capital had there roused the most conflicting sentiments, for, while honest patriotism hailed the coming of so just a governor, the placemen and their allies apprehended disaster, and they were not wrong. The viceroy soon instituted an examination and found public affairs in a condition of shameless disorder. The evil was greater than either the monarch or himself had thought. Permitted an abnormal growth under the lax administration of Guadalcázar, it had spread everywhere in the land, and its roots had struck deep in a congenial soil. With the energy to be expected of him the marquis undertook reform. His capability for work was great, and he found at the outset that he must attend personally to many things from the consideration of which his subordinates should have relieved him. At Mexico it had ever been a current saying that in keeping the friars and the Indians in

[2] 'El resto del año se pasó en fiestas no solo en la capital, sino tambien en todas las ciudades y villas de aquel nuevo mundo.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 265–6. This and some other authors assume that the long preceding mourning was ordered during an interregnum under the audiencia.

order a viceroy had his hands full; Gelves accomplished more in a week than others in a month. But this very excess of zeal wrought his own undoing. The land was indeed in want of cultivation; was it for him who put his hand to the plough to foresee that thorns, not kindly fruits, would be the harvest? In his eagerness the marquis did not reflect that the great extent of newly settled New Spain was totally unlike his compact little government of Aragon, and, though he had crossed it, he was unmindful of the broad ocean rolling between a colonial viceroy and the master whose strengthening hand might at any time be needed. Most of all he forgot, as will be seen, that sweeping reforms, such as that attempted by the strong man in the temple, not infrequently involve in common ruin reformer and reformed.

New Spain awoke to consciousness of the fact that she had a ruler of ability and courage sufficient to redress wrongs and punish evil-doers. Gelves visited the prisons, and at times sat in judgment in the courts. He caused delayed business to be despatched promptly, ordering that in matters of justice no distinction should be made between the rich and the poor, and insisted that no magistrate should sit in any case wherein he was interested. He was accessible always to those who had complaints to make, and his servants were bidden never to deny him to the weak and friendless. Criminals who, though under sentence, were at large, he caused to be arrested and punished, while such as were unjustly detained in prison were released. He ferreted malefactors who through official negligence or wilful ignorance had gone unsuspected. In some instances it came out that certain official personages were sharers in the fruits of robbery. These, also, were punished, but in causing this to be done Gelves gained the enmity of others high in station who were their patrons.[3] He forbade the exercise of gubernatorial

[3] Among these the following were among the most noteworthy instances:

powers in the release of prisoners, and ordered that all such matters should be referred to him for decision. The license to carry fire-arms was prohibited to all save persons of good character, and stringent measures were adopted for the suppression of drunkenness, gambling, and other vices. The growing insolence of the free negroes and half-breeds was checked by compelling them to register in their respective districts, to pay taxes, and to earn their living, such as were incorrigible being banished or enrolled in the militia. This efficient mounted force moved with great celerity, and, being well informed by spies of the movements of bandits, was able to make its blows effective. Arrest was supplemented swiftly by punishment, and highway robbery was completely at an end. "It is doubtful," says Cavo, "whether since the conquest so many criminals had been executed" as during this brief administration.[4] Gelves earned fairly the appellation of 'juez severo,' or inflexible judge.

He compelled absentee alcaldes mayores, corregidores, and justicias to return to their jurisdictions. He put a stop to the sale of votes on the part of the ayuntamientos, a practice which obtained very generally in cities and villas distant from the capital, requiring that lists of eligible persons should be sent to him that he might select the names of those to be voted for—the selection being made only after favorable inquiry concerning the character of the person proposed. He compelled those who had embezzled the funds of the public granary to disgorge a certain amount of their plunder, and in the king's name took

The assayer's stamp, used for marking the weight and value of bars of silver, had been counterfeited, and the authorities were unable to discover the counterfeiters. Gelves took the matter in hand, and the guilty were arrested, tried, and condemned, by a cédula dated June 15, 1622, to be strangled and burned at the stake. *Mex., Rel. del Estad.*, 4. Before Gelves' arrival the treasury at Mexico had been entered forcibly, and some 8,000 pesos abstracted therefrom. In an arbitrary manner proceedings had been begun against the treasury officials, who complained to the viceroy of the injustice. By his exertions the persons really guilty of the crime were discovered and punished. *Mex., Rel. Sum.*, 2.

[4] 'Los caminos de la Nueva España estaban inundados de salteadores.' *Tres Siglos*, i. 266.

possession of two other deposits belonging to regidores of the capital. By these means, and by the expenditure of ten thousand pesos of his own, wherewith he made purchases in the neighboring provinces, he accumulated a considerable store of grain.[5] He broke up effectually the trade in contraband goods between Acapulco and Peru. While this was a-doing it was found that members of the consulado had been concerned, some of them openly, in these practices.[6] He removed the royal officials having charge of the supplies for the Philippines, putting clean-handed men in their places, and in consequence the amount of supplies sent to that colony was greater than ever before.[7]

He checked immediately all pilfering of the royal treasury, banishing from the mines the foreigners and others who had defrauded the revenue, ordering that all money received for taxes should be sent at once to Mexico, and putting an end to other practices by which so much of the king's money had remained in the hands of dishonest officials.[8] Owing to these reforms in the management of the treasury the viceroy was enabled to send an increased amount of money to Spain, where at this time it was sorely

[5] He also ordered that maize should not be fed to cattle within fourteen leagues of Mexico and ten of Pueblo, and that throughout the viceroyalty the price of this staple should not be more than twenty reales the fanega. Abundance soon brought the price down to less than this, and it sold as low as sixteen reales. This public benefaction was acknowledged by the cabildo of Mexico, in a formal manner, toward the close of 1623. *Mex., Rel. del Estad.*, 7–8. The viceroy also ordered that Juan Juarez, fiscal of the audiencia, should be present at the granary, at certain determined hours daily, for the purpose of seeing that the poor were impartially treated. He caused the butcher-shops of the archiepiscopal palace to be closed and prohibited the sale of all articles of food at the exorbitant prices hitherto prevailing. *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 3.

[6] In the prosecutions growing out of this matter the viceroy allowed no appeal; this was afterward qualified as an act of tyranny by the audiencia in their answer of February 8, 1624, to Gelves' protest from his cell in the convent of San Francisco. *Mex., Rel. Sum.*, 15.

[7] In 1622 the value of these supplies was nine hundred thousand dollars, and in the following year two thirds of that amount. *Mex., Rel. del Estad.*, 5.

[8] Gelves had been told that it would be impossible to recover money turned into the treasury in partial payment of taxes. On investigation it was found that there was nearly a quarter of a million of dollars thus owing, some of it since 1598, and of this amount about one half was recovered. *Mex., Rel. del Estad.*, 4.

needed. After paying all the expenses of administering the viceroyalty and meeting the cost of supplies sent to Manila, a million of pesos was sent to the king in 1622, and a million and a half in the following year.[9]

The marquis was a religious man and his respect for the clergy was sincere. To the archbishop he spoke privily, regretting the dissensions which rent atwain brethren who should dwell in harmony. He also begged the prelate to cease the unseemly practice of receiving gifts from suitors in the ecclesiastical court, and to reform other abuses.[10] He restrained the inquisitors from intermeddling in temporal matters not within their jurisdiction. As far as he was able to exercise control he saw that offices in the religious orders were held by men fitted for their several positions.

Convinced by the frequent complaints of the Indians that the appointment of secular clergymen as doctrineros instead of friars would be detrimental to interests of the crown also, the viceroy ordered that the latter should be retained in the doctrinas, and that in the future only friars should be appointed to them. In this matter the viceroy was certainly not strictly impartial. Moreover in this action he undoubtedly laid the foundation for an accusation which afterward his enemies were only too glad to make. While his action in the premises had its origin, undeniably, in a spirit of just kindness to the Indians—for to have substituted for the friars to whom they were

[9] This was more than had been sent heretofore in any corresponding period. *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 10; *Mex., Rel. del Estad.*, 5.

[10] The abuse of the privilege of sanctuary was notorious, and criminals availed themselves of false witnesses in order to prove that they were entitled to it. Gelves required the fiscal to use every diligence in order to arrive at the truth in these matters. One Juan de Rincon having brought forward 11 witnesses to prove his right to immunity, on the testimony of 29 others these men were shown to have forsworn themselves, and were condemned to penal servitude at Manila. They were sent out of the city together with other convicts; but notwithstanding the opposition of the viceroy, the audiencia, on the ground that the sentence was excessive, caused them to be brought back, and finally they went unwhipped of justice. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 2.

with reason attached secular clergymen ignorant of their tongues and customs alike, would have been tantamount to cruelty—it was nevertheless in conflict with the provisions of royal cédulas. Father Bartolomé de Burguillos, his confessor, was a friar of San Diego, and possibly his counsels had sufficient weight with the marquis to induce him thus to slight the wish of the sovereign frequently expressed.[11]

The course of the marquis was commended by the upright, but these were far less in number than the vicious, and the number of his enemies increased daily. Those high in place, accustomed to have their own way in matters of government, were offended at the summary clipping of their wings. In public they contented themselves with shrugs and with fingers laid aside the nose, while privately they spoke in open anger, and fostered a hatred to the all-unconscious object thereof that merely bided its time for throwing off the mask. Occasionally, however, resentment overcame prudence.

Pedro de Vergara Gaviria, the senior oidor, was a self-willed man, who after the brief taste of power enjoyed before the arrival of Gelves had become unfitted to play the subordinate. He had easily become chief among his fellows, and was not at all inclined to brook the restraint imposed upon him by the just though severe measures of the viceroy. Gelves, always courteous in his treatment of members of the audiencia and the cabildo, went further than necessary in useless attempts to make a friend of this man, who on his part seemed to consider all the favors of the marquis as so many marks of weakness. Gelves made him his asesor in matters relating to war, and Gaviria's inclination to absolutism readily induced him to fall into the habit of giving orders without having troubled himself to consult the viceroy. To this the

[11] For the provisions of many different cédulas, too numerous for insertion here, see *Recop. de Ind.*, in the titles of book first relating to clérigos, religiosos, doctrineros, and doctrinas.

latter very properly objected.[12] But the asesor went on in this insubordinate fashion until Gelves found himself constrained to order that he should be confined to his own house.[13]

This unruly spirit was common among high officials. On a certain day of solemn observance some of the regidores ordered that their chairs should not be taken to the cathedral, whither it was their duty to accompany the viceroy and the other corporations, alleging as an excuse for their conduct some unsettled question of precedence with the royal officials. Noticing their absence, and informed of the cause, the viceroy ordered their attendance, without prejudice to their rights, real or fancied. Nevertheless they did not make their appearance. Gelves, after consultation with the audiencia, sent a corregidor to arrest them in case of a continued refusal to obey. Persisting in their disobedience, they were put under arrest in the *casas de cabildo*, or city hall.[14] The justices and others in office had each his grievance. Some of these were incensed because the peculations of which they had been guilty, and which for so long a time they had practised with impunity, were punished by dismissal from office. Others again gave themselves up to the resentment felt by little minds because the crimes which they had been unable to discover were brought to light through the exertions of the viceroy. The

[12] On a certain occasion, having received one of these reproofs, Gaviria, in the viceroy's ante-chamber and in the presence of several persons, snatched from the hand of the secretary the papers to which objection had been made and tore them in pieces, exclaiming petulantly that he would not continue in office if he were not allowed his way in all things. *Mex.*, *Rel. Svm.*, 2.

[13] In the letter of the cabildo of Mexico to the king, dated February 19, 1624, in which an account was given of the riot of the preceding month, it is asserted that Gaviria's imprisonment was entirely owing to his having allowed to be read before the audiencia certain petitions of some friar of La Merced complaining of their vicar-general, Fray Juan Gomez, a great favorite of the viceroy. *Mex.*, *Cartas de la ciudad á S. M.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 130. In another letter of the same date, in which the cabildo recommends Gaviria, and Dr Galdos de Valencia, another oidor whom Gelves had found it necessary to remove from office, to the royal favor, it is stated that the imprisonment of the former lasted for eighteen months. *Id.*, 171–2.

[14] Thence, however, they rallied at their will, in order to inveigh in public against the marquis. *Mex.*, *Rel. del Estad.*, 2.

friars took umbrage because of what they considered an unwarranted meddling of the viceroy in their elections. The Jesuits were aggrieved that their attempt on the doctrinas had met with signal failure, and these restless intriguers immediately addressed themselves to the work of undoing Gelves as they had undermined others.[15]

By far the most formidable of the enemies of the marquis was the archbishop, Juan Perez de la Serna, a man who from the position of canónigo magistral of Zamora had in 1613 been appointed to succeed the deplored prelate-viceroy Guerra as head of the church in New Spain.[16] He proved zealous in extending spiritual administration through curacies and convents, striving to bring into greater veneration sacred places and relics, and to practise charity[17] in a manner that brought him in contact with the poor and assisted to make him popular with the masses. Among the rich and the officials he found less welcome, owing partly to his persevering efforts for episcopal rights,[18] partly to the enforcement of a stricter morality among the higher classes. The unseemly strife between friars and clergy, and the loose conduct of many of them, greatly encouraged an irreligious feeling among those whose means lured them from austerity and strict rules to a life of ease and free indulgence, and to laxity even in sacred matters. Painters, for instance, made efforts to present church ceremonials in a ridiculous

[15] The venom of one of them appears in a manuscript in my possession copied from the original in the collection of Gayangos. Although it is anonymous there is sufficient internal evidence to show that it was the work of a Jesuit. *Relacion de un estupendo y monstruo caso*, in *Mexico y sus disturbios*, i. 631–57.

[16] He was born at Cervera, studied at Sigüenza and Valladolid, became a professor at Durango, and in 1597 canónigo magistral of the church at Zamora, a position won from nine competitors 'grandes.' On January 18, 1613, he was appointed archbishop. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 24; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 45; *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 216–17.

[17] All charities being given by his own hands, 'porque dezia ser mucha la diferencia que ay, de oir la miseria del pobre en relacion, à verla por vista.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 45.

[18] Among other troubles was the attempt by officials to deprive him of the *procuracion* tribute given by towns and villages visited by the prelate. Gage gives his income at 60,000 ducats a year. *Voy.* (Amst. 1720), i. 201.

aspect, or they painted lewd persons with the attributes and dress of saints. During lent the inhabitants of the capital used to perform pilgrimage to a place called the Humilladero, on foot and in silent meditation. When Serna came he found that this journey of penance had been transformed into a carnival march, wherein the wealthy appeared in carriages, and others in convivial groups, all bent on enjoyment. To this the prelate sought to put a stop, under threat of excommunication, and he also did his best to check drunkenness and other vices, though herein the corrupt and unfriendly officials under the weak Guadalcázar offered no assistance.

The zealous introduction of reforms by Gelves had at first won the admiring coöperation of Serna,[19] but when he found them extending too far within ecclesiastic precincts impatience turned into open hostility, for the prelate was exceedingly jealous concerning his prerogatives, and possessed of a stubbornness which readily developed into unreasonable zeal. He took in dudgeon the well meant counsels concerning the reform of abuses in the ecclesiastical court, and his resentment was increased by the decision in the matter of doctrinas. On several occasions he forgot the dignity of his station, and that the viceroy was the personal representative of the king whom both served. In the palaces of the great, tale-bearers are never lacking, and reports of the prelatic outbursts lost nothing in the recital, but Gelves, desiring to avoid a rupture, took no notice of them. This moderation, however, did not produce the effect desired, for the prelate began not only to censure the acts of the viceroy with unseemly freedom, but to lean openly to the cause of those opposed to him, as though a formal compact had been entered into between them.

Thus, in the short space of two years Gelves, while he had restored in a signal manner the outward observance of the law, had failed to establish order

[19] See his letters in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii.–iii., passim.

where order was most needed, and at the close of 1623 he found arrayed against him the archbishop and the friars, the audiencia and the cabildo of Mexico. The lower class of the people knew no will but that of the church, when that will was signified; the upper class, composed almost entirely of men with but a single interest, that of plundering the royal treasury, was manipulated by the two great corporations. Against such a combination any man protected only by an autocrat six thousand miles away must have been powerless, and it needed but the most trivial circumstance to bring about an outbreak. The occasion was not long wanting.

In September 1622, Manuel Soto, a person employed at the public granary of Mexico, denounced to the viceroy Melchor Perez de Varaez, alcalde mayor of Metepec,[20] accusing him of forcing the Indians of his jurisdiction to purchase grain of him at an exorbitant price, and to sell to him their cattle and produce at merely nominal rates, as well as of other oppressive acts. The viceroy caused the charges to be investigated, and the proofs being irrefutable, ordered the less important to be made grounds of action in Mexico while the more grave he referred to the India council. Meanwhile Varaez had been under arrest in a private house, and Gelves now ordered that, under bonds, he should be given the freedom of the city. Varaez demurred to this, alleging that bonds should not be exacted from him for a cause so trivial, but the viceroy peremptorily ordered compliance,[21] and referred

[20] The count of La Cortina says that his jurisdiction was that of Ixtlahuaca. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 62; Alcaraz, in *Liceo Mex.*, ii. 122, makes the same mistaken statement. The two places are near to one another. Varaez was a person of some consequence and a knight of Santiago. *Sosa, Espicop. Mex.*, 60. He was the intimate friend of the powerful oidores Pedro de Vergara Gaviria and Galdos de Valencia, who through their influence with their associates in that body had procured for him an appointment as corregidor of Mexico. The fiscal had claimed that he could not hold both offices. On appeal to the India Council that body decided that he was incompetent, and condemned the oidores to pay each a fine of one hundred ducados. They resisted payment, but Gelves, who had arrived meanwhile, compelled them to pay it. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 8; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 62–3.

[21] Varaez alleged further that his denouncer was an insignificant mulatto

the cause to the oidor Alonso Vazquez de Cisneros.[22]

The proceedings went on too slowly to suit the humor of the marquis. After consultation with his legal adviser, Luis de Herrera, but without the concurrence of the audiencia, he ordered the case to be referred to the fiscal of Panamá, Juan de Alvarado Bracamonte, who had just come from Manila. Bracamonte proceeded with activity, sending Sancho de Baraona, a clerk of the audiencia, to the province of Metepec to collect additional evidence. To the new referee Varaez objected, and the viceroy ordered Francisco Enriquez de Ávila, a corregidor of Mexico, to sit with him. These judges deemed it advisable to exact from the accused a bond to answer to any judgment they might render, and Varaez, fearing lest he might be again imprisoned, sword in hand and accompanied by dependants, entered a coach and hastened to claim sanctuary at the convent of Santo Domingo. Almost simultaneously the judges sentenced him to pay a fine of sixty thousand pesos, and to perpetual banishment from the Indies.

Shortly afterward, Soto having alleged that Varaez contemplated fleeing to Spain, guards were placed at the door of his cell, and all communication with him was forbidden. He contrived, however, that a memorial should reach the archbishop, in which it was claimed that the presence of the guards was in violation of the right of sanctuary.[23] The ecclesiastical

unworthy of credence. What he and his friends felt the most was that the viceroy would not allow these to be his judges, and that undoubtedly he would be obliged to return to his jurisdiction. In this way their trading operations would come to an end. *Id.*, *Mex. Rel. Svm.*, 4.

[22] He had arrived recently from Spain, and bore the reputation of being an honest man. For two months he refused to accept the charge, but the viceroy compelled him to do so. Soto alleged that Cisneros was not impartial in this matter, since he was an intimate friend of Gaviria and his guest. *Ubi sup.*, and *Alcaraz*, in *Liceo Mex.*, ii. 123.

[23] That the prelate himself visited Varaez, as is stated by the author of the *Relacion Svmaria*, seems extremely improbable. Still the circumstance is also mentioned by the conde de la Cortina: 'y con estruendo y aparato y licenciosa ostentacion, y visitando al retraido, volvia á su casa mas prendado, y dado el filo á los aceros.' The count also states that Varaez objected to the

judge ordered that the guards should be removed within two days, a demand to which the civil judges refused to accede because Varaez, having in effect broken jail, was not entitled to sanctuary. If the point were not well taken it was certainly debatable; but the archbishop, taking the case out of the hands of his provisor, excommunicated Soto, the judges, the guards, and even the counsel employed by them. The persons so excommunicated immediately appealed to the audiencia, and in accordance with the royal provision governing such cases, sentence was suspended, and absolution *ad reincidentiam* given at first for twenty days and then for a further period of fifteen.[24]

A few days afterward Gelves called upon the archbishop to send the notary to him that he might be purged of contempt. After repeated instances the prelate reluctantly consented to do so. The notary appeared before the viceroy accompanied by the archbishop's secretary, whom the marquis immediately dismissed, in a very discourteous manner, as was afterward alleged by the prelate.[25] The notary made certain important statements, but these being reduced to writing he refused to sign the deposition without permission from his prelate. For this he was adjudged guilty of contumacy, and, being condemned to loss of property and banishment, he was taken to San Juan de Ulúa that he might be sent to Spain.[26]

guards only because of the expense occasioned to him by their presence. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 645; *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 5. In the matter of the right of sanctuary civil authorities in Spain had issued a number of exemptions which greatly restricted the privilege.

[24] The archbishop demanded a copy of certain orders from the clerk of the audiencia, C. de Osorio, and being denied he excommunicated him.

[25] Gelves was attended by Herrera, Bracamonte, Father Burguillos, and Baraona. These men, together with the vicar of La Merced, some superiors of the religious orders, and a few others, were the viceroy's trusted advisers. Father Alonso de Villaroel, a priest who afterward testified in support of the archbishop's side of the controversy, calls them: 'aquellos malos cristianos de sus consejeros aduladores...que le engañaban y le adulaban y le dieron por consejo diciéndole que él era legado del Papa en las Indias y rey en ellas, y así podia hacer en nombre de S. M. lo que quisiese en las Indias.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 356.

[26] The cabildo of Mexico, in the letter to which reference has been made,

This act of the viceroy was undoubtedly legal, but the archbishop immediately declared that he had incurred the censures mentioned in the bull called *in cœna domini*.[27] He therefore excommuicated him, ordering his name to be placed in the list of excommunicated persons affixed to the church door.

Gelves now called the oidores and the alcaldes together in order to get their opinion concerning the right of the archbishop to excommunicate him. Their answer was evasive,[28] and he submitted the matter to a second assemblage, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, who decided that the archbishop was clearly in the wrong.[29] Fortified by this opinion the viceroy now retaliated on his antagonist by a decree condemning him to pay a fine of ten thousand ducados, to confiscation of his temporal property, and to banishment. The marquis finally sent the alguazil mayor, Luis de Tobar Godinez, to execute the decree and compel the archbishop to revoke his sentence. The viceroy had notified the archbishop three several times of his decree, but on none of these occasions had the audiencia taken part in the action as according to law they

asserts that this man was kept in prison for two days and a night, after which, at midnight, he was hurried away to the fortress, where he still remained (19th February 1624), notwithstanding the fact that meanwhile several vessels had sailed thence for Spain. It is not at all probable that the archbishop would allow the man, about whose arrest he made such trouble, to remain in durance for more than a month after the downfall of the viceroy.

[27] This celebrated bull is of great antiquity, and received its name from the fact that it was read publicly in the presence of the pope on Maundy-thursday, by a cardinal-deacon, accompanied by several other prelates. It contains a general excommunication of all heretics, and of those guilty of contumacy and disobedience to the holy see. One of its 34 paragraphs provides that laymen who venture to pass judgment on ecclesiastical judges and cite them to appear before their tribunals shall incur the censure specified in the bull. On this paragraph the archbishop probably based his action.

[28] Their answer was that they had not studied the point. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 270. It indicates what their purpose was. At this time, as at any other previous to the breaking-out of the riot, the audiencia might have calmed the rising storm had its members chosen. Peace-making, however, was far from their intention.

[29] In defense of the decision of this assemblage Father Burguillos, already mentioned, published a memorial, which was printed, addressed to the visitador Carrillo. The memorial is contained in 28 octavo pages of close print, and is a learned production. The Franciscan, citing a host of canonical authorities, denies the authority of any prelate to excommunicate in such a case. *Memorial*, in *Tumultos de Mex.*, 67–80.

should have done. During this passage at arms neither of the antagonists had conducted himself with the dignity to be expected from persons of their exalted position. They vied one with another in selecting untimely hours and unusual places for the exchange of their peculiar courtesies.[30]

The appeal to the audiencia, however, was never decided; for while it was pending the judges and other persons excommunicated, seeing the obstinacy of the archbishop, on the 20th of December 1623 appeared before the papal delegate at Puebla.[31] The delegate peremptorily ordered the archbishop to remove the ban, which the prelate refused to do, on the ground that because of the appeal to the audiencia the tribunal at Puebla had no jurisdiction, alleging also that the time for appeal on the part of the excommunicated had gone by. Thereupon, on New Year's day, the delegate issued a compulsory mandate, ordering the archbishop to absolve the excommunicated. The execution of this decree he intrusted to a Dominican friar, as his sub-delegate, who personally removed from the church door the obnoxious notices.[32]

From many of the pulpits of the city the conduct

[30] On the feast of the Purísima Concepcion, Tobar, by order of Gelves, notified the archbishop of a decree while he stood in all the dignity of his sacred office at the high altar of the cathedral, with the host uncovered, and in the midst of the solemnity of the mass. The outraged prelate, declaring that he would not permit such profanation, nor that the people should be so scandalized, refused to receive the notice. *Serna, Representacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 165. The cabildo, in its letter to the king, asserts that the viceroy ordered proclamation made that none should pass by the archiepiscopal palace nor assemble in numbers within one block of it. *Mex., Cartas de la ciudad á S. M.*, in *Id.*, iii. 134. On the other hand the archbishop was 'ciego por el deseo de la venganza que el llamaba celo divino.' *Mora, Mex. y sus Rev.*, iii. 244. He also 'apresuróla por instantes con diligencia estraordinaria; mandaba hacer á media noche notificaciones esquisitas.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 64.

[31] This office was created by a special bull of Gregory XIII. for the decision of difficult cases of this very nature. The delegate generally resided at Puebla.

[32] The Dominican, by order of the viceroy, was accompanied by a guard for the purpose of preventing any opposition that might be offered by partisans of the archbishop. Father Cavo with his usual bias asserts that the sub-delegate was a 'pobre clérigo sacristan de monjas, por no haber querido ningun sugeto de carácter encargarse de semejante comision.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 271.

of the delegate was reprehended in no unmeasured terms, while, on the streets, knots of heated disputants took one view or the other of the question as their feelings prompted. On his part the archbishop, more than ever exasperated, ordered the spiritual outcasts to be excommunicated anew with all the dramatic accompaniments of bell, book, and candle, and that the list be again posted with the name of the sub-delegate added to the rest. On that same night of January 3d, he ordered also that all the churches of the city should announce the threatened interdict. While the ceaseless clamor of the bells, ringing as though for this end only had they been cast, was inspiring in the souls of the people the shadowy fear of some greater ill impending, came the final notification of the delegate commanding the archbishop to remove the ban. The sub-delegate was ordered, in case of the prelate's refusal or neglect, to execute upon him the sentence of fine and banishment. The stubborn archbishop again refused compliance, and the sub-delegate prepared to carry the sentence into effect. He again removed the censures and ordered the ringing of the bells to cease, and now the very silence aroused new fears among the terrified people.

Early on the morning of the 9th of January the archbishop sent Cristóbal Martinez de Recalde, parish priest of the cathedral, accompanied by notaries, to the viceregal palace with a petition addressed to the audiencia. After setting forth the facts of the case in a manner very favorable to his own view of it, the archbishop demanded that the audiencia should decide immediately the pending appeal.[33] In presenting this petition to the oidores Juan Paez de Vallecillo, Juan de Ibarra, and Diego de Avendaño, Martinez said that

[33] He stated moreover that it was with difficulty he could find a notary who dared to publish the decree of excommunication; also that in notifying his decrees the viceroy behaved 'con menos decencia de lo que convenia,' and, finally, that the proceedings against Varaez were unwarranted by law, and were undertaken solely for the purpose of causing delay. *Serna, Rep.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 151–72.

it was in the power of the audiencia to put an end to all disagreements, thus preventing a possible breach of the peace. Vallecillo, who was senior oidor, replied that they had been ordered by the viceroy to receive no petitions from the archbishop or any clergyman, except through the proper channels. Martinez objecting that such an order took away the prelate's opportunity of attempting to restore harmony, Ibarra replied: "You know that this is the order of our president; what, then, would you have us do?" After some further speech of like import, and an intimation of coming trouble from Martinez, he and his companions withdrew.[34]

Bent on carrying his point, and learning that the sub-delegate was about to execute sentence upon him, the archbishop resolved upon a last desperate resort. At an early hour on the 11th of January, 1624, he caused himself to be taken to the viceregal palace, in a sedan-chair borrowed for the purpose, and attended only by two pages. That he went in this ostentatiously humble manner, instead of in his coach, with crozier upborne before him and accompanied by the members of his household, was of itself a circumstance sufficiently strange to create attention, and on reaching the palace he was surrounded by a crowd of idlers.

The startled oidores asked what he desired.[35] The

[34] 'Y el dicho S. Lic. Vallecillo dijo, andad con Dios que ya está proveido y con esto los porteros le dijeron que callase, no embargante lo cual el dicho Lic. Martinez volvió á replicar.' *Id.*, ii. 175. Informed that the audiencia would not receive the petition, the archbishop caused another to be addressed to Pedro de Arévalo Sedeño, fiscal of that body, calling upon him to act as though it had been received, and to take immediate steps for the purpose of preventing any harm which might result from want of action on the part of the audiencia. This was delivered by Aguilar to the fiscal, together with copies of the petition and of the documents in the case of Varaez, and evoked merely an evasive manner. 'Su merced respondió, que yo el notario dijese á S. Sª. Illma. del arzobispo mi señor, que le besaba los manos y... hará todo lo posible, y lo que debe.' *Id.*, 178.

[35] In its letter the cabildo asserts that the archbishop remained at the door of the audience-chamber, asking leave to enter, and that receiving no answer, he ventured within, and himself addressed the oidores, telling them his errand. *Mex., Carta de la Ciudad á S. M.*, in *Id.*, iii. 136. This letter is based, not only in this particular but in many others, on the representation of the archbishop. *Id.*, 183.

prelate replied that he sought justice, and that he would not leave the audience-chamber until he had received it.[36] He then desired to read a petition in which it was set forth: That he was obliged to appear thus in person because the president of the audiencia had given orders that no communication brought from him by an ecclesiastic would be received, and no layman dared to aid him by presenting one. Since it was not just that he alone in all New Spain should be denied the right to appeal to the audiencia for protection, he humbly besought that body, in the name of God and the church, to pity the wretched condition of the country as well as of his dignity and jurisdiction, and to receive and hear this petition against the threatened action of the papal delegate; further, to decide the appeal pending in the matter of the guards of Varaez without delay. Were this not done, he was determined to go to Spain, there to appeal to the king in person. This petition the oidores refused to receive; and summoned by the viceroy they left the prelate in the audience-chamber. He immediately placed the petition and the accompanying documents on the table beneath the canopy of state, calling upon the multitude present to bear witness that he did so. There were present about one hundred persons, among them some eight or ten clergymen. Fearful lest there might be a disturbance, the viceroy ordered that all persons having no business before the audiencia should depart at once, and presently the archbishop, his notary Aguilar, and the two pages alone remained.

The prelate was now formally required to return to his palace, there to await the answer to his petitions, which must pass through the usual course. This he refused to do, insisting upon receiving justice and upon the admission of appeals. For this obstinacy he was fined four thousand ducados, and upon his

[36] 'No se iria de allá aun cuando lo hicieran pedazos, hasta que no se le hiciese justicia.' *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 6.

further refusal the sentence of banishment from New Spain was added.[37] It was afternoon when Gelves ordered Lorenzo de Terrones, alcalde del crímen of the audiencia, to execute the sentence by taking the rebellious prelate to San Juan de Ulúa, there to embark for Spain.[38] Accompanied by the alguacil mayor, Martin Ruiz de Zavala, his deputy, Baltasar de Perea, and others, Terrones notified the archbishop of the instructions he had received. The reply of the prelate was that they must remove him forcibly, and Terrones and Perea, taking him each by an arm, but in a respectful manner, led him down to the court-yard, where a hired travelling-carriage drawn by four mules was in waiting.[39] In this the prisoner, having his crozier and the insignia of his rank in the church, and the three officials, seated themselves; some ten or twelve mounted constables under Major Antonio de Campo[39] of the palace guard surrounded the equipage, and the whole cortege departed by the streets leading to the causeway of Guadalupe.

So great was the crowd in the plaza that with difficulty a passage was made. On all sides the sobs of the women mingled with the sterner voices of the men, while they asked whither their beloved pastor was being taken, or heaped imprecations on the head of the author of this outrage. Some divested themselves of their mantles in order to throw them in the road of the carriage. The crowd grew by accessions from side streets and from the houses by the wayside, notwith-

[37] This sentence was based on more than one royal decree. One oidor did not take part in this act, which he chose to regard as executive matter.

[38] The order was supplemented by another fuller and more specific in its instructions. In the latter, Terrones was ordered to take the prelate directly to San Juan de Ulúa, there to embark in the first ship sailing for Spain that might suit him. For each day of service, going and coming, Terrones would receive twelve ducados de Castilla, the notary four pesos de oro comun, and the guards their usual pay. All of these expenses, as well as others which might be incurred, were to be met by the archbishop, and the tithe collector of the cathedral was obliged to pay 2,000 pesos at once. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 253–7, 419–21.

[39] The viceroy had sent for Captain Diego de Armenteros to command the escort, but the captain apparently having no stomach for the duty kept out of the way.

standing Ocampo's order that none should go further than the church of Santo Domingo, until on reaching Guadalupe, it numbered fully five thousand Indians, negroes, and half-breeds. While the archbishop dined and rested, the people by degrees returned to the city, there spreading the news and arousing general discontent.

That night the three oidores, whether influenced by partisans of the archbishop or fearful that their action had been hasty, took counsel of one another. The result was that Ibarra despatched a messenger to Terrones bidding him go slowly, for on the morrow the order touching the exile of the prelate would undoubtedly be revoked. On the morning of the 12th, accordingly, the three met formally, with Vallecillo as president, passed a resolution declaring that there had been a lack of accord in the proceedings of the previous day, and ordering that, while this point was considered, those having the prelate in custody should return with him at once. Of this the viceroy had speedy information, and ordered the clerk of the audiencia to deliver up the document. The oidores met again, and passed another resolution revoking the four orders of the 11th, on the ground that they had not been passed by a quorum, and ordering that the archbishop should be brought back to Mexico.[40] Informed of this second meeting of the oidores the viceroy ordered them into confinement within the palace, and that two relatores who had taken part with them should be put in prison. He also ordered that no action should be taken in the matter of the revocation by the oidores, in which he had had no part.

Fearing lest the archbishop might renew the interdict, and having strengthened his resolve by an appeal to the fiscal, the marquis sent Tobar to the cathedral and the churches, to notify the chapter and the parish priests not to obey any such order on the part of their

[40] The document was not properly authenticated because the deputy clerk stood in fear of the viceroy. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 247–50.

superior till the delegate should have rendered his decision. Tobar found the cathedral doors shut, although the building was full of people, but obtained admittance after some delay. Not without opposition he read the order from the steps of the high altar, and was promised obedience by the provisor and the chapter; but the parish priests replied that they had no power to suspend or impede what their superior might determine.

In order that the archbishop might not attempt to influence in any way the delegate at Puebla, the viceroy despatched a messenger to Terrones, with orders to avoid that city and to take another road.[41] A halt had been made at the town of Guadalupe for the purpose of allowing the archbishop to rest, and of this he availed himself to issue two additional decrees. In the first, after reciting his visit to the audiencia, his arrest, and his deportation to this place, the prelate declared that the president and oidores, as well Terrones, Zavala, Perea, and Osorio, together with Ocampo and the alguaciles of the guard, had incurred the censures mentioned in the canon *clementia si quis suadente diabolo* and the bull *in cœna domini*.[42] This decree was made known at once to all the persons named therein, except the president and oidores, with an offer of absolution if sought within six hours. The second edict was addressed to the clergy, reciting the facts mentioned in the first edict and ordering an interdict to be established.

The archbishop had wished to remain still longer at Guadalupe, but Terrones insisting, he consented at length to go on, and the night was passed at the hermitage of Santa Isabel. On the following evening he reached San Juan de Teotihuacan. On the morning of the 13th Terrones entering the bed-chamber of the archbishop found him still abed. He de-

[41] He should send back Osorio, whose services were needed in Mexico.

[42] The names of the excommunicated were ordered to be posted in the usual manner. *Id.*, 191–8.

sired the prelate to dress and to enter the carriage which was in waiting at the door. Informed of the action of the oidores the archbishop pleaded that his health would not allow him to pursue the journey for the present. Terrones insisting, he replied curtly that a formal order would alone have weight with him.[43] It was indecent that a person of his quality should be carried off in this manner, when there was nothing in his conduct to warrant such treatment; and were he to go willingly he might be accused of a desire to proceed to Spain on an errand of his own. Not wishing to take extreme measures Terrones sent to Mexico for further orders. Alarm at his spiritual plight may have been one of the reasons why Terrones consented to humor the prelate, but for this he was reprimanded by the viceroy, who also rebuked his negligence in allowing the issue of fresh excommunications,[44] intimating that a prompt execution of orders would be more pleasing than a waste of time in sending despatches and awaiting answers. A little compulsion would do no harm.[45]

The afflicted Terrones accordingly issued orders for departure. The luggage was sent on before, the carriage stood in readiness, but no archbishop appeared. At first the attendants of the prelate gave out that he was at his prayers, and then that he had gone for a walk; but, on more special inquiry, it was found that he was actually in the church of the Franciscan

[43] 'Y no en otra manera, y que esto daba y dió por respuesta.' *Id.*, 259.

[44] While expressing sympathy for the illness of his grace, Gelves intimated that the complaint might be merely a pretence.

[45] Torres, the messenger, afterward testified that Gelves bade him tell Terrones: 'Si el dicho señor arzobispo dificultase el proseguir en la jornada y para esto se acostase, que ordenase á Don Diego de Armenteros y á las guardas, que con la misma cama se metiese en el coche habiéndole apercibido primero que se vistiese y aprestase.' Father Domingo Navarro Fortunio, who accompanied the archbishop on the journey, testified that on receiving this order Terrones said, his eyes filling with tears: 'Qué compadrazgos tengo yo con el señor arzobispo, ni qué he hecho yo para que se me trate tan infamemente.' *Id.*, 405, 261. An order also came that four members of the cathedral chapter, who had come to San Juan Teotihuacan by vote of the chapter for the purpose of accompanying the archbishop to Vera Cruz, should travel one day's journey at least in advance.

convent.[46] Terrones followed him, accompanied by the alguacil mayor, Torres, and four of the reluctant guard. On entering the church they found the prelate, in rochet, cape, and stole, standing by the high altar, while the ciborium was open with the host in remonstrance within. Terrones, weeping, upbraided him for thus forcing extreme measures, saying that he had lost his honor, and his life was forfeit to the viceroy's wrath. To this outburst the prelate replied calmly that he could not continue the journey, for he was engaged in visiting officially the altar of the parish. Saying this, he took from the ciborium a wafer which he placed on a paten, and holding this in his hands he seated himself close to the altar. But soon the wily priest was carried away by the excitement attendant on a situation so dramatic, or possibly he determined purposely to heighten its effect. When the alcalde again desired him to leave these things and to continue the journey, he burst into tears, exclaiming that he had not wished to resort to this extremity in Mexico, for the land was newly christianized, and he feared lest the faith of the Indians might be shaken by the occurrence of events to them inexplicable. "Here, however," he added, "all are Spaniards; just as I am take me away."[47] Thus saying, he placed the paten upon the altar.

Terrones then ordered the notary to instruct the captain of the guard to do as the viceroy had ordered. As, in obedience to the thrice repeated order, Armenteros and one of the guards began to ascend the steps

[46] Armenteros says that the archbishop went to the church in an artful manner, without even a hat, and as if for a short stroll. *Id.*, 423.

[47] 'Y puesto en esta forma, hablando las dichas palabras, dijo le llevasen como estaba.' *Id.*, 263. The account of the archbishop's taking refuge in the church rests in the main on the sworn testimony of Diego Torres, the notary, who in his official capacity has full opportunity of knowing whereof he spoke, and whose words bear with them intrinsic evidence of their truth. He stated that the archbishop accused Gelves of having forced the oidores to pass the order for his exile, adding that the viceroy was the greatest tyrant in the world, and that Torres might tell him so. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 8.

of the altar, the archbishop arose, and lifting the paten on high before them he said: "Let us see if there be a Christian man so dead to shame as to lay hands on Jesus Christ." The intangible power of the church was still paramount. Serna successfully played the part of Becket, but to Armenteros and his men the spirit of the Norman knights was lacking; bursting into tears they retired.[48] On his part Terrones exclaimed: "My lord, you have wrought my undoing!" To this Serna replied: "Sir doctor, I but work in the cause of your worship and that of these poor fellows." The alcalde took his wonted way out of difficulties, and bade Torres ride with speed to Mexico in order to give an account to the viceroy of the turn matters had taken. The latter merely replied that Terrones should be recalled and give place to a man who would carry out orders rather than write despatches. All that night the prelate remained at the post he had chosen near the high altar, taking such rest as he could on its steps, regardless of the cold. All night the sacrament remained exposed on that altar while the guard kept watch by turns.[49]

[48] I have already had occasion to speak of the faint-heartedness of Armenteros in this matter. He lamented that he was an unfortunate man. 'Que no tenia mas que una vida, y esa la habia de perder por Dios y su rey.' *Id.*, ii. 423.

[49] In the morning the archbishop, wishing to celebrate mass, desired all who had come under the ban of the church to withdraw. This request however was denied, for Terrones held that neither he nor any of his party were excommunicated, since, as the prelate well knew, they were acting under compulsion, and the mass was left unsaid. The request for continuing the journey again met with a refusal. The archbishop said he knew the audiencia had issued an order for his return to Mexico, but if Terrones could produce one of later date from the same body, whereby he was required to pursue his way to exile, he would cheerfully obey it.

CHAPTER III.

OVERTHROW OF GELVES.

1624.

THE INTERDICT LAUNCHED AGAINST THE CAPITAL—EXCITEMENT AMONG THE POPULACE—THE RABBLE IN ARMS—ATTACK ON THE PALACE—THE GOVERNMENT DECLARED VESTED IN THE OIDORES—THEIR SCHEMES TO SECURE CONTROL—FLIGHT OF GELVES—TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF THE ARCHBISHOP—REACTIONARY MEASURES BY THE AUDIENCIA—THE VICEROY UNDER RESTRAINT—HIS VAIN NEGOTIATIONS FOR RETURN TO POWER—GATHERING EVIDENCE—MEASURES BY THE KING—CERRALVO SENT AS VICEROY—NOMINAL RESTORATION OF GELVES AND TRIUMPHANT ENTRY—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE RIOTERS—FATE OF SERNA AND GELVES—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OUTBREAK.

AMONG the oldest and most sacred spots of Anáhuac was Teotihuacan. During the early Nahua period its lofty pyramids were famed throughout the land, and under the Toltec empire it remained the religious centre to which pilgrims with rich offerings flocked from afar to worship in the temples of the sun and moon. Here kings and priests were elected, ordained, and buried, and here were fulminated oracles which overturned dynasties and caused nations to tremble. It was in the village near this spot, now a mass of awe-inspiring ruins, that Archbishop Serna had taken a defiant stand within the convent church, and like his ancient forerunners he sent forth a decree which should rouse a people and overturn a ruler. This was nothing less than a new excommunication of the viceroy, together with an interdict upon the whole capital. The decree was intrusted to the priest Martinez de Recalde, who set out on horseback the evening it was issued, the 14th of January 1624, and reached the city at dawn the following day. At half

past five the name of the viceroy again appeared in the list of religious outcasts, and an hour later the interdict was read from the cathedral pulpit to such of the faithful as were present at matins. The chant of the choir ceased immediately, the candles upon the altar were extinguished, the massive doors closed upon the devout, who, weeping, spread throughout the city the sad tidings, crying that the land was now as one possessed by Moors, since God had gone from among them. Soon, too, the willing feet of priests were hastening to bear the decree to the other churches and convents of the town. All were closed save the convent of La Merced, which remained open during the morning, while from every belfry tolled forth the dread tidings to the awakening city.

The events of the past four days had been at work in the minds of the ignorant. The archbishop's mania for excommunicating, and the opposition of the viceroy to one whom they had been taught to regard as more than human, if somewhat less than divine, had formed the sole topic of conversation, and all day long and till late into the night excited knots of men hung about the plaza and the street corners predicting some dreadful catastrophe. They were faithful children, these poor Mexicans, of a church the tenets of which to them consisted simply in their outward manifestation, while they gratefully remembered that its ministers had ever stood, or endeavored to stand, between them and the tyranny and greed of their lay masters. Of this the partisans of the prelate failed not to remind them. If an occasional skeptic hinted at episcopal missteps, the faithful expressed themselves as only too willing to give their all for his ransom. They could not bear to see the representative of heaven driven forth like a criminal. To many it seemed an overwhelming calamity, and impressed by the popular disquietude others readily drifted into the current of excitement which at any moment might develop into a storm.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th the great square was full of excited people. Cristóbal de Osorio, regarded as one of the chief oppressors of the archbishop, passed through it in his carriage and was recognized by some boys. Cries of "heretic," "excommunicated dog," and the like came lustily from their throats until Osorio, losing his temper, ordered his servants to chastise them. The boys defended themselves with stones, and at length forced the coachman to drive toward the palace for protection.[1] The viceroy, who was still in his bed, received a probably exaggerated account of the attack and ordered out the guard to the rescue. Though roughly handled at first, the boys were soon reënforced by others and at length joined by many of the idle men who flocked to the spot. Armed with sharp fragments of stone gathered from the spot where the cathedral was a-building, they soon forced the guard to retire within the palace gates, against which the mob, which had now assumed formidable proportions, threw itself. Gelves with characteristic valor would have sallied forth sword in hand, but from such a rash proceeding he was dissuaded by Admiral Cevallos and others who happened to be with him. He contented himself therefore with ordering the general call to arms to be sounded from the palace roof, and displaying from a window the pendant used during the negro trouble in 1612. The call of the trumpet served first to summon aid to the rabble, and, amidst the encouraging cries of his fellows, one of the crowd mounted a ladder and tore down the flag, which soon waved in triumph from one of the cathedral towers. But the rioters lost little time in idle demonstrations. Some busied themselves in an attempt to fire the palace gate, others sought to

[1] The author of the *Relacion Svmaria* says that the boys were urged on by a priest. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 8. This was the theory of the causes of the tumult which Gelves and his friends endeavored to have adopted, and although later clergymen witnesses unanimously contradicted this, *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 275–345, there can be no doubt that the secular clergy was to a great extent responsible for the acts of the mob on this day.

free the prisoners in the jail, all shouting the while: "Viva la fé de Jesucristo; viva la Iglesia; viva el rey nuestro señor, y muera el mal gobierno de este luterano herege descomulgado!" The bravado of the untrained populace grows more demonstrative the less it is opposed, and presently the rioters began to cry that, unless their pastor[2] were restored to his flock and the imprisoned oidores liberated, they would put an end not only to all in the palace but to the tribunals and the gentry as well.

The situation was becoming serious, for the supply of arms was small even for the few defenders of the palace, and the fire at the gates grew hot. It happened that the oidor Cisneros, who had not taken part in the proceedings which led to the arrest of the archbishop, was among the first to obey the general summons of the viceroy. He now, kneeling, besought Gelves to recall the prelate, and in this he was seconded by other prominent persons. To this Gelves at length gave consent, albeit against his will, for he was still inclined to offer a stout resistance to rebels. The decree which he signed was intrusted for transmission to the senior inquisitor, who as he left the palace showed it to the crowd. But the mob had no faith in the viceroy, and notwithstanding the general freedom promised them they clamored still for the release of the oidores and the issue of the decree by them. Gelves had to yield, and now the mob was persuaded by the popular marqués del Valle to put out the fire at the gates, while some Franciscans persuaded a large number to depart from the spot.[3] One faction in moving away amid exultant demonstrations, sought to obtain the pendon de la fé from the inquisitors; and balked in this they took Varaez from his confinement and carried him round in triumph.

This lull by no means suited certain parties; and a rumor that the archbishop was to be executed assisted

[2] 'Que lo habian desterrado por defensor de su Iglesia.' *Id.*, 313.
[3] Gaviria claims credit for having aided in this dispersion.

to draw the rabble again to the plaza. A number now raised the cry to break open the prisons in one end of the palace, partly with a view to plunder the building. The lower jail was easily entered, but not so the upper and main portion, whereupon torches were applied.[4] Reënforced with arms and ammunition the viceroy opened fire on the assailants, killing quite a number. This naturally exasperated the crowd, which, armed with arquebuses, broke into the archiepiscopal palace, ascended to the roof, and began to return the fire from the viceregal palace. Gelves now found himself in greater strait than ever, for the mob was increasing both in number and fury, and the fire extended rapidly. Finding it necessary to release the prisoners lest they be burned alive, he opened the cell-doors on condition that the inmates should assist in quenching the flames,[5] but most of them hastened to join the mob.

Meanwhile the oidores had done nothing beyond issuing tame appeals for order and urging upon the viceroy not to persist in opposing the people but rather to retire,[6] a not very easy task, had he so desired. In response to their appeals the people shouted that they should assume control and remain in the city hall.[7] Only too eager to comply with so flattering a demand, the oidores turned for advice to officials and notables present, not omitting the clergy, whose fears prompted but the one counsel of compliance; and so, after much pretended hesitation, they yielded, in token of which the city standard was unfurled at 5 P. M. At the same time Gaviria proclaimed himself captain-general, and set forth to summon citizens to join him in suppressing the riot. He took the

[4] The viceroy's supporters state that powder alone was used, while opponents declare that more than 100 persons were killed, and Cavo accepts the latter version. *Tres Siglos*, i. 274.

[5] This act he describes as prompted purely by commiseration. *Mex., Rel. Sum.*, 10.

[6] 'To surrender himself a prisoner' to them. *Id.*

[7] 'A todos los oidores habian de acabar y matar, y que habian de perecer si dejaban de tomar al gobierno.' *Carta de la Ciudad*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 144.

direction of Tlatelulco, with a view to meet the large force of Indians who were said to be gathering there intending to march to the main square.

All this time the rabble at the palace were having their own way, with little or no attempt at interference on the part of the oidores remaining at the city hall. Gelves even charges them with promoting the trouble,[8] and intimates that Gaviria kept away on purpose, so that he might be driven to extremes for the benefit of Gaviria's party. Part of the palace was already in the hands of the sackers, and the viceroy and his adherents were beaten further and further back, with loss both in dead and wounded. Finding that it would not be possible to hold out much longer, and warned by the insensate outcry against him, Gelves resolved to seek safety in flight. He donned the garments of a servant,[9] took off his well known spectacles, and favored by the darkness he mingled with the mob, shouting awhile as lustily as any of them against himself. With two servants he thereupon hurried to San Francisco convent, and hid in a room behind the refectory.

His departure gave the signal for a general abandonment of the palace, which the rioters now overran, plundering and destroying, and respecting not even the sacred vessels and images in the chapel. They also sacked the houses of Armenteros and the viceregal asesor, and would have extended their raid against other adherents of the opposite party, perhaps against any one whom it might pay to plunder; but Gaviria now returned at the head of an overwhelming force of citizens. Whatever may have been his motives they could no longer be promoted by countenancing the riot, which now threatened to endanger the common interest. It was not long, therefore, ere he had cleared the palace and its neigh-

[8] Some of their people were actually led against the viceroy under Regidor Valmaseda. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 10.

[9] With a white band on the hat. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 274.

borhood of all dangerous persons; the fire was extinguished, the wounded received due care, and patrols paraded the streets all night, keeping guard and maintaining bonfires at the corners.

Few, however, of those concerned in that day's turmoil thought of returning home, for another excitement of a more peaceful nature was in store. During the day the marqués del Valle, and the bearers of the audiencia order, had come up with the archiepiscopal party, and urged upon the prelate to return at once and aid in calming the people. He set out at 3 P. M., escorted by a crowd, which greatly swelled as he advanced. At Guadalupe he was met by a procession of Indians with blazing torches, the advance guard of many others, and the entry into the capital about midnight resembled that of a victorious monarch. The houses were illuminated, the bells pealed merrily, and cheering crowds lined the street,[10] impressed more than ever by the grandeur and power of the church. In the morning the prelate removed the interdict, and then, borne aloft to the altar over the heads of the crowds, he held mass and chanted the te deum, the rest of the day, a Tuesday, being held as a feast. The dead rioters he buried free of cost, showing them particular honor, but the fallen defenders of the palace he disregarded.[11]

The same day the audiencia took steps to plant themselves firmly in power, and rumor being brought by their zealous henchmen that the people were again showing uneasiness at the possible restoration of Gelves, they seized this as a pretext for issuing a proclamation to the effect that they would retain the government. In this document were cited the views and wishes of judges, clergymen, and citizens of dif-

[10] They would not depart from the palace till he came forth on the balcony to give his blessing. Crowds replaced crowds. 'Traian mas de quinientas hachas encendidas.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii. 284–5, 291, 296; *Id.*, iii. 150–1, etc.

[11] *Id.*, 94. Captain Velasco was at first declared a heretic, but a handsome fee induced the clergy to bury him. *Mex., Rel. Sum.*, 11. The oidores received the formal thanks of the prelate for their action.

ferent degrees. All the provinces were notified and ordered to obey the new rulers. The demand for maintaining order appeared to call for a standing force, and since this would strengthen their position, they hastened to mass arms and enroll men, and formed several companies, including a corps of cavalry from among the encomenderos under Captain Legaspi. Contador Juan de Cervantes Casaus was created maestre de campo. Three companies of one hundred men each were regularly assigned for guard duty, their pay being taken from the drainage fund.[12]

A number of these were detailed to protect the government house and enforce the behests of the audiencia, and another body attended Gaviria as escort. He and his associates moved about with great pomp; banners were lowered as they passed, and besides carrying staffs and other insignia they adopted the broad frilled collar hitherto restricted to the higher nobles. The royal seal was brought from the palace to their hall, and the papers of the viceroy were seized, many of them being freely ventilated, notably his secret report on the character of the officials. It contained reflections far from flattering, and served to increase the animosity against him, and to encourage hostility. Indeed a number of his most excellent measures were annulled, wherever the oidores thought it for their interest to do so. The restriction on bearing arms was removed, persons exiled for crimes were recalled, prisoners released, and apostates restored to their orders. Further than this, many worthy officials had to yield their posts to adherents of the new party, and among them Pedro Velez de Guevara, governor of San Juan de Ulúa, who was replaced by Francisco Bravo de la Serna, a nephew of the archbishop.[13] Pedro de la Gorreta, governor

[12] This levy amounted to 64,000 pesos a year. Artillery was placed on the roof of the government house and double pass-words were at first required. *Id.*, 13. Fonseca states that merely 39,853 pesos were taken from the fund. *Hist. Hac.*, v. 359.

[13] To this end he was first made corregidor of New Vera Cruz, and as soon

of Acapulco, declined to surrender his post to the relative of Gaviria, who had been appointed to receive it. The public feeling against the viceroy was maintained by libellous notices and abusive songs; and although printers were not as a rule permitted to issue them, no restriction was placed on public delivery.[14]

These proceedings received encouragement from the effort of the viceroy to keep secret his hiding-place, even from the oidores. They ferreted it, however, and placed a guard round the convent, ostensibly for his protection, but really to keep him prisoner. They also took precautions to restrict visits by allowing none to enter save with their permission.[15] Many of those who came as visitors or servants were subjected to the indignity of search, and the viceroy's secretary was confined elsewhere so as to be unable to communicate with him.

Notwithstanding the secrecy concerning his abode the viceroy had not failed from the first to let it be known that he was still among the living. On the very evening of his flight he had summoned Inquisitor Juan Gutierrez Flores[16] and Fray Juan de Lormendi, guardian of the convent, and commissioned them to treat with the audiencia for his restoration to power, and for a meeting between them. They must also secure his papers. While considering themselves firmly enough established to follow their bent, the oidores nevertheless thought it necessary to call a

as the fleet for Spain had sailed he assumed command. Guevara at first refused to yield, but certain promises prevailed upon him. The alcalde mayor here maintained himself in his office, however, by command of Gelves. *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 17.

[14] Even boys sang couplets on the streets, one of which ran:

'Ahora vivamos en nuestra ley,
Que no hay virey.'

The archbishop allowed an abusive attack on the viceroy to be printed by one Cristóbal Ruiz.

[15] 'Y que matasen al virey, si instase de hecho en su salida.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 97. The viceroy's defenders point out that the placing of a few guards at Varaez' asylum had raised a terrible outcry, but none objected to the present violation.

[16] Also visitador of Peru. *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 15.

meeting of leading men to give them support. They failed not to magnify the danger of restoring to power so unpopular a viceroy. A civil war might thereby be ignited which would not only imperil the lives and estates of every Spaniard in New Spain, but the interests and authority of the crown itself. Although the marqués del Valle among others made some blunt objections to these manifest efforts of the oidores to retain control, yet their influence and arguments prevailed in obtaining a very respectable endorsement. The more prudent refrained from committing themselves. Thus strengthened in their position, Gaviria and his colleagues replied to Gelves that he had been deposed, not by them but by the people, and had virtually admitted the removal by abandoning his post. Under the circumstances the law and the popular will demanded that they should administer the government till the king decided in the matter. He might confer with any oidor, but it would not be advisable for them to meet him as a body. His private papers would be surrendered, but not official documents nor his estate.

On receiving this answer the viceroy, partly with a view of sounding his opponents, proposed to leave for Spain since it was not proper that he should remain after being deprived of his position. It was also necessary that he should be allowed to consult with his secretary, his confessor, and other persons, in order to prepare the report which the king expected from him. Moreover he needed funds for the support of himself and followers. To this came the reply that the viceroy could not be permitted to leave before his residencia was taken. But residencia in this case could not be taken except by special order from the king, it was urged, since the office had not been left in due form, and bonds would be given if required. This caused the audiencia to yield and offer a vessel, at his own expense however. Shortly after they changed their mind and paid no attention to proposals

for his departure.[17] It was thereupon agreed that a few assistants would be given to prepare despatches, and certain means for expenses, but no officials could be allowed to act for him as messengers to Spain.[18] The notaries, however, and other officials necessary for giving formality to the viceregal documents were either withheld or delayed, so that negotiations broke off for some days, and more than one opportunity was thus purposely lost to Gelves for sending reports to the court.

On February 7th the viceroy sent a formal protest to the audiencia. He had learned of their many proclamations and acts tending to rouse the people, and bring into contempt the royal authority vested in him. They had usurped the government, risked its subversion, and prevented him from fulfilling the obligations of his office. There could be only one head of government, and he, as that royally appointed head, now required the oidores to obey him as vice-regent, governor, captain-general, and president, restore him to office, and protect his person with the force enrolled, under penalty of being declared rebels, together with their supporters, a penalty involving death and confiscation.

In the expectation of such notices it is not to be wondered at that visitors to the convent were searched. The audiencia did not fail to express disapproval of the extreme language used, and regret that the inquisitor should have undertaken to carry it. This official was henceforth forbidden entrance into the convent. After two days of deliberation the oidores replied in equally formal manner, in the king's name, addressing Gelves as marquis and ex-viceroy. They recapitulated the different acts of despotism

[17] 'Teniendo dispuesta mi jornada y embarcacion, la impidieron contra mi voluntad.' Gelves' representation of September 1, 1624, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 197. See also *Id.*, 95–6. He might change his place of abode within New Spain. *Mex.*, *Rel. Sum.*, 14.

[18] It was resolved by the oidores to treat all matters with the viceroy in council and in writing.

which gave rise to the popular commotion that caused him to abandon the palace, such as disobeying royal orders; withdrawing right of appeal; preventing the audiencia from administering justice and fulfilling the duties of their office; suppressing letters and interfering with the free use of mails to the court and elsewhere; proclaiming that no will but his own should prevail, even in spiritual matters, to which end he had exiled the archbishop and imprisoned the oidores. These and other outrages had so irritated the people as to compel the audiencia, by common acclamation, and by cédulas providing for such cases, to assume government and save the country from ruin. Tribunals, secular and ecclesiastic bodies, and citizens generally had further required them to retain this power for the safety of all. The efforts of the marquis to resume his late office were, under the circumstances, dangerous to peace, and he was ordered to desist, under penalty of being held responsible for any trouble and disaster that might arise in consequence. He was, moreover, commanded to obey the audiencia.[19]

Without the power to enforce his demands Gelves could merely continue to issue protests while declaring that he would do nothing that might cause disturbance. Yet he objected to certain measures of the audiencia as tending to irritate the people against him, and sent proclamations to municipalities and citizens commanding them and other similar bodies in New Spain to maintain order and oppose the scandalous and disloyal acts[20] to which the despotic and inimical conduct

[19] This document was signed by Licenciado Paz de Vallecillo, senior oidor and acting president, Doctor Galdos de Valencia, Licenciado Pedro de Vergara Gaviria, Licenciado Alonso Vasquez de Cisneros, Doctor Diego de Avendaño, the only don among the six, and Licenciado Juan de Ibarra. Countersigned by the escribano mayor Godinez. The text of this and the preceding protest are given in full in *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 14–18. The inquisitor considered the tone too strong, and declined to act as bearer.

[20] This evoked from the local authorities at Mexico merely a declaration of loyalty and of respect for the 'marquis.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 194–205. Corregidor Avila, as a first cousin to Gelves, was debarred from taking part in the consideration of these and later messages from his kinsman.

of the audiencia might give rise. This body issued a counter proclamation declaring Gelves to be actuated by malicious motives, and that his order was intended chiefly to draw attention from a defeated plot on the part of his nephew, Francisco Pimentel, to gather forces in support of the uncle while pretending to raise them for Acapulco. Pimentel had been arrested, and all local authorities were charged to aid the audiencia in suppressing similar attempts.[21]

Meanwhile clergy, oidores, and local authorities of Mexico had combined to gather evidence against the viceroy, and in support of their acts, and this evidence together with exculpatory letters were forwarded by the fleet under Oquendo which set sail for Spain shortly after the riot. The audiencia appointed for this mission Doctor Hernan Carrillo Altamirano, legal adviser of that body, who had become the sworn enemy of Gelves because of his interference with certain of the doctor's irregular sources of income.[22] The municipality of Mexico commissioned at the same time Cristóbal de Molina y Pisa, one of the regidores whom Gelves had placed under arrest, and provided him with letters from different sources, and for the most influential officials in Spain.[23] In the representation to the king they depicted Gelves as a tyrannical, unscrupulous, self-willed, and violent man, who had made himself so generally feared and hated by all good citizens as finally to compel them to rise in self-defence.[24]

[21] *Id.*, 185–93. Gelves claimed that he had received many offers to aid him in recovering his position, but he preferred not to endanger public peace. *Mex., Rel. Sum.*, 13.

[22] He had once been arraigned for murder. Gelves had punished him and taken away 600 pesos of unlawful income derived by him from Indians. He was now captain of one of the companies raised by the new rulers, and received 10,000 pesos from the drainage fund for his journey. *Ib.*

[23] Cavo alludes to him as the alférez real. *Tres Siglos*, i. 276. He was commissioned as procurador general, and carried letters to a number of leading men, such as Conde de Olivares, prime-minister, Conde de Monterey, president of the council of Italy, to whose father Molino had been secretary, the ex-viceroy Montesclaros, now of the council of state, and the members of the India council. The different texts are given in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 152–74.

[24] As a judge he had been cruel and unjust; he had removed and appointed

The archbishop showed himself no less energetic in collecting and wording his evidence, in which he figured as a martyr to religion. The viceroy had interfered also in his jurisdiction, and had persecuted clergymen and oidores for daring to expostulate. In support of his representation he did not hesitate to include the declarations of aged nuns, who professed to have beheld the viceroy's adherents in the form of demons, and to have heard a supernatural voice denounce the marquis for his disobedience to the prelate. To another had been revealed that those who attacked the palace were souls from purgatory led by their guardian angel.[25]

As for the viceroy, his documents and letters of defence were, after long delay, given an opportunity for transmission in the treasure fleet; but this was wrecked, with the loss of two millions of precious metals, and Gelves' majordomo, Juan de Baeza, went down with the documents in his charge.[26] Some earlier reports by him and his adherents appear, however, to have reached Spain.

The court was not a little astonished and perplexed on receiving the news from Mexico. It could not well

officials at will, selecting those who unscrupulously carried out his orders, without regard to their fitness; he had interfered with the duties of the audiencia and municipality, taking upon himself to decide in many of their affairs; he shocked the feelings of the community by his lack of respect for religion, thereby setting a dangerous example to evil-disposed persons. If the municipality had formerly praised the viceroy, it was due to intimidation; for he had not only exiled the more independent regidores, but caused all their reports to be submitted to him, and to be filled with praise of himself. As for the rioters, they were chiefly Indians and mestizos of feeble intelligence, actuated by a loyal though misdirected zeal for the king. Regidores Gaviria and Valencia should be rewarded for their good services in restoring order. *Ib.*, *Libro Capitular*, pt. xxv. 82–8.

[25] The nun had prophesied the riot. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 25–49. Other testimony appears on pp. 230–74.

[26] *Mex.*, *Rel. Sum.*, 13. Urrutia names the messengers Melchor de Córdoba and Gerónimo de Valenzuela, and relates that the documents were smuggled into their hands by the aid of a laborer at the convent where Gelves was living. They further took the precaution of leaving the city with dogs and falcons as if for a hunt. Once outside they hastened to Vera Cruz to embark on the ill-fated fleet with which they were to perish. *Rel.*, in *Mex. y sus Disturbios*, MS., i. 363, 497. This smuggling probably applies to an earlier report sent by Gelves.

be decided with whom the blame should rest, although the defense of the archbishop appeared by no means satisfactory. One thing was certain however, that the authority of the king had been defied in his representative, and that an audiencia which had failed to support him at a critical moment could not be trusted with supreme control. It was also the opinion of the nobles that exemplary punishment should be meted to the ringleaders, lest leniency give encouragement to greater disloyalty. But to this the marqués de Montesclaros objected, saying that "a child could in his majesty's name control the whole viceroyalty."[27] Time had evidently left a happy impression on the mind of the ex-viceroy.

Nevertheless it was decided to appoint a new ruler; one possessed of firmness to assume control of an apparently disordered country and with sagacity to guide an investigation and restore harmony by reconciling discordant elements, for it was not thought either prudent or needful to send troops. Such a man it was thought might be found in the governor of Galicia, Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, marqués de Cerralvo,[28] who combined great physical strength with tried bravery, and while occasionally subject to passionate outbursts was reputed to be of jovial disposition and agreeable in manner, yet withal devout and addicted to study. These qualities had however contributed less, it is said, to obtain the favor which he enjoyed at court than the fortunate circumstance that he once saved the queen by carrying her away from a fire.[29]

Owing to the apparent urgency of the case Cerralvo hastened on his way accompanied by his marchioness

[27] 'Un niño podia atar y sujetar á todo este reino al servicio de S. M. con un cordel de lana.' *Id.*, 370.

[28] And relative of Pacheco, viceroy of Cataluña. Cortina, *Doc. Hist. Reinado Felipe*, iv. 100–1. Portrait and autograph in *Ribera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 118.

[29] He once killed a corregidor with a dagger stroke in a just cause. Once every week he celebrated the communion. His confessor was a Pauline friar of great piety, master of the college of Villagarcía. *Urrutia, Rel.*, in *Mex. y sus Disturbios*, MS., i. 361–5.

and two children,[30] and some eighty attendants and officers, four of them knights. He was joined by oidores appointed to replace certain members of the doubtful audiencia, and by Martin de Carrillo, inquisitor of Valladolid, the latter bearing special instructions to investigate the outbreak and see to the punishment of the guilty. The party sailed in the fleet of General Chavez and reached Vera Cruz in September 1624.[31] On the way to Mexico they were detained at different places by demonstrations, addresses, and petitions, and courted by a host of seekers for favors or clemency, in view of the prospective reforms and punishments to be ordained. At Puebla the reception was particularly brilliant with triumphal arches, processions, bull-fights, and other performances. The bishop here sought to win the good graces of the marchioness by presenting a casket with perfumes and the like, all mounted in gold. The lady kept the perfume alone, returning the rest, whereat the prelate is said to have felt deeply mortified.[32]

Cerralvo entered Mexico informally toward the end of October, conferred for some time with Gelves,[33] and inquired into the state of affairs. One result was that he determined first to restore the dignity of his office, and to this end ordered the removal of the name of Gelves from the excommunication tablet[34] and his reinstallation. This was a bitter pill to the higher officials, notably the oidores; but the new members of the audiencia assisted to overrule objec-

[30] Vetancurt mentions only one, a daughter who died at Mexico in 1631. *Trat. Mex.*, 14.

[31] On approaching this place two fast sailers advanced to gather news, and met cruising off the harbor two vessels sent by the audiencia to anticipate the report of any such arrival and what it might bode. *Urrutia*, ubi sup.

[32] 'Pienso que el despego tan impensado sirve de azada para abrirle en breve la sepultura.' *Urrutia, Rel.*, in *Mex. y sus Disturbios*, MS., i. 443. Gifts from Gaviria were also declined.

[33] Urrutia relates that Gelves made a return visit to Chapultepec where the marchioness received him kneeling and in tears. Gelves also knelt and wept till Cerralvo made both rise.

[34] Portillo, the provisor then in charge of the diocesan affairs, made objections, but Cerralvo peremptorily ordered obedience, and intimated that he had power to deal summarily even with prelates.

tions. On the 30th of October the municipality, with the best grace possible, issued proclamations in accordance with the order, declaring their joy at the prospective re-entry of their viceroy on the morrow, and ordering a pompous celebration with salvos and fireworks to testify "the affection which the city entertained for the marquis."[35]

On the 31st a vast procession of officials, nobles, gentry, and prominent citizens appeared at the convent, whence the troops had been removed, and hat in hand the oidores made their bow. Gelves vaulted into the saddle and was escorted to the palace. Along the very streets so lately trodden by him as a decried fugitive shielded by the darkness, he now proceeded with the pomp of a victor, beneath arches and festoons, amid salvos and ringing of bells,[36] beneath floral showers from fair hands, and amid the thundering cheers of countless spectators, who now and then made a diversion by cursing the oidores and other enemies of their beloved viceroy. At the palace gate he was actually caught in the arms of the fickle populace and carried to where Cerralvo stood to receive him. In the evening came festivities with illumination and fireworks. Gelves did not, however, expect to assume executive power, for this he regarded as already vested in Cerralvo. He merely came to triumph. The next day he left the palace, and followed this time by a sorrow-stricken crowd entered the Franciscan convent at Tacuba, there to await his residencia.[37]

The popular demonstrations at his entry and departure were by no means so insincere as at first glance might appear. An interval of eight months had calmed men's passions considerably, and the rule of the audiencia had tended to exalt in the eyes of most citizens the salutary strictness of the overthrown gov-

[35] *Mex., Rel. Estado*, 30.

[36] At all the temples, save the cathedral, the Jesuit houses, and the Carmelite convent.

[37] *Urrutia, Rel.*, MS., i. 441–61.

ernment. The annulling of Gelves' many reforms, the setting aside of pending indictments and verdicts, the permission so generally given to carry arms, greatly contributed to promote corruption and disorder among all classes. Monopolies again appeared in force to raise prices and grind the poor, aided by dishonest officials; rich and influential criminals bought themselves free, while humbler law-breakers languished in prison. Varaez appeared on the street with great ostentation, and proceeded to his alcaldia mayor to submit to residencia, accompanied by fifty horsemen, who were no doubt intended to intimidate honest witnesses.[38] Bandits again began to crowd the highways and commit depredations with impunity, and affairs assumed so forlorn an aspect that many became loud in their desire for the restoration of Gelves.[39]

On the Sunday following the nominal reinstallation of his predecessor, Cerralvo took formal possession of office as fifteenth viceroy,[40] and prepared to extend the needed reforms, yet in a manner more conciliatory and affable than that of Gelves, so as to gain general good will. He showed also greater regard for some of the old oidores than had been expected, Valecillo being recommended for promotion and Gaviria intrusted with several honorable commissions.[41]

The residencia of Gelves was proclaimed with more than usual formality, owing to the peculiar circumstances of his rule. Fully two hundred witnesses came from different parts to testify, the trial lasting fifteen months. In connection with this inquisition Carrillo

[38] He seized his denouncer Soto and forced him with threats to declare his testimony false. Soto afterward reaffirmed his statements. *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 12.

[39] Yet such expressions were promptly suppressed. The oidores and regidores made money by selling monopoly licenses. *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 12–15. No energetic efforts were put forth to recover the booty taken from the palace and other places during the riot, although a part was recovered. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 92–3, 151–2.

[40] November 3d, it appears, though Cavo and others place this as the date of his arrival at Mexico. *Tres Siglos*, i. 276.

[41] A nephew of the latter was appointed asesor to the viceroy. *Mex., Rel. Estado*, 30. Gelves does not appear to have been quite pleased with this.

also investigated the conduct of all concerned in the riot, including ecclesiastics by special assent of the pope,[42] yet with prudent leniency, for it was not politic to stir the more powerful spirits. Examples were made among the less formidable. Many of these anticipated events by flight, but several officials including two oidores were removed, four of those who led in the outbreak were executed, and five ecclesiastics who had hurried away to Spain were sent to the galleys.[43] In a proclamation to the people Cerralvo announced that the trial had convinced the king of their loyalty. The outbreak was evidently caused by rancor against the marqués de Gelves personally. Filled with a desire to affirm their love and remove even the suspicion of disloyalty among vassals of Spain, his Majesty decreed that all who were arraigned or in prison for supposed complicity in the riot should be released unconditionally.[44]

Archbishop Serna was among those who had hurried out of the way to Spain. The effect of his conduct in causing riot and overthrow of the royal representative must have startled him when sober second thought prevailed. His position became uncomfortable; he felt that he must personally plead his cause at court, and in the spring of 1624 he departed from Mexico. The desire to anticipate the disgrace of a recall may have been an additional motive. Highly commendatory letters were given to him by the municipality and others, and, still warm in their zeal,

[42] *Urban VIII., Cartas*, in *Tumultos de Mex.*, MS., 141.

[43] *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 123–4; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 277. Charges being made that Cerralvo had unduly favored Gelves and influenced the inquisidor, testimony was taken with an almost unanimous approval of the viceroy's course. In this document appear the following as new members of audiencia: Oidores Juan de Álvarez Serrano, Don Antonio Canseco, Miguel Ruiz de la Torre, Juan de Villavena Cubiaurre, and fiscal Yñigo de Argüello y Carbajal. Oidor Avendaño remains. The officers of the visita are also named. *Cerralvo, Inform.*, in *Mex. y sus Disturbios*, MS., ii. 221–477.

[44] This did not exempt those already alluded to from punishment as traitors and robbers. Text of proclamation dated December 25, 1625, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 209–12; *Tumultos de Mex.*, MS., 137–8. Before his departure Carrillo ordered city officials to give residencia. They protested and were exempted from a review of charges already passed by. *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 336; *Libro Capitular*, pt. xxvi. 255.

the people contributed a hundred thousand pesos for his journey.[45] A prelate whose obstinacy had been the chief cause for bringing into contempt a royal representative, and into peril the authority of the crown, so as to require costly and radical measures, such a man could not expect a welcome. He was certainly treated coldly; but the pope felt pleased with so firm a champion of the church, and recommended his cause to the king. Other influences were brought to bear; so that Serna was partially restored to favor and granted the important see of Zamora. He died in 1631, with the reputation of an able bishop and a benevolent man.[46] His successor at Mexico, appointed in 1628, was Francisco Manzo y Zúñiga, one who as member of the India Council, and in other political positions, had been trained not to imperil royal interests for ecclesiastic prerogatives. So at least it was supposed.

Gelves came off with honor from the residencia, as a righteous judge, zealous for the administration of justice, for the public good, and the service of the king.[47] After the conclusion of the trial he left for Spain,[48] and was well received. His delay in coming had allowed time to soften the remembrance of his unfortunate mishaps, for success is above all expected from the agent; and now his family influence[49] could be wielded to greater advantage.

[45] *Mex., Rel. Svm.*, 13. In their letter the cabildo pray the king to send him back with greater power. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 169–70. Cavo says that he was recalled to suffer humiliation for some time. *Tres Siglos*, i. 277.

[46] Gonzalez Dávila attributes to him Carrillo's appointment as visitador. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 45. Lorenzana assumes continual favor for him with the king. *Concilios Mex.*, 1555–65, 217. But this Sosa does not admit, although he does not agree with Cavo. *Episc. Mex.*, 66. The representations of the pope in 1625, in his behalf, indicate that he did remain awhile under a cloud. *Cartas*, in *Tumultos de Mex.*, MS., 139–40. But Lacunza's allusion to deep disgrace is not borne out. *Disc. Hist.*, 491.

[47] 'Sentencia, la dio el Visitador...en 14 de Abril de 1627.' *Mex., Rel. Estado*, 31.

[48] Several writers, followed by Zamacois, state that he left in 1624, but he himself declares that he remained in the convent fully a year after Cerralvo's inauguration. He appears to have sent a letter from Mexico on January 29, 1626. *Id.*, 30.

[49] He was related to the powerful conde duque de Olivares.

The monarch had good reason to be dissatisfied with the leading personages in this outbreak, with the viceroy for being so exacting and unyielding, and with the prelate for his excess of zeal, when, as one who professed to set an example in humility, he should have contented himself with a protest and appeal to the sovereign, especially in view of the insignificance of the point involved and the well known temper of the marquis. The ecclesiastics, on whom the crown above all relied for supporting its authority, since troops were not kept, had been the chief promoters of the riot, wherein they proved themselves possessed of a power greater than that of the state. This influence had been strengthened by the triumphant return of the archbishop, and extended not alone over Indians and mestizos, but over the creoles. The Ávila-Cortés conspiracy, a half-century before, had been an outburst on the part of landed proprietors, with little hold on the people; here on the other hand came in action a wide-spread feeling rooted among the very sinews of the colonists and directed against the more favored children of Spain, those of Iberian birth who had come across the sea to fill the best and largest number of offices, with the intention merely of enriching themselves in New Spain and then turning their back upon the country. It is not strange that those born on the soil, and bound to it by every tie, should look with disfavor on these interlopers who not only encroached on their rights and possessions, but treated them with contempt.[50] The revelation of this antipathy, which

[50] The importance of the Gelves outbreak, and the wide-spread interest affected thereby, called forth a mass of documents and accounts as we have already seen. Among the most valuable are those given in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, série ii. tom. ii.–iii., 27 in number, collected by the knight Echeverría y Veitia, and including orders, petitions, and representations from different sources, yet for the greater part in support of the archbishop, and most of the remainder in favor of the audiencia and cabildo. The only important paper on Gelves' side had already appeared in print. This partiality induced the historian José F. Ramirez to collect a complementary set of documents bearing on the other side. This exists in two 4to volumes of close manuscript under the title of *Mexico y sus Disturbios*, obtained by me

could not fail to extend in a certain degree also to the home government, naturally alarmed the king, and was a main reason for the clemency observed; but few well directed steps were taken to profit by the lesson in conciliating the creoles, and their number and feeling grew apace till they became irresistible.

from Ramirez' library, whereof the first contains several important relations by Urrutia, partly in condensed form; and the second, a lengthy report by the secretary of Gelves, Tobar Godinez, and one in favor of Serna, from an early rare publication also in my possession. A third volume folio, *Tumultos de Mexico*, collected by the same gentleman, contains original documents and early copies bearing chiefly on the investigation, its results and subsequent acts. *Grambila, Tumultos de Mex.*, is an original folio manuscript in defence of Gelves; another, *Relacion de Tumultos*, opposes him. Among the rare accounts printed at this time are: *Mexico, Relacion Svmaria*, drawn for Gelves by Inquisitor Flores and Friar Lormendi; *Relacion del Estado en que... hallo los Reynos*, also prepared by him; *Memorial de lo Svrcedido*, in favor of Serna; *Burguillos, Memorial para... Carillo*, by Gelves' confessor; *Garzes de Portillo, En la Demanda*, bearing on the sanctuary privilege. From one or more of these sources have been prepared a number of accounts with more or less impartiality, yet none of them complete or reliable, events subsequent to the actual riot being almost wholly ignored. Cavo for instances claims to have used five accounts, three of them in favor of Gelves, yet his clerical bias is too evident. Much fairer is Sosa, *Episc. Mex.*, 59–63, *Ribera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 113–17, and *Alcaraz*, in *Liceo Mex.*, ii. 121 et seq. *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 653–63, gives Cortina's imperfect version. Mora is very faulty. *Mex. y sus Rev.*, iv. suppl. 2–43. Comparatively brief or unimportant are the accounts in *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 13; *Lorenzana*, in *Concilio Prov.*, 1555–65, 216; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 21–2; *Sigüenza y Gongora, Parayso Occid.*, 124, 448; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 146–51; *Crónica del Cármen*, vi. 757; *Gage, Voy.*, i. 225–45; *Medina, Crón. S. Diego*, 151–2; *Velasco, Exalt. Divina*, 39–44; *Grijalva, Crón. S. Agust.*, 110 et seq.; *Revista Mex.*, i. 81 et seq.; *Fisher's Nat. Mag.*, i. 249–54; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 188–94; *Müller, Reisen*, ii. 52–67; *Lacunza, Disc. Hist.*, 488–91; *Bustamante, Voy.*, No. 10.

CHAPTER IV.

KING AND COLONY.

1624–1639.

DEFENCE MEASURES—THE DUTCH AT ACAPULCO—CORSAIR RAIDS ALONG THE COAST OF YUCATAN—THE BARLOVENTO SQUADRON—ROYAL LOANS AND EXTORTIONS—INUNDATION OF MEXICO—PROPOSED REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL—RELIEF MEASURES AND DRAINAGE PROJECTS—THE HUEHUETOCA TUNNEL—SAN FELIPE THE PROTOMARTYR OF MEXICO—HIS IRREGULAR LIFE AND BEATIFICATION—THE HERMIT LOPEZ—VICEROY CADEREITA—THE PRELATE ZÚÑIGA—THE FIRST CREOLE ARCHBISHOP.

IN order to guard somewhat against the recurrence of such happenings as the Gelves outbreak, greater precautions were observed by the home government, as we have seen, in selecting the heads for political and ecclesiastical affairs; additional instructions were issued to guide them in their relation to others, and a certain limitation of power was for a time at least imposed; the king for instance taking upon himself to appoint the commandants and magistrates of leading ports, strongholds, and towns,[1] who had hitherto been commissioned by the viceroy. Cerralvo retained for some time the enlisted troops and erected suitable barracks,[2] while the enrolment list of volunteers was preserved for cases of need.

These volunteers really constituted a part of the general system of militia, formed already by Cortés, in connection with encomiendas, and extended over set-

[1] In Calle a number of these appointments are enumerated. *Mem. y Not.*, 168.

[2] In 1628 the city asked for their disbandment for 'no quedan ceniza del suceso del 15 de Enero de 1624,' but this request was not granted till two years later. *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 351. The cost of maintaining them appears to have been wholly borne by the desagüe fund, which was thus drained of 89,853 pesos. *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, v. 358–9.

tlements in all directions. The only permanent standing forces were those on the frontier, engaged partly in conveying trains of merchandise, partly in garrison duty at the presidios, and those at the leading coast ports, as Vera Cruz and Acapulco. Altogether they constituted but a small body, and more were not considered necessary, as the citizens were always available, and efficient even against foreign invaders, who after all could do little beyond ravaging for a few leagues along certain parts of the coast.[3] Still there were points which absolutely required protection, such as Vera Cruz and Acapulco, the ports for the rich fleets and the storage place for valuable cargoes, and in view of the increasing number of Spain's enemies Cerralvo took steps to strengthen the fortifications there.

The chief reason for the latter measure was the arrival at Acapulco of a large Dutch fleet. Engaged in their struggle for independence, the Hollanders were eager not only to distract the attention of the Spaniards by carrying the war to the enemy's coasts, but to injure them while enriching themselves. With this object several fleets were despatched to prey on Spanish trade and colonies, and among them one of eleven vessels with over sixteen hundred men, under Admiral Jacob l'Hérémite. It was known, however, as the Nassau fleet, from the prince under whose auspices it was chiefly fitted out.[4] It left Holland in 1623 with the chief object of ravaging the rich shores of Peru. This plan proved a failure so lamentable as to hasten the death of l'Hérémite. The fleet thereupon proceeded northward under Admiral Schapenham and entered Acapulco on the 28th of October 1624. The Philippine galleons had not yet arrived, and the place contained little worth fighting for, especially as the inhabitants had had time to retire with

[3] Zamacois and others hastily intimate that no troops existed. *Hist. Méj.*, v. 305.

[4] This has led most Spanish writers to suppose that this prince commanded it.

their valuables. The commandant had entrenched himself with his feeble garrison in a stronghold, and thence refused the overtures of Schapenham for an exchange of hostages, while the latter endeavored to obtain some fresh provisions.[5] The Hollander's main intention was to ascertain when the Manila fleet should arrive. He now contented himself with a few attempts to procure water and fruit, magnified by modern Mexican writers into an invasion of the town. This extreme caution of the enemy encouraged the Spaniards on one occasion to beat back his men with loss. After despatching part of his fleet Schapenham set sail with the remainder November 8th, and tired of waiting for the galleons he steered for the East Indies.[6]

Warned of the visit, Cerralvo had hastened to send troops to relieve the town, but their march was countermanded on learning of the enemy's departure. Energetic efforts were made, however, to construct defences[7] both here and at Vera Cruz, for in the gulf of Mexico foreign cruisers could frequently be seen. In 1625 the treasure fleet for Spain under Cadereita, later viceroy of New Spain, narrowly escaped their clutches,[8] but the fleet of 1628, carrying bullion and other effects to the value of over twelve millions of pesos, was surprised in the Bahama Channel by the famous Dutch admiral Pieter Heyne, who for some

[5] It was proposed to give captured Peruvians in return for hostages and provisions.

[6] The best account of this voyage is the *Diurnal vnd Historische Beschreybung der Nassawischen Flotten*, by Decker, who served on one of the vessels, as he states. Strasburg, 1629. It appeared in an earlier shorter form as *Journael van de Nassausche Vloot*, issued at Amsterdam in 1626 by Gerritz, and has been widely copied in De Bry's *Hist. Amer.*, xiii.; *Gottfried*, *Newe Welt*, 565 et seq., and others. It is well written, yet not so full and candid as might be desired.

[7] Eighteen large pieces of artillery were brought from Manila at a cost of 7,411 pesos. *Grau*, *Manila*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, vi. 380. Travellers mention bronze cannon there marked 1628. In the following year, says Cavo, another Dutch fleet entered to seek provisions without doing any damage. *Tres Siglos*, i. 277.

[8] For this an annual thanksgiving was ordered on the 25th of November. What with corsairs, storms, and carelessness these fleets had to meet many misfortunes. In 1614 seven vessels were driven on shore near Cape Cotoche with heavy loss, though the governor took steps to recover a portion. *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yucathan*, 472–3.

time had been successfully operating off Portugal and against transatlantic vessels. The Spaniards fought bravely and several vessels were sunk before the flag-ship surrendered. The blow proved no less severe to the merchants of New Spain than to the king, who sorely needed the treasure.[9]

This success lured a number of other raiders who for want of better points along the gulf made Yucatan suffer. In 1632 six vessels threatened Campeche, but timely succor made them retreat. In August of the following year the town was again visited, this time by ten vessels under a leader known to the Spaniards as Pié de Palo. Guided by a renegade, he advanced against the entrenchment behind which Captain Galvan Romero had retired, but a well directed fire killed several of his men, and caused the rest to waver. It would not answer to lose many lives for so poor a place, and so a ruse was resorted to. The corsairs turned in pretended flight. The hot-headed Spaniards at once came forth in pursuit, only to be trapped and killed. Those who escaped made a stand in the plaza, whence they were quickly driven, and thereupon the sacking parties overran the town.[10] Seven years later Sisal was visited by a fleet of eleven vessels and partly burned after yielding but little to the raiders.[11]

One result of these ravages was an order for the formation of a squadron, under the name of Barlovento,[12] to protect the gulf of Mexico and the West India waters. It was to consist of twelve galleons

[9] In *Vazquez, Chrón. Gvat.*, 255, is related a similar surprise by a French foe, some years later. Fourteen friars perished, but eight others were picked up and forwarded to Cádiz.

[10] The corsair demanded 40,000 pesos to spare the town from destruction, but the citizens refused to interfere. The renegade guide, Diego the mulatto, felt deeply moved at the death of Romero, who had been his godfather, but against several other persons he entertained a profound hatred born of former maltreatment. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 596–8; *Castillo, Dic. Yuc.*, 269–70.

[11] In 1637 the opportune appearance of troops had saved the town from such a fate. *Id.*, 602, 639–40. Pié de Palo was reported to be waiting for the fleet of 1638, and it turned back. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 10.

[12] Windward, in allusion to this other name for the Antilles.

and two smaller vessels, and the estimated cost of maintenance, six hundred thousand ducats, should be levied on the islands and mainland from Panamá northward. Mexico offered to contribute two hundred thousand pesos by means of an excise tax of two per cent.[13] Mérida placed herself on the list with seven thousand pesos for fifteen years, and other towns came forward with different amounts. One duty of the fleet was to prevent smuggling, from which the treasury suffered greatly, and while the chief station must be Vera Cruz, other ports were to be frequented. To this end surveys should be made, partly with a view to future shipyards.[14]

The declaration of war by France in 1633 added another to the many enemies arrayed against Spain through the unfortunate policy of Felipe IV.,[15] and the colonies had to share her misfortunes not alone in the form of pirate raids, but in being subjected to forced loans and pressing appeals for voluntary and tax imposts. Already by cédula of December 4, 1624, the king had intimated to his subjects that they ought to assist him in his dire need by voluntary gifts, and New Spain was told that 600,000 ducats would be expected by the following year from her rich colonists. They sent 432,000 pesos, and this liberal response caused the donativo, or gift, fund to become a fixed source of revenue.[16] The appeal for this fund

[13] In addition to four per cent already existing, two reals were also levied on cards. This offer was accepted by council of October 19, 1638, deduction having to be made when no fleet came. The contador of the fund was appointed by the king. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 30.

[14] The first order for the Barlovento fleet, dated in May 1635, was followed by others bearing chiefly on funds for it. The two per mille collected by the consulado was applied to it, and other taxes. *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, ii. 12–20; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 559. Santa María de la Vitoria, in Tabasco, was one of the places, fortified with artillery, and in war time with a large garrison. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 87. In 1636 Philippine traders fitted out two vessels of their own to watch for corsairs.

[15] An embargo was ordered placed on the property of all French subjects in New Spain, as elsewhere, but timely warning came from Spain and many saved themselves.

[16] By 1638 Mexico city gave 1,100,000 pesos toward it. The revenue from the *Tributos y Real Servicio* fund amounted in the decade of 1631–40 to 2,390,200, an increase of 400,000 over the previous term. *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, i. 450, v. 433–41; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 126.

was enjoined on bishops and other officials; and different offices, such as canonries and prebendaryships, were granted to those who displayed liberality. Officials had to submit to large deductions of pay under the term of *media anata*[17] and *mesada*,[18] the latter applying to ecclesiastics. In addition to these exactions loans were demanded, or forcibly taken when not otherwise obtainable,[19] and certain taxes were sold to speculators for a large sum payable in cash.[20]

Frequent prayers rose from all churches throughout Spanish domains for divine aid toward the efficacy of these measures, and with a view to incline worshippers to open their purses as freely as their hearts. There was need in truth to promote Christian forbearance among the oppressed subjects, for, at the very time they were asked to bear the burden of wars brought upon them often by mere caprice, they received urgent appeals to contribute large amounts toward the rebuilding of royal palaces.[21]

The most grievously taxed colonists of New Spain at this time were probably those at Mexico. Reputed to be among the richest in the wealthy colonies, they were expected to meet liberally every demand for aid by the crown, no matter how sorely rulers, or pirates, or famine might harass them. And now another misfortune was at hand. In 1627 heavy rains caused the Rio Quauhtitlan to break the dams confining its

[17] It was established in 1631 and exacted half the income of the first year from each office, as the term implies. This levy was increased at times. For rules regarding the tax see *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 542 et seq.

[18] This deduction of 'monthly' incomes, as the term implies, was established still earlier. For decrees concerning it see *Id.*, i. 152 et seq.

[19] In 1625 Cerralvo repaid 40,000 pesos lent by the municipality, and on the strength of the good-will created by this promptness he shortly after demanded a larger loan. *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 86, 326. Part of the bullion arriving in Spain was seized and the owners were compelled to accept instead money of inferior intrinsic value.

[20] Holders of land with doubtful titles were made to pay 'compromise' fees, collection offices were extended to new regions, and other means taken to obtain increased revenue. See also *Gaye, Voy.*, i. 201. Much of this was sent direct to Florida, the West Indies, and other parts, which were also supplied with powder and other articles. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 572, 592–3.

[21] *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, v. 441; *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 441.

waters, and overflow into the lower lakes, so that several parts of Mexico were laid eighteen inches under water. The alarmed citizens at once bestirred themselves; causeways were raised according to the plans of the engineer Boot; a new dam was constructed near Tizayuca; another to divert the Rio Pachuca, and work on the drainage tunnel received fresh impulse.[22]

The decrease of moisture in the following year calmed the ardor of both workers and taxpayers, and many useful projects were set aside as needless. In 1629 the rains began early with the prospect of a wet season. Dams broke at several points, and already on the 5th of September canoes floated in several parts of the city, and thousands prepared to depart. On the 21st, St Matthew's day, came the heaviest rainfall so far known in the valley; and it continued for thirty-six hours, till the whole city lay under water to a depth of fully two varas in most parts.[23] The confusion and misery defy description. All seemed one vast lake dotted with thousands of isolated houses. Roofs and windows were crowded with men, women, and children, drenched and suffering from hunger and exposure. From every direction rose lamentation, mingled with the agonized cries of drowning persons and noise of crumbling walls. While some buildings were undermined with the melting of the adobe brick, or the washing away of the foundation, others were carried wholly away. The costly goods in shops and warehouses were ruined, and broken furniture and

[22] Cavo, followed by modern writers, places some of these measures in 1626, and states that the flood of 1627 gave rise merely to useless consultations, *Tres Siglos*, i. 278; but Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 178, confirms the more natural supposition that the flood gave impulse to dams and other works. The dam near Tizayuca, called Presa del Rey, was made or completed in 1628. *Inundaciones*, in *Col. de Diarios*, 356.

[23] 'Llegó a tener dos barcas de alto el agua por donde menos.' *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. ii. 27. 'Subia mas de media vara en la parta mas alta.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 180; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 96–7. Vetancurt writes that the main square with cathedral, palace, and plazuela de Volador, and all Santiago remained above water, *Chron.*, 121; but this must be a mistake, for the square lay less than two varas above the surface of the lake.

other household effects floated about the streets. No one could leave his dwelling save in canoes; and these did not suffice for all, so that intercourse was difficult. Public affairs came to a standstill; divine service was suspended, and bells were rung only for prayer.

The viceroy and archbishop set an example to officials and wealthy persons by extending succor to the more needy quarters. The city was divided into districts, and canoes were sent round with provisions; the sick and helpless were taken to better quarters, the palace itself being converted into a hospital and house of refuge, where for six months the viceroy dispensed charity. No less noble were the efforts of other prominent persons, the prelate establishing half a dozen hospitals, and seeking also to encourage the sufferers with religious consolation by going around daily to hold masses at altars improvised on roofs and balconies. The flood showing no signs of abatement, he proceeded to the Guadalupe shrine on the mainland, and brought thence, for the first time since its foundation, the image of the virgin,[24] in the hope that so sacred a presence might cause the water to retire; but no speedy relief was experienced.

Under this gloomy prospect the agitation for a removal of the city was renewed, and many began to erect houses in different parts along the mainland shore. Petitions were addressed to the king to grant his sanction, and in a cédula of May 19, 1632, the elevated plain between Tacuba and Tacubaya was assigned for the new site, if a representative council should find the change necessary.[25]

By this time property-holders were well aware that

[24] Brought over on September 27th says Medina, who adds the pious falsehood that the waters at once began to retire. *Chrón. S. Diego*, 123. Alegre, loc. cit., gives the 24th and leaves the intimation that no good effect followed. *Florencia, Estrella del Norte*, 130. Dávila upholds the efficacy of the image, and adds that an image of St Dominic assisted in lowering the waters; so much so that 'a fines de Julio del año de 1630...recibieron por Patron y abogado a Santo Domingo.' *Continuacion*, MS., 303; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 96–7.

[25] This site was on the Sanctorum grange. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 2–3. Those who had erected houses elsewhere must not occupy them. This and supplementary decrees are reproduced in *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. iii. 7 et seq.

such a change would work their ruin, and loud remonstrances found their way even to the court. The city property, now valued at fully fifty millions, would be lost, including a large number of sumptuous temples, fifteen convents, eight hospitals, six colleges, and other public buildings and works. With the growing scarcity of available Indians the cost of rebuilding would be immense, and thousands would be reduced to beggary by the transfer. Besides, how could all the convents and temples be restored, and how could the inmates be supported when present rentals were lost?[26] Those who assisted at the councils for considering the question were most of them too deeply interested in the city property to permit a change, and so the project dropped. They sturdily continued to occupy their houses, although for over four years the city remained practically flooded. The higher parts did come above the surface, but heavy rains on two occasions assisted to keep the waters above the lower lying districts.[27]

Meanwhile a large number of families migrated to Puebla and other towns, and a still larger proportion perished during the floods and from the exposure, want, and diseases which followed, particularly in the poorer and Indian sections.[28] Energetic measures were taken to improve communication and other facilities

[26] The most interesting representations on this subject are given in Cepeda. It is also referred to in *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, v. 360; in *Cavo; Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43; *Medina, Chrón., S. Diego*, 234; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 18. The number of houses is given at 7,700. The oidores who figured at the time and assisted in deciding the question, were Licenciado Francisco del Castillo, Doctor Juan de Canseco, licenciates Alonso de Uria y Tobar, Francisco de Herrera Campuzano, Antonio Cuello de Portugal, Juan de Villabona Zubiaurri, and fiscales Juan Gonzalez de Piñafiel and Juan de Miranda Gordejuela. *Cepeda, Rel.*, i. 29, 37.

[27] Vetancurt, *Chrón.*, 121, extends the flood over five years. Velasco, *Exalt. Div.*, 45–6, says four. Alegre specifies till spring of 1633 and states that the rains of 1630 nearly gave rise to a riot. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 182–3. Some documents imply that the water practically receded between 1631 and 1633 and finally in 1634, *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 215, while Lorenzana assumes that rains in 1631 and 1634 raised the decreasing waters. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 22.

[28] Archbishop Zúñiga exaggerated the loss to 30,000 Indians, and states that of 20,000 Spanish families (?) only 400 remained a month after the great inundation. Letter of October 16, 1629. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 60; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 121; *Grambila, Tumultos*, ii.

so as to decrease the suffering and induce people to return. Raised sidewalks or causeways were constructed along the houses, canoe traffic was increased, and medical aid provided. In 1634 came a series of earthquake shocks which rent the valley in different directions, and assisted greatly to draw off the water. This was claimed by the native and creole population as a miracle performed by their favorite, the virgin of Guadalupe, while the Spaniards stoutly attributed it to their patron, she of Remedios, intimating that the mediation of the other image had so far effected no good. The dispute between the votaries became quite hot,[29] though they might more reasonably have cursed the agency which, having it within its power to deliver them, had kept them in misery so long. With this occurrence the city saw herself once more free from the lake; and now haste was made to clean the streets and dredge the canals, for to the obstructions in these channels was partly attributed slow drainage.[30]

During the excitement consequent upon the first flood, enemies of the Jesuits sought to direct popular feeling against them as having broken the dams. Investigation revealed that Martinez, the engineer of the drainage tunnel, had closed this outlet on beholding the vast flow of water, confident that its force and accompanying debris would merely destroy his works, while the latter would be inadequate under the circumstances to aid in saving Mexico. The Jesuits were cleared, but Martinez had to languish for a time in prison for acting without permission.[31]

The importance of drainage and diversion of tributary waters became now more generally admitted, and

[29] As Betrani, *Mex.*, ii. 67–8, eagerly points out.

[30] The new viceroy Cadereita gave impulse to these operations. Cavo places the cost at 14,000 pesos, which must be a misprint. Cepeda mentions 34,000 for certain work, and Vetancurt, *Chrón.*, 121, states that the Franciscans accomplished, with Indian aid, for 90,000 what others estimated at 140,000. Algate speaks of relics of this period, found in the beginning of this century, under the raised causeways. *Gaceta*, ii. 124–5.

[31] He was also ill provided with funds for work on the tunnel. *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. ii. 26. It was charged that he had closed the tunnel on purpose to raise the estimation of its value. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 214.

a number of projects to this end were submitted, all of which received due attention, the viceroy joining personally in examination of ground. Several proposed a drain from Lake San Cristóbal through Rio Tequisquiac into the Pánuco, and Simon Mendez even urged the extension of the drain to Tezcuco Lake. He was allowed to begin the task, but its infeasibility must soon have become apparent, for it did not progress far.[32] Another suggested that the underground passage into which the Teotihuacan rivulet disappeared might serve for outlet, and finally the Jesuit father Calderon revived the tradition of a natural sink in the bottom of Tezcuco Lake, between two rocks near Pantitlan. This received more attention than might be expected, and quite extensive examinations were made under the alluring offer of a hundred thousand pesos for its discovery.[33]

None of the plans appearing to possess the merits of the Huehuetoca channel for efficacy and cheapness, a contract was made with Martinez for 200,000 pesos to put the tunnel in condition for carrying off the tributary waters of Zumpango and Citlaltepec lakes.[34] The plan was deemed insufficient[35] and work dragged slowly along both on the outlet, now destined to become an open cut, and on adjacent structures. The dam of San Cristóbal, protecting the Tezcuco from northern waters, was restored in a substantial manner; a tributary of Chalco Lake from the volcano range was diverted, and several minor dams were con-

[32] Each of these plans was estimated to cost from three to nine millions.

[33] Humboldt comments unfavorably on the supposition that the porous amygdaloid of the valley could present any apertures. *Essai Pol.*, i. 216. For a list of the different projects with details of the principal, see *Cepeda, Rel.*, 16, pt. ii. 37–40, pt. iii. 5–6, 17 et seq.; *Vetancvrt, Chron.*, 123–4; *La Cruz*, i. 542–5.

[34] This task was to be finished in 21 months beginning early in 1630. Mexico sent 300 Indians to work, and orders came in October 'que la obra corriera hasta las bocas de S. Gregorio.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 2.

[35] The adverse report of Oidor Cubiaurré on the work in 1632 hastened the death of Martinez. Cubiaurré succeeded him as superintendent for a short time. In 1637 the Franciscan comisario general Flores took charge and his order retained control for many years. *Inundaciones*, in *Col. de Diarios*, MS., 356–8.

structed or repaired.[36] In order to relieve the city, the funds for these operations were obtained chiefly by means of a tax on imported wines.[37] By 1637 the expenditure on the drainage works had risen to nearly three millions. During the following decade only three hundred and thirty-eight thousand pesos were expended, and after that still smaller amounts, till 1768–77, when they rose to somewhat over half a million.[38]

Mexico was not very successful in her appeals to the virgin patrons, as we have seen, and her religious fortitude received a further shock from the circumstance that, just before her greatest misfortune, she had celebrated the canonization of the protomartyr San Felipe and enrolled him as one of her guardians. Among a population so largely composed of creoles, with an immense Indian support, all looking on New Spain as their native country, and regarding Spaniards from the peninsula with more or less antagonism—among such a people, deeply imbued with religious feeling, the possession of a national saint must have been ardently desired. This longing was finally satisfied in the person of Felipe de Jesus, the eldest of ten children born at Mexico to Alonso de las Casas[39] and his wife Antonia Martinez. Casas had grown rich as a trader in the capital, and eager for the redemption of his soul, he designated three of his six sons for the service of God. One, Juan, became an Augustinian, and found martyrdom at the Moluccas in 1607; another, Francisco by name, labored actively in the same order as a priest till 1630;[40] and

[36] By Father Garibay of Mexicaltzinco. *Vetancvrt, Chrón.*, 121.

[37] Of 25 pesos on the barrel, half going toward the fortifications at Vera Cruz. This tax continued to be levied, though in later years but a fraction was applied to the drainage. *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, v. 368–9.

[38] Details of cost and amount of different work are given in the full official report of Cepeda, *Relacion*, pt. iii. 21, etc.; also in *Instruc. Vireys*, 263. Fonseca specifies 1,504,531 as expended during 1628–37, and 1,464,883 previously. *Hist. Hac.*, v. 532.

[39] Wrongly called Canales by several writers.

[40] Named Francisco and dying on San Francisco's day, he must have had

the third, Felipe, born on May 1, 1575, and educated at the Jesuit college, joined the barefooted Franciscans at Puebla, but fell from his vows and was by the angry parents sent to the Philippines, there to seek his fortune.[41] The large sum of money which he brought as a means for advancement was soon dissipated in riot, but the consequences hastened repentance, and in 1594 he became again a barefooted Franciscan, displaying this time such devout zeal as to gain general admiration. After two years of penance he left for home.

The vessel touched at Japan,[42] and there he with several brother friars was seized to undergo martyrdom.[43] Proceedings were instituted for the canonization of the victims, Archbishop Serna himself making inquiries on behalf of Felipe, and by bull of September 14, 1627, thirty years after his death, the repentant son of the merchant was admitted a saint, as the protomartyr of Mexico. Two years later, on the anniversary of his martyrdom, February 5th, the city celebrated the beatification with imposing ceremonies, and received San Felipe de Jesus as one of the patrons. The viceroy and archbishop led in the procession, and the mother of the saint was able to participate; but the excitement and joy carried her to the grave a few days later.[44]

About the same time efforts were made for the beatification of a revered hermit named Gregorio

some spiritual relations with this saint, observes Medina, *Chrón. S. Diego*, 114.

[41] As a soldier, says Medina, yet he allows him to take large amounts of money wherewith to speculate. Others intimate that he intended to pursue the trade of a silversmith, in which he had already engaged at Mexico. *Sta María, Chron. St Joseph*, ii. lib. iii. cap. x.; *Ribadeneyra, Hist. Arch.*, lib. vi. cap. iv.; *Comp. de Jesus, Defensa*, 5.

[42] On a mission, it is said, yet Medina declares that Zales drove it there for refuge. During the voyage singular phenomena gave indication of the saint on board.

[43] The bodies of the victims appear all to have been recovered and taken to Manila. Felipe was crucified and lanced after losing his left ear.

[44] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 177–8. Pueblo city also vowed to observe the day of San Felipe, who first assumed the robe there. *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 33–4, 114–20; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 96, 363.

Lopez, who had died in 1596 at the age of fifty-four. In early years he served as page to Philip II., yet led an austere and contemplative life, and was said to be of royal blood. In 1562 he came to New Spain and retired as a hermit among the wild Indians near Atemayac, preaching, practising charity, and writing books. Several of these were printed and two attained more than one edition.[45] Archbishop Serna transferred his body to the cathedral at Mexico and joined in the efforts for his enrolment among the saints. This was urged as late as 1752, but in vain.[46]

More persistent and successful were the efforts for the canonization of King Ferdinand of Spain, toward which large sums were at this time collected in New Spain.[47] In 1629 also imposing ceremonies were held in honor of Cortés the conqueror, on the occasion of the funeral of his last male descendant. The body was then transferred from Tezcuco to the Franciscan church at Mexico, the viceroy, leading corporations, officials, and citizens joining in solemn procession.[48]

Cerralvo had twice asked to be relieved of office, owing to ill-health and to family affairs which demanded his presence in Spain. This was granted in 1635, with appointment to the councils of war and the Indies and a rental of 3,000 ducados for two lives.[49] He certainly deserved recognition from the sovereign,

[45] As *Declaracion del Appocalipsi* of which I have a manuscript copy; *Tesoro de Medicinas*, Mexico, 1673, highly spoken of by Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 869, and others, also in my possession; *Oratoria Parentatis*, Mex., 1666, and *Collectio Opusculorum*, Rome, 1752. A perpetual calendar, a universal chronology, and other pieces remain in manuscript.

[46] One reason may have been the charge of heresy made against him on first arriving at Mexico, though not sustained. For details of his life, see *Argaiz, Vida y Escritos... Lopez*, Mad., 1678, 1–121; *Losa, Vida del Siervo... Lopez*, Madrid, 1727, 1–442; *Somoza, Brev. Not.*, Puebla, 1850, 1–31, and less full accounts in Mexican histories, such as *Velasco, Hist. Mil. Ren.*, 188–96.

[47] Bishop Prado alone paid 6,000 pesos. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 126, 131.

[48] For documents on the subject see Alaman, *Disert.*, ii. 52–4, and app. Sosa reproduces many details of the ceremonies. *Episc. Mex.*, 68–9. Pedro Cortés died January 30, 1629, and on February 24th the funeral took place.

[49] On Indians in New Spain, granted May 27, 1638. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 56.

for he had proved an able and energetic ruler, dispensing justice with promptness and impartiality, fostering trade and industries, practising charity, and looking zealously to the welfare of the people. He left a power of attorney to answer at his residencia[50] and hastened away, carrying a considerable amount of treasure, it was said.

Before his departure the installation took place, on September 16th, of the sixteenth viceroy, Lope Diez de Armendariz, marqués de Cadereita, a man of long and varied experience in the royal service. In 1603 and 1608 he figured as admiral and general of fleets; in which position he showed himself quite fortunate, notably in 1625, when he caused wide-spread rejoicings by escaping with a most valuable treasure.[51] He afterward became majordomo to the king and member of the royal council.[52]

His reception created less attention than usual on such occasions owing to the restrictions placed by the king on costly pageantry.[53] Little of note occurred during his rule; affairs progressed to the general satisfaction. The Indians received protection, and settlements were extended northward, one in Nuevo Leon being named Cadereita in his honor. Yet his relations with the audiencia do not appear to have been quite satisfactory,[54] and at his residencia some

[50] The only notable charge was by the religious orders for his interference in their appointments and other acts tending to lower their influence with Indians and others. Although this was not sustained at the time, a revival of the residencia took place five years later, without any unfavorable results to Cerralvo, it appears. *Acusacion*, in *Tumultos de Mex.*, 1–13; *Cerralvo, Acusacion*, in *Vireyes de Mex. Iustruc.*, pt. 16–17; *Samaniego, Rel.*, 98–9; *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 3. Doctor Quiroga y Moya was the judge.

[51] An annual thanksgiving was ordered held in consequence. Certain accounts place his fleet at eight galleons and that of the enemy at 109 vessels. *Aguilar, Náutica Sacra*, 2; *Pap. Var.*, i. pt. i.; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., série i. tom. ii. 2.

[52] He was accompanied by his wife, but his daughter remained in Spain. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 14; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 201; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 55. His appointment bore date April 19, 1635. *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 344.

[53] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 14.

[54] A cédula of 1639 reprimands the oidores for giving him bad advice. *Id.*, ii. 189; vii. 3–7. The names of the leading officials at the time may be gathered from *Cepeda, Rel.*, pt. i. 2; *Certif. de Mercedes*, MS., 124; *Granados, Tardes*, 385–6.

malice was exhibited, chiefly from his quarrel with the archbishop. The real nature of this trouble is not clear, though it arose from the interference of each dignitary with what the other considered his special privileges and duties.[55] While the crown was not seriously alarmed, a similar quarrel in 1624 probably induced it to remove one of them.

The prelate, Doctor Francisco Manso y Zúñiga,[56] had on April 12, 1628,[57] been appointed to succeed the troublesome Serna. He possessed many qualifications for his office whereby he gained not only public approval but the confidence of the king. Educated at Salamanca, he took orders in 1608, became rector of Valladolid university, vicar-general of Aloa, abbot of several prominent establishments, oidor of Granada in 1612, and finally member of the India Council; so that with high learning and ecclesiastic experience he combined the training of judge and political counselor;[58] yet we find him embroiling himself so far with the viceroy as to lead to his recall in 1635.[59] Otherwise his administration proved satisfactory, and among the people his memory was revered for the kindness and charity displayed in particular during the great inundation, and in aiding religious edifices.[60] The king indeed was not displeased, for he presented him to the see of Cartagena and afterward to the archdiocese of Búrgos. In 1650 Zúñiga entered the Indian Council with the title of conde de Ervias.[61]

[55] Gonzalez Dávila, who wrote about this time, merely says, 'Tvvo encuentros con el Virrey en defensa de la inmunidad de la Iglesia.' *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 61. The marchioness was actually to be prevented from visiting nunneries.

[56] Panes adds Mendoza. *Virreyes*, MS., 96.

[57] Gonzalez Dávila writes 1629; but Zúñiga was at Mexico already in February of this year, and arrived probably at the close of 1628.

[58] He was born at Cañas about 1582, and studied also at Valladolid.

[59] Cavo erroneously writes 1639. *Tres Siglos*, ii. 11.

[60] Gonzalez Dávila speaks also of his liberal expenditures at the funeral of the infante archbishop of Toledo, *Teatro*, 61, yet this act savors rather of obsequious calculation.

[61] And visconde de Negueruela. *Sosa, Episc. Mex.*, 72. At his death, six years later, he left treasures to the value of 800,000 pesos, which were placed under embargo. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 359. Yet the greater part no doubt reached his heirs.

Francisco Verdugo, long connected with the inquisition, and since 1623 bishop of Guamanga in Peru, was appointed his successor at Mexico, but died in August 1636, before the bulls reached him.[62] Meanwhile the archdiocese was administered by Doctor Fernandez de Ipenza, an intimate of Zúñiga, who probably assisted in procuring for him the bishopric of Yucatan; but death overtook Ipenza before consecration.[63] The next appointee to the prelacy of Mexico was a creole, Feliciano de la Vega, born at Lima and there educated. His great learning and brilliant talents procured prompt recognition, and he became successively governor of the Lima archdiocese and bishop of Popayan and of La Paz. The latter appointment was conferred in 1639 and in the same year came his promotion to Mexico. On arriving at Acapulco early in December 1640 he was seized with fever from which he died within a few days,[64] to the regret of the creole population at least, who were naturally eager to see installed as leading prelate one of their own class, though born in a distant land.

[62] At the age of 75, it seems, though Gonzalez Dávila says 80. He had been professor at Seville, inquisidor at Lima from 1601–23, and had repeatedly declined promotion to Spanish sees. He dispensed all his income in alms and died deeply regretted. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 62.

[63] The appointment was dated October 6, 1643.

[64] The body was afterward removed from Mazatlan to Mexico cathedral. He left a fortune of 800,000 pesos, but no will whereby to embalm his memory in charities, observes Gonzalez Dávila, yet he adds: 'Fue vno de los mas felizes ingenios que tuuo el Reyno de Pirú.' *Teatro*, i. 63–5. Of 4,000 decisions made by him as ruler of the Lima see none was revoked. The fortune above referred to gave rise to strange complications as will be seen.

Herewith I give broader references to some authorities consulted for the preceding chapters: *Torquemada*, i. 306–11, 572, 618–19, 671, 690–3, 726–68; iii. 269–77, 380–1; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 43 et seq.; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 120, passim; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 36, 393–442; ii. 10–42, 115, 136, 178–9; *Cepeda, Relacion*, i. 4, passim; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 2, 18, 42–61, 92–6, 122–31, 182–97, 206–39; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 11, 33–4, 44–9, 113–53, 234, 240; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 232–9, 409, passim; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. ix. cap. viii.; *Tumultos de Mex.*, MS., 15 et seq.; *Vetancvrt, Chron. San Evang.*, 13–23, 120–7; *Id., Trat. Mex.*, 11–14, 30–9; *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 1–19; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, ii. 305–6, 340–2; *Id., Palestra Hist.*, 139–48, 193–200; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 35–6, 56, 116; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, 114; *Vazquez, Chron. de Gvat.*, 255; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 124; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 447–60; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., 1555 y 65, 216–17; *Ordenes, de la Corona*, MS., ii. 145–89; vii. 1–7; *Remesal,*

Hist. Chyapa, 718; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., 2–5; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. ii., passim; *Id.*, série ii. tom. iii., passim; *Mexico, Rel. Svm. de Tumultos*, 1 et seq.; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 15; *Id., Parayso Occid.*, 24–6; *Mexico y sus Disturbios*, MS., i. 16–54, 289–91, 361–451; ii. 1–676; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 380; *Maltratamiento de Indios*, MS., 1–8; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 18–22; *Instruc. Vireyes*, 263; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 21, passim; ii. 27, passim; *Montęmayor, Svmarios*, 56–9, 181, 216–17; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 55–73; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 343, 355; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 140–5; *Mexico, Rel. del Estado*, passim; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. passim; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, MS., 265; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, i. 84; ii. 791; *Lact, Am. Descrip.*, 233–9, 251–316; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 204–35, 674; ii. 817; *Id., New Spain*, 90–2, 100–5; *Id., Versuch*, ii. 87–128; *Santos, Chron. Hosp.*, ii. 433–45, 458–61; 464–73, 589–90; *Arlegui, Prov. de Zac.*, 81–3, 138–44, 243–4, 346; *Mayer, Mex. Aztec*, i. 149, 163, 176–98; *Abispa de Chalpancingo, Escritos*, 365; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 139, 328, 342; ii. 212–19, 260, 304–5, 378–9, 547–9; iii. 396; iv. 489–93; v. 250–1; vi. 761–2; vii. 485–6; viii. 577; ix. 216–17, 260–1, 333–4, 504, 587–8, 805, 930; x. 369–70, 539–43, 653–63, 761, 822, 928–9; *Aguilar, Nautica*, 2–12; *San Sanson, L'Amer.*, 18; *Zevallos, Hist. Mund.*, 135; *Gonzales, Col. N. Leon*, 3–16; *Alvares, Estudios*, iii. 179–221, 461–505; *Touron, Hist. Gen.*, vii. 278–92, 303–5; *Arevalo, Compend.*, 171–2; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, iii. 237–56; iv. 2–43; *Album, Mex.*, i. 351–3; *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 472–5, 596–8; *Poussin's Question*, 27–8; *Arrillaga, Recop., 1835*, 5–6; *Muhlenpford, Versuch*, ii. 254–63; *Frost's Hist. Mex.*, 138–40; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, x. 157–8; *Correal, Voy.* (Paris ed.), i. 1; *Beltrami, Mex.*, ii. 62–78; *Samaniego, Rel.*, 98–9; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 105–7; *Gage, Voy.* (Amsterdam ed. 1720), i. 68–116, 203–22; *Id.* (Paris ed. 1696), i. 225–45; *Muller, Reisen en Mex.*, ii. 52–67; iii. 185–90; *Arroniz, Biog. Mex.*, 159–62, 250–2; *Id., Hist. y Cron.*, 105–7; *Nicolaï, Newe und Warhaffte*, 305; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 89–91; *Ogilby's Am.*, 245; *Ribera, Gob. Mex.*, 77, passim; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 176, 223; *Castillo, Dic. Hist.*, 60, 269–72; *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, i. 10–12; *Alzate, Gacetas*, ii. 124–5; *Granadas, Tardes Am.*, 340–1, 385–6; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.* (Paris ed. 1843), 150; *Shepard's Land of the Aztec*, 37–9; *Varios Impresos*, nos. iii. vi.–vii.; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hacienda*, ii. 12–22, 263–337; iv. 429–50; v. 352–61; *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, viii. 767–70; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, ii. 106; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 51–71; *Ward's Hist. Mex.*, ii. 282; *Ternaux-Compans, Col. Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 322; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 41, 169; v. 246, passim; *Balbuena, Grandeza Meg.*, 1–140; *Liceo Mex.*, ii. 5–6, 40–2, 52, 80–3, 119–33, 144–7, 164–5; *Burney's Discov. South Seas*, ii. 273 et seq.; *Mexico, Rel. de Gelves*, passim; *Berenger, Col. Voy.*, i. 262, 288–93; *Compañia de Jesus, Defensa*, passim; *Fisher's National Mag.*, i. 249–54; *Mosaico Mex.*, ii. 269; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 271; *Registro Yucateco*, i. 194–8; *Velasco, Exalt. Divin. Miser.*, 39–49; *Terranova y Monteleone, Esposicion*, 21–63; *Somoza, Breve Not.*, 2–31; *Rodriguez, Carta Hist.*, 2–6, 35–50; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 7–8; iv. 19, 73; v. 349–52; viii. 165; *Palafox y Mendoza, Venerable Señor*, 5–7; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 77–91; *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 28–9; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, no. xxxiv. 486–512; *Alaman, Disert.*, ii. 50–77, 236–9; iii. 19–28, 173, 389; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 13, passim.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF VICEROYS ESCALONA, PALAFOX, AND SALVATIERRA.

1640–1648.

VICEROY ESCALONA'S ARRIVAL—THE BISHOP AND VISITADOR PALAFOX—QUARRELS ABOUT DOCTRINAS—A COVETOUS RULER—FRUITLESS COMPLAINTS—STARTLING NEWS FROM PORTUGAL—ESCALONA'S SYMPATHIES—AN INSOLENT CAPTAIN—VICEROY VERSUS BISHOP—PALAFOX MADE ARCHBISHOP AND GOVERNOR OF NEW SPAIN—SECRET PREPARATIONS—THE STROKE AGAINST ESCALONA—HIS VINDICATION IN SPAIN—PALAFOX AN ABLE VICEROY—ICONOCLASM—EPISCOPAL LABORS AT PUEBLA—VICEROY SALVATIERRA ARRIVES—CALIFORNIA EXPLORATIONS—SALVATIERRA'S RULE.

SATISFACTORY as the rule of Viceroy Cadereita had been, the crown had, as it seems, some motive for his removal,[1] and the appointment of a successor was resolved upon. Diego Lopez Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, duque de Escalona and marqués de Villena, a grandee of Spain,[2] was the personage selected as seventeenth viceroy. He arrived at Vera Cruz the 24th of June 1640, though festivities in that city and at several points on the road delayed his entry into the capital until the 28th of August.[3] In the same fleet came the new bishop of Puebla and visitador general for New Spain, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, with a

[1] Troubles with Archbishop Manso y Zúniga may have been the cause. The reprimand of the audiencia would also indicate grounds for complaint.

[2] He was the first grandee that ever held the viceroyalty of New Spain. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 56. Escalona was a relative to the dukes of Braganza in Portugal.

[3] *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 14, followed by *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 12; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 22–3. Mayer, *Mex. Aztec*, i. 198, and Ribera, *Hist. Jalapa*, i. 91, state that his entry into Mexico was made four days after his arrival at Vera Cruz.

special commission to take the residencias of the former viceroys, Cerralvo and Cadereita, and to investigate the commercial relations with Peru and the Philippine Islands.

The new viceroy was a man of fair speech, and for a time won for himself the sympathies of the people, who expected from him a change for the better in the condition of affairs. At this period commerce and mining industries were depressed,[4] and the common necessaries of life could be purchased only at exorbitant rates. Moreover the church was in a demoralized condition, and the religious brotherhoods ever at strife; the highest ecclesiastical dignity in New Spain being represented only by a deputy.

The beginning of Escalona's rule showed some activity. He had been ordered by the king to make explorations on the coast of California, and soon after his accession a commission was issued for that purpose to the governor of Sinaloa. Certain Jesuits accompanied the expedition; but the only purpose which it served was to ascertain that the coast was rich in pearls, and, though cheerless and barren, inhabited by peaceful tribes. In the mean time the viceroy aided effectually in carrying out the orders which had been given him for the reformation of the doctrinas, the execution of which rested with the visitador-bishop Palafox, an able, energetic man, whose name became intimately linked with that of Escalona, and with the greatest ecclesiastical strife which occurred during the seventeenth century.

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza was born in Fitero, Navarre, on the 24th of June 1600, and was of noble descent, though a natural son. When ten years old he was legitimized by his father, Jaime de Palafox y Mendoza, marqués de Ariza.[5] Having received an educa-

[4] The losses sustained by shipwrecks and pirates during the preceding ten years were estimated at 30,000,000 pesos. *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 4–5.

[5] The latter title has probably misled several authors, among them Vetancurt and Gonzalez Dávila, who give Ariza in Aragon as his birthplace. *Trat. Mex.*, 52; *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 98.

tion in keeping with his rank, he intended to enter the army, but being dissuaded by his father, he studied law and theology at Alcalá and Salamanca, where his talents won the admiration of his teachers and fellow-students. His fame soon reached the ears of the king, who summoned him to court, and he was appointed in quick succession to several important offices in the council of the Indies, and of war. During this time he first entertained the idea of changing his worldly life for a more sacred calling,[6] and a few years later was ordained a priest, being appointed, in 1629, chaplain and chief-almoner to the empress, whom he accompanied to Germany,[7] where he remained for several years. On the 27th of December 1639 he was consecrated at Madrid, and on his arrival in New Spain, in June 1640, immediately entered upon his duties. His zeal and charity soon gained for him the love and obedience of his flock, while as visitador he knew so well how to temper justice with moderation that litigants highly respected his decisions. The only matter in which he displayed unwonted rigor was the removal of friars from doctrinas, and in this he was seconded by the viceroy.

For years great irregularities had prevailed in the appointments to doctrinas, or neophyte congregations, a great number of which the religious brotherhoods had held in their gift since the time of the conquest. Friars were installed and removed at will by their superiors, regardless of royal and pontifical decrees to the contrary, and of instructions directing candidates to be examined and approved by the bishop. Little or no attention was paid to the manner in which the doctrinas

[6] Several miraculous escapes from danger had already predisposed him to this change, and the death of two prominent courtiers hastened his resolution. His mother, who had become a recluse, encouraged him. *Palafox, Obras*, xiii. 10, 15–47.

[7] He held also for some time the offices of a treasurer of the church of Tarasona and of an abbot of Cintra. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 52; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 98. Lorenzana, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 251, mentions Palafox also as visitador of the royal convent of barefooted nuns of Madrid.

were administered, the only object seeming to be the accumulation of wealth at the expense of others. The bishop at once resolved to correct this abuse, and meeting with resistance on the part of the friars, proceeded to deprive the orders of their missions. In a short time he had established thirty-seven new curacies, which formerly had belonged to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. It must be admitted that in some instances he went too far, making a parish out of every district containing a small church or hermitage, if the ecclesiastics failed to appear before him during the short term granted for examination.[8] Finally, when the religious orders realized their inability to battle successfully with the united powers of the bishop and the viceroy, they submitted under protest to the India Council, a measure which was of no avail to them, however, as the conduct of the bishop was approved. The general feeling of the population had doubtless been with the bishop, and they considered the great number of friars as a burden to the country, and one of little benefit; for a few years later petitions were addressed to Spain, urging that no more friars be sent to Mexico, and that no licenses be issued for new convents.

Although an intimate friendship seemed to exist between Escalona and Palafox, which found expression in the frequent visits they paid each other, the former had not been deaf to the complaints of the friars merely for the sake of the bishop's good-will. He required a more tangible compensation, which was nothing less than the assistance, or at least the non-interference, of the powerful visitador. Pleasure, and the acquisition of wealth, were dear to the heart of the viceroy. The duties of his office were a sore burden to him, and he

[8] The Franciscans as the most numerous seem to have suffered most, judging from the long complaint of Vetancurt, who says that his order had to suffer many grievances. Only one Franciscan, of Atlixco, submitted to the bishop's demand, and having been approved, was left in undisturbed possession of his doctrina. *Vetancvrt, Chron. San Evang.*, 14–16; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 99. See also *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 13; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 28.

willingly transferred them to his friends and courtiers, if they would only offer him opportunity for amusement, and his due share of the official perquisites. The best offices were thus given to the partisans of the duke, and by them resold to the highest bidder. Among other measures he was induced to order a census to be taken of all the mulattoes, negroes, and mestizos, but for what purpose does not appear, save that of swelling his own coffers, and those of his favorites. One of his attendants was put in charge of the granary, the stores of which were sold at excessive rates to the public; another was made judge of police and given charge of the public water works.[9] A third was appointed *juez de pulques* under the pretext of enforcing the laws against the sale of intoxicating liquors, and made fifty thousand pesos a year by his office. The sale of cacao was also monopolized, and its price was so extravagant that only rich persons could afford to buy it.[10]

The people were loud in their complaints, but no whisper reached the ears of the viceroy,[11] for his friends did their utmost to prevent him from learning how great was the dissatisfaction his measures had created. Representations were made to the bishop-visitador, who argued with Escalona, suggesting that if the offices were sold the proceeds ought to be turned over to the royal treasury. His counsel was disregarded by the duke, who was piqued by it, and afterward endeavored to keep aloof from him.[12]

The viceroy still wanted money to redeem his encumbered estates, and a new scheme was devised by his ingenious financiers. A list of wealthy persons

[9] Even the salinous water sold at two and three reals a load, and its use caused diseases among the population.

[10] 'If thus the wealthier classes were unable to obtain it, how could it be with those who had no means, y con solo este desayuno ayunaban los dias y las noches.' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 6.

[11] His rooms, in the interior of the palace, were quite distant from that part of the building where the offices were situated, and to which the public had access.

[12] 'Pareciéndole que en no oyendo culparse no sería culpado.' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 7.

was made, and all were in turn invited to the palace by the viceroy, who flattered them, feasted them, promoted some of them to office, and finally did them the honor of borrowing their money, the repayment of which in all probability was to be made *ad Græcas calendas*. To refuse or to concede was alike dangerous, and many preferred the latter. So well worked the contrivance, that within a short time several hundred thousand pesos were obtained.[13] Occasionally appropriations were also made from the royal treasury and from the monopoly of quicksilver, the latter proving so injurious that the product of the mines was largely reduced.[14]

Cool as were the relations between Escalona and Palafox, an open rupture had always been avoided by the latter, perhaps more from policy than from any other motive. Even the viceroy's misconduct with regard to the armada de Barlovento, and the despatch of the fleet of 1641, did not produce any visible effect on the visitador, though it evidenced the breach already existing. Orders had been given to the duke to proceed with the organization of this armament for the protection of the coasts and the escort of merchant vessels. These instructions were carried out in the most careless manner; a large amount of money was drawn from the royal treasury and spent on vessels scarcely seaworthy and altogether too small.[15] In addition, the despatch of the fleet was unnecessarily delayed until the end of July. In vain the visitador had remonstrated; but though his advice was disregarded the result proved how correct it had been, for a storm destroyed the whole flota, and caused the crown a loss of about eight millions of pesos.[16]

[13] Authorities differ as to the exact figure, stating it from 300,000 to 400,000 pesos. One Alvaro de Lorenzana alone is said to have loaned 50,000 pesos.

[14] It is asserted that not one mark of silver entered the royal treasury under Escalona's rule.

[15] The amount is estimated at 800,000 pesos. *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 8.

[16] Palafox made of the viceroy's proceedings a charge of harboring seditious plans; but this fell to the ground; for at Habana the fleet was placed under the command of an officer quite independent of Escalona. *Escalona, Defensa*, in *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., série i., no. 1, 13–14.

During this same year the viceroy's covetousness was again a cause of offence to Palafox. The late archbishop elect, Feliciano de Vega, had died intestate, soon after his arrival at Acapulco, leaving property valued at eight hundred thousand pesos, and a controversy arose as to whom belonged the administration. The bishop claimed it in virtue of his office as visitador, and commissioned his vicar-general, Bartolomé de Nogales, to make an inventory. But the property, or at least the greater part, had already been seized and placed in safe-keeping by the oidor, Melchor de Torreblanca, by order of the viceroy; and when Nogales proceeded to comply with his instructions, he was strongly rebuked by Escalona, and also by Palafox, who yet strove to remain on good terms with the duke. Nogales returned in disgust to Spain;[17] and the bishop, also annoyed, abandoned his claim and retired to Puebla.[18]

During the first days of April 1641 news reached Mexico that Portugal and Catalonia had risen in revolt, and were at war with Spain in defence of their proclaimed independence. The people of Mexico became alarmed, for the viceroy was a near relative to the chief of the Portuguese insurgents, the duke of Braganza, and there was a large number of that nationality in the country. Many of them were wealthy and influential, and had always been treated by Escalona with marked favor. Fears were entertained that the insurrection might spread to the New World, and the duke's behavior apparently justified this apprehension. Cédulas had been sent to the

[17] 'Diciendo no queria estar en tierra donde tanto ataba las manos á la justicia la contemplacion de los señores vireyes.' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 9.

[18] The money disappeared mysteriously; 'murieron (the 800,000 pesos) como su dueño muy apriessa.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 65. Torreblanca was later suspended from office and banished to Tacuba, for the term of five years. In 1650 the council of the Indies pronounced a severe sentence against him—perpetual removal from office, exile from the New World, for ten years from the court, and a fine of 15,000 ducats. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 107. All this implies that frauds were committed in the administration of the estate.

viceroy to serve as a guide for his conduct toward the Portuguese, but they were kept secret, and neither the audiencia nor the visitador learned their contents. The distinctions bestowed on the Portuguese were remembered; how one had been made castellan of San Juan de Ulúa; how another, even after the arrival of the news, had been placed in charge of a portion of the troops, and received the rank of maestre de campo; while a third was appointed comisario general.[19] It was also asserted that, on the very day when the intelligence was received, Escalona, instead of expressing sorrow, dressed himself in gala costume and invited his friends to a banquet.

One circumstance, however, although a trivial one, was brought forward as clearly proving the duke's disloyalty. It was alleged that, when offered the choice of two horses, one belonging to Pedro de Castilla, and the other to Cristóbal de Portugal, he exclaimed, after trying them: "The Portuguese is the better."[20] This remark did not escape the strained ears of his enemies; and trifling as it was, it was afterward so construed as to form one of the heaviest charges against him.[21] The loss of one of the mail-ships, despatched in the beginning of the year, also caused great excitement, and without regard to inconsistency of dates was by some persons interpreted as a premeditated step of the viceroy to aid his rebel cousin in Portugal.

The feeling of the Spaniards against the Portu-

[19] It seems that the first instructions from Spain did not order the dismissal of Portuguese officials, who were considered trustworthy, but only enjoined strict vigilance. The duke retained them in office as there were no sufficient reasons for their removal.

[20] 'Mejor es el de Portugal.' *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 14; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 15; Bustamante in *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 79. The two last authorities say the horses had been given to the duke. Palafox, *Respuesta*, in *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 57, gives to the horses the names of Castilla and Portugal, and changes the viceroy's exclamation to 'Dejo á Castilla por Portugal.'

[21] Correspondence with Portuguese noblemen, observations approving the duke of Braganza's treachery, and even the project of a Portuguese invasion were also on the list of accusations against Escalona, but proofs were never furnished, and it is not at all improbable that the bishop had a good deal to do with the circulation of such rumors, if not with their creation.

guese reached its climax on the 13th of August 1641, the day of St Hippolytus. When the usual procession of the banner met a body of soldiers with their Portuguese captain, the customary salute of lowering the flag was refused on the ground of the duke's absence.[22] The Spaniards, though greatly incensed, merely changed their route, and made no attempt to punish their insolent neighbors. Palafox, who soon afterward returned to Mexico, represented to the viceroy the necessity of punishing the captain and of adopting energetic measures to prevent an outbreak of the Portuguese, who became more haughty from day to day. Escalona agreed with the bishop, but could not be induced to take any active steps, although the representations were repeated.[23]

While the viceroy and Palafox were yet quarrelling, information reached Mexico that the Portuguese in Brazil had rebelled, and that a mutiny had occurred in Cartagena, New Granada.[24] The zealous visitador immediately held consultations with the members of the audiencia, the inquisition, and a number of prominent persons, and all urged him to reason with the duke, and call his attention to the impending danger. The dismissal of the Portuguese captain and those of his countrymen who held office under the crown, and the disbanding of the companies of Portuguese soldiers, were deemed necessary. An attempt to obtain an interview with the viceroy failed, owing to the latter's discourtesy; and when the bishop explained his views in a letter,[25] the duke's answer was,

[22] No reason is assigned why the viceroy failed to assist. 'El portugues dijo: que no hallándose en él (the procession), S. E. á ningun otro *abatiría su bandera.*' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor,* 10–11.

[23] Palafox, in his letter to the king, mentions the disrespectful language of the viceroy, saying that the latter, on one occasion, told the bishop's chaplain: 'por ahí dicen que me alzo con esto, si eso fuese así, yo sería rey, y mi obispo papa.' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor,* 60. There is no doubt that, as well on this as on other occasions, the viceroy made merry with the serious remarks of the bishop, who really suspected a conspiracy.

[24] Cartagena de las Indias, as it was then called, to distinguish it from that of old Spain.

[25] 'Con maravillosas razones y profunda reverencia le proponia la reformacion del capitan portugues, y todos los demas puntas convenientes.'

"The learned always err." Nevertheless a meeting was convoked, consisting of lawyers, friars, and other personages with little or no judgment on political affairs. Moreover disputes about etiquette prevented any definite action.

Comprehending at last the danger of greater delay, the viceroy issued a proclamation, ordering the Portuguese inhabitants to deliver up their fire-arms under pain of death. The Portuguese captain was dismissed, and Palafox, in order to manifest his conciliatory disposition, went to the palace to congratulate Escalona, but was discourteously treated by the viceroy. The ill-will of the latter increased when his request to the visitador to pardon a certain prisoner was denied, and the bishop in some skilful manner contrived to secure the people's sympathy for his conduct. The duke retaliated, vexing the bishop by petty annoyances and a lack of courtesy; he persecuted his friends, and forbade him to interfere with the despatch of the Philippine vessels, a matter which belonged to the jurisdiction of the visitador. Toward the end of 1641 Palafox was desirous of returning to his diocese, but was provoked by the sneering remarks of the duke[26] to remain, only to experience new offence in the following year, when the corregidor of Vera Cruz imprisoned a Carmelite friar on whose person were found letters which caused him to be suspected of being an emissary of the bishop, and the latter's efforts in his behalf seemed to confirm it. Having failed to obtain from the viceroy the punishment of the corregidor, and the residencia of Cadereita being concluded, in February 1642 the bishop retired to Puebla to attend to his duties, and to await the result of his reports to the king, whom as a loyal subject and in duty bound he had informed of the suspicious behavior of the duke.

His patience was not put to a severe test. The king had always been aware of the viceroy's intimate relation with the Portuguese rebel, who had wrested

[26] Escalona said publicly he had ordered the bishop to return to Puebla.

from the Spanish sovereign an important province; the critical circumstances of the epoch and the abuses wrought by the viceroy's attendants, magnified as they were by the bishop, effectually undermined the king's confidence. Previous orders to exercise a wholesome surveillance were now amplified, and the visitador was ordered to take possession of the government. Simultaneously his services were recognized by offering him the archbishopric of Mexico, vacant since the death of Feliciano de Vega.[27]

These cédulas arrived toward the end of May 1642,[28] and Palafox was not loath to assume the viceroyalty, which office so well suited his ambition. He declined, however, the archiepiscopal see.[29] The latter was in consequence given to Juan de Mañosca y Zamora, the late president of the chancillería of New Granada.[30] He was consecrated by Palafox on the 24th of February 1645. Keeping secret his appointment, the bishop proceeded on the 6th of June 1642 to Mexico, where his exaltation to the highest ecclesiastical dignity had filled with joy the whole population, save the viceroy, who congratulated him with such scant courtesy[31] as to rouse the ire of the bishop, who occupied himself during the two following days with sending letters to Puebla, Vera Cruz, and other places, making known his appointment almost simultaneously. On the eve of Saturday the 9th of June, the final prepa-

[27] Diego de Guevara, archbishop-elect of Santo Domingo, had taken possession of the see in the name of Vega, and ruled until his death. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 64.

[28] The contemporary narrator, in *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 18, says March 23d, which is likely to be a misprint, or incorrect reading of the original manuscript. The time given in the text is supported by the personal statements of Palafox, and intimated by Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 14.

[29] Gonzalez Dávila asserts because he had vowed not to accept any other see but that of Puebla.

[30] A native of Marquina in Biscay. He was educated in Mexico, studied in Salamanca, and held later, among other offices, that of inquisitor at Cartagena and Lima. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 25. Some call him Mañosca, others Zamora; the first, his maternal name, was with preference adopted by him. Panes mentions him as Juan Saenz de Mayorca y Zamora. *Vireyes*, in *Monumentos, Dom. Esp.*, MS., 99.

[31] It is also said that Escalona circulated reports that Palafox owed his elevation to his influence.

rations for the stroke were made in the city of Mexico, as the viceroy intended to retire to Chapultepec. At a late hour of the night, after previously informing the members of the inquisition, and ordering them to be ready for action, the members of the audiencia were summoned to his house and shown the royal cédulas, which they obeyed, recognizing Palafox as viceroy. Subsequently the city council, municipal and royal officials, and a number of prominent citizens, who had been assembled, were likewise acquainted with the king's will, and all declared their willingness to obey.

During the same night, by order of Palafox, the maestre de campo, Antonio Urrutía de Vergara,[32] with thirty resolute men took possession of and guarded the entrances to the viceregal palace, allowing all who so desired to leave it, but none to enter. This done, word was sent to the new viceroy, together with the information, that everything within the palace was quiet and that there was not the least suspicion. Others had secured the prison, the mint, the house where the royal seal was kept, and several public buildings.

Confident as was the bishop that his conduct could not fail to meet with the approval of the people, he still deemed it but prudent to have an eye to his own safety. At five o'clock the next morning everything was ready, and the oidor Andrés de Pardo de Lagos,[33] accompanied by two alcaldes, the fiscal, and a secretary, proceeded to the palace to notify to the duke his downfall.[34]

Escalona was asleep when Lagos and his companions entered, and awoke to find the party on bended knee, as they apprised him of the king's latest resolution. The secretary handed him the cédula, but he

[32] He is sometimes only called Vergara, in other instances Urrutía.

[33] In some places he is called Lugi or Lugo.

[34] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 14–15, expresses his astonishment that they could enter the palace without encountering opposition. He forgets evidently that the guard, although only subject to the immediate orders of the viceroy, would not fail to obey those of the maestre de campo, the second commander, who, as has been shown, sided with the bishop.

returned it with the request that it be read to him. This was done, and raising himself on his shoulder he listened, speechless with surprise, to the words of his sovereign, who, under pretext of bestowing on him greater favors, bade him deliver up the reins of power to the archbishop and return to Spain. "This is a hard blow, but the orders of the king must be obeyed," was his answer. Informed that his successor had already assumed office and demanded his early departure from Mexico, he left the capital between seven and eight o'clock, poorly equipped and with a scanty retinue,[35] and retired to the convent of the barefooted Franciscans at Churubusco, a few miles distant. When the inhabitants awoke, they learned with amazement how close to the verge of rebellion the province had been, and that but for the prudence and energy of the new viceroy the stain of sedition had been branded on the most noble and loyal city of New Spain. Such was at least the manner in which the friends of the bishop justified his conduct, and though the people believed it for a while, they were soon undeceived.

On the 10th of June[36] Palafox inaugurated his rule, and his first measure was to place under embargo all the property and papers belonging to his predecessor,[37] whose residencia he immediately began to take. The conduct of Escalona and of certain of his friends and attendants who were in prison, was closely scrutinized; but all efforts failed to secure evidence of the suspected conspiracy. The people, always inclined to sympathize with the unfortunate,

[35] 'En un coche de dos mulas, mal aliñada la persona y con un solo page.' *Palafox, El Ven. Señor*, 21.

[36] The son of Escalona in his complaint to the king says erroneously that the bishop took these measures on the night of a Sunday, which would have been June 10th. *Escalona, Defensa* in *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser., no. 1, 1–2. Lorenzana, referring to the *Libro de Cabildo*, says Palafox entered into office on the 9th. *Hist. N. Esp.*, 23.

[37] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 14, followed by Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 330, makes the improbable assertion, that the duke's property was sold at auction.

ere long pitied the duke on account of the new viceroy's harsh proceeding, explaining his alleged malefeasance as the calumniations of his enemies, and his mistakes in the government as originated by the bad counsel of his advisers. Later events seemed to justify this opinion, and having remained in the convent of Churubusco till the end of 1642 Escalona removed to the small town of San Martin, about sixteen leagues from Mexico, and three months later returned to Spain.[38] Here he vindicated his conduct so satisfactorily that the king intended to reinstall him in office, but afterward bestowed on him the viceroyalty of Sicily and a grant of six thousand pesos of rental. His opinion was also consulted about the government of New Spain, and among other suggestions he made was that of resuming the expeditions to California. There is no doubt that he became a victim to the visitador's ambition or scruples, and that on account of his innate indolence his friends and attendants were allowed too much influence in the control of affairs, but no evidence has been produced strong enough to convict him of disloyalty.[39]

Whatever the reasons which controlled the conduct of Palafox in all affairs where Escalona was concerned, once in charge of the highest magistracy of New

[38] With him he took written testimony of the city council, other corporations, and many prominent persons, giving evidence of his innocence.

[39] *El Venerable Señor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza... justificado en el Tribunal de la Razon*, Mexico, 1831, pp. 79, published by Cárlos María de Bustamante. This work forms part of the *Voz de la Patria*, and contains documents bearing on the altercations between Escalona and Palafox. The first is a relation, written by a contemporary, apparently a friend of the bishop, but full of valuable information and less biassed than might have been expected. The second is a memorial to the king by the son of the ex-viceroy, asserting the duke's innocence and severely accusing Palafox. Another, apparently coetaneous copy exists in my manuscript collection under the title *Escalona, Defensa.* The last document is the bishop's reply to the king concerning the charges preferred against him. Both the memorial and the reply, partial as their origin necessarily stamps them, add few historical facts to the first document, but are valuable because they reveal occasionally the reasons which guided the two antagonists. Of later writers, most have adopted the version that the removal of Escalona was an act of unnecessary caution in view of the slight reasons against him; others, like Alaman and

Spain he proved himself well fitted for the position. The abuses which his predecessor had permitted in the management of the public water-works and the granary were corrected; crime was severely punished; and frequent public sessions were held, often presided over by the viceroy himself.[40] The affairs of the royal treasury, of late a mine of wealth for unscrupulous officials, were reorganized, but Palafox himself did not draw any of the salary due him as visitador and viceroy.

Vera Cruz and Acapulco were fortified according to orders from Spain, the duties of maestre de campo more clearly defined, and twelve new companies of militia organized for purposes of defence. The viceroy then directed his attention to the improvement of ecclesiastical and educational matters. He made reforms in the affairs of the church, visited the convents, framed statutes for the university, and, though a protector of the Indians, was sometimes severe in his endeavor to outroot such superstitions as still lingered in their minds. To that end a number of ancient statues and idols, kept by preceding viceroys as tokens of victory, were demolished.[41]

In the mean time a new viceroy had been appointed by the crown, and to him Palafox delivered the reins of power, after a rule of five months,[42] during which brief term he gave unquestionable proof of ability and disinterestedness. By order of the king, he gave to his successor a collection of 'instructions' to guide

Ribera, confine themselves to a mere statement of the facts, without expressing their opinions. In addition to the authorities already quoted I refer the reader for more details to *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 14; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 11–15; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 237–8; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 28–9; *Rivera, Gobernantes*, i. 132–41.

[40] 'Dió audiencia...en que hablaban en dos dias cuantos no habian podido hablar á S. E. en dos años.' *Palafox, el Ven. Señor*, 23.

[41] This iconoclasm has been severely censured, and justly so, because a number of curious and doubtless valuable relics have thus disappeared. If he had simply put them among other objects of idol-worship, the bishop would also have attained his purpose and remained exempt from the just charge of intolerance and fanaticism.

[42] Touron is in error when he states that Palafox ruled three years as viceroy. *Hist. Gen. Amérique*, vii. 361.

him in the government,[43] and then turned his attention to his duties as bishop and visitador.[44] The cathedral of Puebla, which had been commenced in the middle of the preceding century, was completed,[45] the viceroy making a donation of 15,000 pesos, and obtaining within four years subscriptions amounting to 150,000 pesos.[46]

The building was consecrated on the 18th of April 1649, and until the completion of the cathedral in Mexico was the finest church edifice in New Spain.[47] More than a hundred thousand persons were confirmed;[48] the college of San Pedro y San Pablo was founded, with a library of some six thousand volumes; the hospital de la Concepcion for orphans was established; and many other charitable acts[49] gave testimony to the zeal of this worthy prelate.

In October 1642 the nineteenth viceroy of New

[43] These *Instrucciones*, as they were generally termed, should by order of the crown be given by every vacating viceroy to his successor, and were generally rather a résumé of the condition of the country, with suggestions for the best government, than what the title implied. Those of Palafox to Salvatierra, contained in *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 7–46, reveal a very thorough understanding of the social and political state of affairs in New Spain at that time, and embrace nearly all the important points which then might come under consideration. The character of their author readily accounts for certain stress laid on ecclesiastical coöperation.

[44] His residencia was not taken until 1652, and though he had created many enemies no charges were made. 'No resultó...cargo, ni culpa alguna ...ni huuo Demanda, Querella, ni Capitulo.' The council of the Indies published the sentence on August 8, 1652. *Satisfacion al Memorial*, 31–2; *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 465–7; xiii. 106–14; *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 215–16.

[45] A royal cedula of January 19, 1640, had directed him to hasten the completion of the building.

[46] Rosende, in *Palafox, Obras*, xiii. 57–60, followed by Touron, *Hist. Gen. Amérique*, vii. 326–7, places the amount at 400,000 pesos; but the former's statement probably originated in the desire of extolling the glory of his patron. Gonzalez Dávila, Vetancurt, and Calle give the statements adopted in the text. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 99; *Trat. Mex.*, 52; *Mem. y Not.*, 66. García says that altogether 333,133 pesos 1 real 11 granos were spent. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 175.

[47] A description of the cathedral, which contained many costly paintings and sculptures, and is said then to have been equal, if not superior, to the finest in Spain, is given by Rosende in *Palafox, Obras*, xiii. 55–61; also in *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 48–9.

[48] *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 52. Gonzalez Dávila says 60,000 from 1640 to 1645. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 99.

[49] The bishop also established a nunnery, aided in the repairing of more than 50 churches and hospitals, and in the construction of convents.

Spain, García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, conde de Salvatierra and marqués de Sabroso,[50] arrived at Vera Cruz, and in the following month took charge of the government.[51] During his administration an expedition was despatched to the coast of Lower California, in charge of Pedro Porter y Casanate. Troops were enlisted, and a large number of persons made ready to embark on board the fleet; for it was said that the pearl fisheries of that region were second only to those discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. When all was in readiness the vessels were destroyed by fire. A second expedition was fitted out and set sail a few years later, but resulted in failure. In 1648 Casanate returned to report to the viceroy that he had failed even to discover any spot suitable for a settlement.

During this year Salvatierra was appointed to the viceroyalty of Peru.[52] His conduct meets with the approval of the chroniclers of his period, although the condition of affairs during his régime was far from prosperous.[53] Spain was engaged in external wars and the suppression of internal revolts; the attention of her sovereign was concentrated almost exclusively on European affairs, and though cédula followed cédula in quick succession they contained little save demands for money. Throughout the provinces commerce and

[50] Some authors say Sobroso; Zamacois styles him marqués de Sonora. *Hist. Méj.*, v. 334.

[51] Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 14, and Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 16, say it was on the 23d of November. Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 23, and Guijo, *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. 6, respectively place it on the 13th and 15th.

[52] Cogolludo, *Hist. Yuc.*, 701–2, says Salvatierra was somewhat reluctant to deliver up the government; but this is not probable, as the viceroyalty of Peru was generally held in higher esteem than that of New Spain. On the 12th of June, 1648, his residencia was begun, and though later discontinued by order of the king, was resumed in July 1652. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st series, i. 10, 15, 223. In June 1660 news arrived at Mexico that Salvatierra, after serving his term as viceroy of Peru, became temporarily insane, and died shortly after his recovery. *Guijo*, in *Id.*, 443. Vetancurt says he died at Cartagena when on his way to Spain.

[53] The only serious charge brought against him was that he caused the Indians to serve as slaves to the friars and to pay their tribute in kind. The king disapproved of the measure, and in 1644 forbade it. Indians were to be exempted from all imposts, and from servitude, unless they were paid and volunteered to do the work. Strict compliance with previous cédulas bearing on the subject was enjoined. *Maltratamiento de Indios*, MS., no. 5, 1–2.

industries languished, and a crowd of quarrelsome ecclesiastics and indolent officials gathered in the wealth of the community. Flood and earthquake were among the causes that made the term of Salvatierra's administration memorable as one fraught with disaster to the people of Mexico.[54]

[54] A town named after the viceroy was founded in Guanajuato, and in the following year declared a city. *Quintana*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ép. i. 579. The ground, an immense tract of land, had been given by a certain Alderete under condition that a yearly rent of 2,000 pesos be paid to him and his descendants in honor of the donation. *Romero, Not. Mich.*, 223–5. Salvatierra was a man of simple manners, and much averse to the burdensome etiquette connected with his position. He frequently gave cause of offence to the oidores by his unceremonious conduct, and sometimes incurred severe rebukes from the crown.

CHAPTER VI.

JESUIT LABORS AND STRIFES.

1600-1700.

THE FIELD OF JESUIT LABORS—THE FIRST DISPUTES WITH THE CHURCH OF PUEBLA—ATTITUDE OF PALAFOX—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND THE JESUITS—OPEN HOSTILITY—APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES—PALAFOX SENTENCED—HE RETALIATES—HIS FLIGHT FROM PUEBLA—THE VICTORIOUS SOCIETY—THE BISHOP RETURNS—GENERAL REPRIMANDS FROM SPAIN—THE JESUITS DEFEATED IN ROME—REVIVAL AND CONCLUSION OF THE QUARREL—LIFE OF PALAFOX IN SPAIN—HIS DEATH—DISPUTES WITH THE SOCIETY ABOUT TITHES—THE JESUITS AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

DURING the rule of Viceroy Salvatierra there occurred a bitter dispute between the regular and secular clergy, and one which though carried on only in Mexico and Puebla agitated almost all New Spain, absorbed the attention of the governments at Mexico and Madrid, and became a frequent subject for discussion and consultation to the holy see itself. On one side was the able, energetic, and strong-minded bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, temporary viceroy, archbishop elect of Mexico, and visitador general of New Spain. His adversaries were the Jesuits, who were not second to him in ability, whose ranks were thoroughly organized, who had the command of wealth wherewith to secure friends, and whose influence over the people was fully equal to that of the prelate. The early labors of Palafox have already been related; and in order that the means at the disposal of his antagonists may be better understood, I shall give a brief sketch of the field

worked by the Jesuits since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The operations of the society extended not only to the capital and its neighborhood, but to northern regions. They partly held possession of Durango, Sonora, and Sinaloa, and from those points extended their missions into the unknown territory of California. Occasionally efforts were made in some districts by other orders, and by the secular clergy, to deprive them of their predominating influence; but by ably conducted intrigues, or even open resistance against episcopal orders which they regarded as encroaching upon their privileges, they contrived to maintain their claims. With equal success they always regained the ground temporarily lost by revolts of the natives, and at the close of the seventeenth century were steadily extending their dominion toward the north.[1]

At the same time, while their efforts were chiefly in that direction, they lost no opportunity to establish houses and colleges in other provinces, well aware that if the education of the young could be brought under their control their influence would be greatly extended. Thus arose their establishment at Zacatecas, and later the one at Guadalajara,[2] both of which became among the most prominent in the country. In the adjoining province of San Luis Potosí, there had been but two fathers during the early part of the century; nevertheless their work was so successful that in 1623 a college was founded,[3] and notwithstanding some temporary opposition it prospered. A marked triumph was moreover secured by the order in Guanajuato, when the city, in 1616, chose San Ignacio de Loyola

[1] For a detailed account of the Jesuit labors in the unknown region, I refer the reader to *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., passim, this series.

[2] Both were erected with money mainly derived from donations; that of Zacatecas was begun in 1616; the other of Guadalajara was commenced in 1659, but the foundation did not take place till about 40 years later. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 81–2, 416; iii. 64–9, 91–2; *Jalisco, Notas*, 16–17, 171.

[3] *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 983–91. Voluntary gifts of considerable amount were at first offered; later the inhabitants made a donation of a hermitage which had been founded under the name of Santa Veracruz, or San Sebastian. *Alegre*, ii. 141–2, 152–3.

as its patron saint. At about the same time preliminary steps were taken for the establishment of a college in Querétaro, but it was not founded till some years later.[4]

On a more extensive scale were the Jesuit labors in Michoacan. In their colleges at Patzcuaro and Valladolid new converts were educated and made familiar with the native tongues of that region. Thus practically all the religious work of the bishopric was in the hands of the society. This success was due as well to their zeal as to the veneration in which some of the fathers were held, among them Francisco Ramirez and Juan Ferro.[5]

While thus the society was gaining ground in the central and northern regions, it was less successful in the south-east. In Oajaca the missions of the Jesuits were in a poor condition,[6] and in Yucatan where a college had been founded under the most promising auspices,[7] they could never attain the same influence as elsewhere.

This failure, however, was more than compensated for in Mexico and its neighborhood, where their establishments were more flourishing than ever before; and costly structures, the number of which was constantly increasing, gave evidence of their wide-spread influence. In 1603 was consecrated the church of the Colegio Máximo in Mexico,[8] at that time not surpassed in magnificence by any church edifice in New Spain. The highest dignitaries often officiated there; among others Archbishop García Guerra, who held

[4] Pedro de Egurrola is mentioned as the first rector. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 205. The same author gives many, though uninteresting, details connected with the foundation.

[5] The former labored for 60 years among the Tarascos, and at the colleges of Patzcuaro and Valladolid. Ferro was famous as an excellent linguist, having confessed persons in five or six different languages.

[6] The Dominicans, who predominated in this province, though otherwise stanch friends of the Jesuits, labored energetically to maintain their own superiority.

[7] On May 19, 1618. Later the privileges of a university were also granted. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 215–16, 449.

[8] 'El mas suntuoso que habia entónces en México.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 408.

services during lent of 1608, the bishops of Oajaca and Michoacan acting as his assistants. The crown also favored the society at this time. Since 1582 the college of San Pedro y San Pablo, established originally by the first provincial, had suffered many vicissitudes, and when abandoned by the Jesuits in consequence of the pretentious behavior of its patrons, fell into decay. By a cédula of May 29, 1612, the management was again placed in the hands of the order, and the Jesuits took formal possession in January 1618, after which it was incorporated with the college of San Ildefonso, although under the royal patronage.[9]

Another establishment of similar character and under the same name was founded some years later in Puebla, when Ildefonso de la Mota, bishop of that see, transferred to the society a church and several houses for the foundation of a college,[10] with chairs for theology and philosophy. Viceroy Cerralvo later endowed it with the privilege of bestowing university degrees.[11]

Since 1618 the Jesuits had also been presented with the curacy of Tepotzotlan, where they had a house for novices, and labored gratuitously as the natives could not maintain a regular parish priest.[12] Occasionally disputes arose, apparently originated by claims for greater independence from episcopal jurisdiction; but favorable reports of the ruling viceroys caused the society to remain in undisturbed possession for many years.

Stimulated by the success of their labors, as well

[9] *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Jesus*, 174–80; *Recop. Ind.*, i. 212. At the same time the statutes for its government were issued. *Alegre*, ii. 96–103.

[10] For some unknown reason the bishop abandoned his original project to establish a hospital for natives. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 155–7.

[11] The bishop died before the chairs were established; and then the church of Puebla claimed that the donation was null on the ground that it had been made by the deceased after receiving the last sacraments, and therefore unlawfully, a statement which is refuted by Alegre. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 155–8, 193–4. Later a compromise settled the dispute.

[12] Ribas, *Hist. Triumphos*, 731–2, says it was the only curacy that the society held.

among Spaniards as natives, the Jesuits continued to amass wealth, though under the guise of poverty; and well aware of the sympathy bestowed on them by rich and poor, they were not afraid of adversaries. This appeared when, in 1639, troubles began between the Jesuits and the chapter of the cathedral of Puebla about a donation made to the society by the prebendary, Hernando de la Serna.[13] The dispute arose concerning a farm valued at sixty thousand pesos, and intended for the establishment of a Jesuit college at Vera Cruz. Notwithstanding an order of the ecclesiastical cabildo, forbidding Serna to make the conveyance, except to a party subject to the payment of tithes, the transfer was made to the society. The vicar-general of the diocese in consequence attached the remainder of Serna's property,[14] to guarantee the payment of the tithes, and demanded that the donation be annulled under threat of severe ecclesiastical censure. Serna protested against the legality of such proceeding and of course received support from the Jesuits, who also disputed the authority of the vicar-general.[15]

Such was the state of affairs when Palafox arrived in New Spain. As he had always been a friend of the society, and had given repeated proofs of such friendship, an immediate and favorable decision was expected. At first his rule was promising for the Jesuits; the embargo on the prebendary's property and income was modified so as to comprise only the amount of the tithes involved, and a free disposal allowed of the remainder. The bishop refused a more

[13] Bustamante, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 20, followed by Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 144, calls him Hermenegildo de la Serna. Alegre says Fernando and Hernando; Palafox, in his different works, gives Hernando.

[14] As an additional reason it was said that two sisters of the donor owned a certain part of the farm, and being nuns of the convent de la Concepcion, under the jurisdiction of the see of Puebla, their shares could not be alienated without episcopal consent. *Palafox, Carta del Ven.*, 119–21. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 223–4, asserts that the donation was made by Serna and his mother, and the deed signed Feb. 22, 1639.

[15] Alegre, 226, carefully avoids mentioning why the cathedral demanded the revocation of the gift.

pronounced use of his authority, convinced that the request of the cabildo was founded on justice. He therefore advised the Jesuits either quietly to await the result of the law-suit then pending concerning the property, or to compromise, recommending the latter course.[16] But this counsel was not accepted. To compromise now, would seem to render their pretensions unfounded. Applications were once more made to the bishop, usually couched in respectful phrase, but occasionally imperative in tone. No favorable answer was received, and thus gradually a colder feeling was created between the prelate and the society.

Thus matters continued till 1643, when a council of the Jesuit order,[17] where Andres Perez de Ribas and Juan de Sangüesa were elected as proctors, prompted the bishop to issue a document in defense of his church. This was despatched to Spain by the same fleet in which the proctors took their departure. The emissaries of the society obtained nothing in Spain, and, when this became known in Mexico, the provincial, Francisco Calderon, published a pamphlet against the bishop's policy. Palafox had meanwhile been exposed to many annoyances on the part of his former friends. Sermons were preached against him by the Jesuit priests, especially by Father Juan de San Miguel. During his illness in the beginning of 1647, when a great festivity was held in one of their churches, he was treated with open discourtesy, and much ill-feeling was manifested when the society lost another law-suit about an inheritance,[18] as they supposed through the bishop's influence. All this con-

[16] 'Que era mejor componer este pleito...y con soltar los diez, lograban los padres los ciento.' *Palafox, Carta del Ven.*, 120. The want of the royal license for the projected foundation was another reason why Palafox refused to decide against the cathedral.

[17] The usual time was November, but in order that proctors might be sent to Spain it was convoked in February.

[18] They attempted to appropriate one half of a legacy of 50,000 pesos, the administration of which had been intrusted to the society as executors of the will. *Palafox, Carta del Ven.*, 123.

tributed to bring about a rupture, which was to be felt throughout New Spain.[19]

Palafox retaliated, prohibiting Father Juan de San Miguel from preaching, and complaining to the general of the order. The main issue was taken, however, on ash-Wednesday, the 6th of March, 1647, when his provisor and vicar-general, Juan de Merlo, suspended the licenses of the Jesuit fathers to preach and to confess, until recognized and ratified by the bishop. A term of twenty-four hours was granted to obtain the confirmation. The members of the order were no less provoked than surprised at this edict, and regarded it as an inroad on their privileges. True they had not the exequatur of the India Council,[20] but they were, or at least thought themselves, protected by their office from the wrath of the prelate, who, moreover, as visitador and viceroy had rendered them all possible assistance. The pending dispute about the payment of tithes became now a secondary matter; the great question was whether they should comply with the edict of the vicar-general. Two priests were sent to the bishop to inform him of the society's exemption from procuring or exhibiting licenses and privileges; but this measure made no impression on Palafox, who as a former member of the India Council, and one well acquainted with the entire system of colonial legislation, enjoined the Jesuits either to prove their rights by presentation of the alleged documents, or obtain the necessary licenses after previous examination as to their ability.[21] Having thus failed, they strove to gain time, claiming that they were subject

[19] Temporarily a reconciliation had been effected through the intercession of the Jesuit visitador Juan de Bueras, but after his death the bishop was again persecuted. In *Carta del Ven.*, 138–41, Palafox makes the hardly credible assertions that toward the end of 1646 the Jesuits attempted to obtain from the viceroy his banishment from New Spain, and, failing in that, even suggested murder!

[20] Such is the assertion of Palafox, which finds a tacit confirmation in the reticence of Alegre about so necessary a formality.

[21] The bishop was doubtless right, but it seems as if the laws on the subject had not been rigidly enforced of late. Palafox, *Obras*, xii. 17, 56, maintains that in three years only one Jesuit priest had applied for a license.

to the provincial in Mexico, to whom, they said, the affair had been submitted. A request to obtain in the interim permission to preach and to confess was denied. Notwithstanding a reiterated injunction, however, on the 8th of March Father Luis Legaspi delivered a sermon, which had been announced for several days. The bishop, now thoroughly roused, ordered a decree to be published, imposing the greater excommunication and ecclesiastical censures on the Jesuits, who were described as transgressors of the tridentine council. At the same time the inhabitants were warned against attending their sacrilegious ministrations.[22]

The Jesuits obeyed the episcopal orders, and during the remainder of lent neither confessed nor preached; but meanwhile they made active preparations in Mexico, to vindicate their cause. At a meeting convoked for that purpose by the provincial, Pedro de Velasco, the appointment of *jueces conservadores*[23] was resolved upon. The difficulty in finding persons willing to accept such an office, which necessarily would arouse the wrath of the visitador and bishop, was solved by the eagerness of the Dominicans, who somewhat recklessly offered their services.[24] Two prominent members of their order, Juan de Paredes and Agustin Godines, were elected;[25] a memorial in defense of such policy was published, and, if we may credit the Jesuit chroniclers, was received with general approbation by the most influential religious orders.[26] The bishop

[22] An order that the decree be fixed on the church doors was not carried out, perhaps from fear of scandal, the people being already wildly agitated, *Alegre*, ii. 283; but printed copies were distributed all over the country. The full text of the decree is given in *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 20–47.

[23] This name was given to judges appointed to defend the rights and privileges of a convent, church, or religious corporation against any violent acts from without.

[24] 'Desde luego ofrecian hasta los cálices de su iglesia...para el socorro y gastos de la defensa.' *Alegre*, ii. 286.

[25] Bribed by a gift of 4,000 pesos, says Palafox.

[26] So says Alegre, followed by a number of writers; he also gives extracts of the testimony obtained in favor of his society. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 289–91. Guijo, however, a contemporary and probably more impartial author, says that opinions were divided as to whether the appointment was a prudent step. *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st scr., i. 11.

protested through his attorneys, the fiscal Pedro Melian and the maestre de Campo Antonio de Vergara y Urrutia, but was overruled by the viceroy Salvatierra, who, advised by his asesor, excluded the audiencia from jurisdiction in the matter,[27] and declared the appointment to be valid. The archbishop of Mexico, Mañosca, having given a similar decision, the Jesuit provincial boldly demanded the nullification of the bishop's decree, and that the fathers at Puebla be restored to their former ministries.

This request was but too easily granted by the judges, who on April 2, 1647, pronounced a decision commanding the bishop to revoke within six days the penalties imposed, grant provisional absolution to the persons concerned, reinstall the fathers in the offices of which they had been deprived, and revoke whatever had been printed during the controversy. The bishop and his vicar-general were to become liable to the greater excommunication and to heavy fines in case of non-compliance, and to more severe penalties, as general interdict, for continued disobedience.[28] Through the influence of the comisario general of the Franciscans, Palafox obtained a temporary delay from the viceroy, but Jesuit intrigues were brought to bear on the latter and his asesor, and the order remained in force.

About the same time a libel was published, defending the policy of the society. The state of affairs now became exciting. The bishop and his provisor excommunicated several teachers in the Jesuit college. In return the judges imposed upon them the same penalty for their disobedience. The inhabitants of Puebla were in a serious dilemma, as on the one hand they

[27] On the ground that the oidores were subject to the bishop as visitador. This was true, but the law provided for such cases, and the viceroy could never concentrate in his own person the entire jurisdiction. Salvatierra was in fact reprimanded by the king for his illegal conduct.

[28] Guijo adds that the bishop's property at Puebla was sequestered by the alcalde mayor, Agustin de Valdés, and that he was suspended as visitador. The text of the sentence is given in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 293–7, and in *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 113–16.

were unwilling to forsake their beloved bishop, while on the other they saw arrayed against him not only the Jesuits, whom they equally esteemed, but also the viceroy, the archbishop, and the religious orders. Each party forbade, under severe penalties, that the decrees of the other should be read or published. An essential matter had, however, not yet been disposed of—the notification of the sentence to the bishop and his vicar-general. The curate of the church of Mexico, Cristóbal Gutierrez de Medina, together with Miguel Ibàrra, being commissioned to proceed to Puebla, for this purpose repaired to the Augustinian convent and there published the verdict. Simultaneously by order of the inquisition several persons were arrested and sent to Mexico with a view to maintain peace.

Aware of his great influence among the people, Palafox now proceeded to extreme measures. A tribune draped in black was erected in the cathedral; the bells were tolled during a whole night; and the next morning, accompanied by the greater part of the chapter, the bishop pronounced, according to the solemn ritual of the church, an anathema against the judges, the proctor, and several of the teachers of the society. At the same time Palafox himself delivered a stirring discourse on the lamentable fate of the excommunicated. The excitement became intense; and had it not been for some of the more prudent, who kept watch, the Jesuit colleges would have been burned that night by fanatics assembled in the streets of Puebla.

In order to secure the approval of the pope, on the 25th of May, 1647, Palafox wrote a long report to Innocent X., in which he complains bitterly of his offended dignity, and tells his sufferings of late sustained at the hands of the Jesuits, who not only strove to make themselves masters of the entire wealth of New Spain, but to undermine the authority of the church. He also defends his own policy and requests

that effectual measures be taken to solve existing difficulties.[29]

As soon as the tumult in Puebla became known in Mexico it was resolved that the judges themselves should proceed thither. The bishop remonstrated, hinting at serious disturbances which might arise, and showed a desire for a reconcilation; whereupon a lengthy correspondence ensued, the fiscal, Viceroy Salvatierra, and the municipal authorities of Puebla opening negotiations with the prelate for a settlement of the dispute.[30] The preliminaries were arranged; a meeting was convoked by the viceroy for the 15th of June, and all were hopeful that at length matters would be adjusted, when an untoward incident occurred. The bishop suddenly disappeared from Puebla, and none knew of his whereabouts. Whatever may have been the reason which prompted his flight, distrust in the sincerity of the proposed reconciliation seems to have been the principal motive.[31] It was afterward known that he had retired to Tepeaca, nine leagues distant, leaving the affairs of the church in charge of Alonso de Salazar Varaona, Nicolás Gomez, and Juan de Merlo, and advising them not to yield to the pretensions of the Jesuits and their allies.[32]

The rule of the bishop's delegates was very brief. As soon as the flight of Palafox became known in

[29] The full text of the report is given in *Palafox, Carta*, 1–38, and *Id., Obras*, xi. 27–60.

[30] In the beginning of May, the fiscal of the inquisition had presented a petition to the archbishop for that purpose, but was discourteously received and ordered from his presence when he repeated his request. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. i. 12–13.

[31] Guijo asserts that the partial administration of justice, and the want of a competent tribunal in New Spain to which to appeal, induced the bishop to flee. In a letter to the pope of Jan. 8, 1649, he says that his flight was caused by menaces to imprison, exile, and even to kill him, and that he also wished to evade the bloodshed which otherwise had become inevitable, as his friends at Puebla would have made armed resistance. This assertion, as well as a similar one in the report to the king, is certainly exaggerated. *Palafox, Obras*, xi. 68–71, xii. 204–18.

[32] The formal appointments were made in a letter from Tepeaca, and confirmed together with instructions by several others from the same place, written during his residence there. *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 218–22; *Satisfacion al Memorial*, 55–6.

Mexico, Captain Diego Oregon was despatched to Puebla to maintain order, accompanied by the jueces conservadores, and soon after the Jesuit provincial, Pedro de Velasco, arrived. They were received with ringing of bells and demonstrations of joy on the part of the people, who were somewhat disgusted with the conduct of Palafox. The Jesuits had now the victory, and knew how to use it. Only two of the appointed provisors were there, and it was not very difficult to oblige them to resign, and to appease the faint protests of the other members of the chapter.[33]

The see of Puebla was declared vacant and its control assumed by the cabildo, the members of which submitted, or at least a majority of them, to the judges. The decrees of excommunication published by the bishop were removed,[34] and the Jesuits again placed in possession of their former functions, the farce of an examination of their licenses having previously taken place.[35] All the former prohibitions and excommunications pronounced by Palafox were revoked and the inhabitants of Puebla admonished to visit the churches of the Jesuits. Having thus complied with their mission and, as they regarded it, restored peace in the turbulent diocese, the judges returned to Mexico.

Soon after these incidents news arrived that Salvatierra had been promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru and would be succeeded in New Spain by the bishop of Yucatan, Márcos de Torres y Rueda. Supposing that the new viceroy would favor his cause, Palafox left his place of retirement, and in November 1647 returned to Puebla, where he found a cédula remov-

[33] Alegre attempts to prove that no forcible means were used to that effect. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 312.

[34] The dean of the cathedral, Juan de Vega, removed with his own hand from the church doors the censures issued by Palafox, which he himself had approved. Vega and another prebendary had been most diligent in declaring the see as vacant, owing to a bribe received from the Jesuits, as was proved in later years. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. i. 91.

[35] An edict of the chapter dated July 19th declared the bulls and privileges of the society to be sufficient to prove their rights and that they were in accordance with the instructions of the tridentine council. *Alegre*, ii. 311–17.

ing him from his office as visitador general;[36] but after some difficulties, originated by the Jesuits, he was again recognized as prelate of his diocese.[37] His first measure was to renew his protests against the proceedings of the judges and to request of the viceroy a reconciliation, or at least a temporary revocation of the censures and edicts, leaving the decision of the entire matter to the India Council. The proposal was accepted and peace seemed to be restored, the more so, when at Christmas the Jesuits paid the bishop the customary visit of respect, "humbly to kiss that hand of which the Lord had chosen to make use to deal them such afflicting, sensible blows." The color of affairs, however, was changed, when in May 1648 bishop Torres y Rueda took possession of the government, and cédulas were received which the bishop interpreted as favorable to his cause. Already, before his flight from Puebla, he had sent messengers to Rome and Madrid, there to plead in his behalf, and a subsequent letter, written during his retirement,[38] again urged the king for redress. In reply there arrived letters from the court dated January 25, 1648, reprimanding the viceroy,[39] the audiencia, and the archbishop for lack of neutrality, and the Dominicans for promoting scandal instead of suppressing it; the judges were suspended; the provincial of the Jesuits was reproved for having gone too far; and orders were

[36] Pedro de Galvez, alcalde of Granada, was appointed to finish the visita. He arrived in 1650, and having concluded his mission, returned to Spain in the beginning of 1654. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. i. 107–276, passim.

[37] He found on this occasion the support of the viceroy, who apparently desired a reconciliation. Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 149, says erroneously that this occurred in the beginning of August, 1647.

[38] Dated September 12, 1647, from Chiapa, near Tepeaca, and containing a narrative of all the events that had occurred since March of that year. Referring to the numerous copies of documents and libels, issued by both parties, the bishop defends his conduct and divides the blame and responsibility between the Jesuits, as instigators, and the viceroy as coöperator. Protesting his conciliatory disposition, he requests the king to adopt measures powerful enough to avoid in future similar excesses, especially those committed by the representative of the crown. *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 176–285.

[39] Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 150, makes the strange assertion that Salvatierra was removed to the viceroyalty of Peru in consequence of his interference.

given to transfer all documents bearing on the subject to the council of the Indies for final decision.[40] Palafox did not escape censure, and was enjoined to pursue a more conciliatory policy; but the reproof was unheeded by the bishop, who displayed anything but a forgiving spirit, especially in the prosecutions instituted against those prebendaries of his church who had been rather eager to recognize the jueces conservadores and declare his see vacant. His vicar-general, Juan de Merlo, conducted the trial and sentenced the accused to removal from office and heavy fines. They, however, escaped the execution of the sentence by taking refuge in the Jesuit college of Mexico, where, although excommunicated, they said mass and otherwise officiated as priests, appealing to the audiencia and later to the archbishop.

Under the new viceroy there was a decided tendency to side with the bishop; and availing himself of this circumstance he instituted proceedings against the alcalde mayor of Puebla, who during the disturbance had sequestrated his property. He also connived at petty annoyances of the Jesuits, who in September 1648 presented several complaints to the bishop-governor.[41] Fortune again seemed to favor them, for at this juncture a royal cédula arrived, directing Palafox to return immediately to Spain, the order being made more stringent by an autograph postscript of the king.[42] Great but short-lived were the rejoicings of the order at the supposed downfall of the bishop, for they were soon to hear of the decision given against them by

[40] The text of several of the cédulas is given in *Ordenes de la Coróna*, MS., i. 7, ii. 200; *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 286–8; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 331–3; *Satisfacion al Memorial*, 38–9, 49; see also *Guijo, Diario*, 6, 16. In 1654 the appointment of jueces conservadores against bishops and archbishops was strictly forbidden. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 39.

[41] The grounds of complaint are minutely given in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 335–8, and relate chiefly to supposed calumnies and petty vexations to which they claim to have been exposed.

[42] The order is given in brief and peremptory terms, but faintly covered by the polite phrases interwoven with the text, and these are more than neutralized by the addition in the king's own handwriting. Still the biographer of Palafox extols the latter as a rare and noteworthy mark of esteem. The full text is given in *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 463–4; *Satisfacion al Memorial*, 30–1.

Pope Innocent X. A brief of the 14th of May 1648 contains the resolutions adopted by a congregation of cardinals and prelates, to whom the investigation of the complaints made by Palafox had been transferred by the holy see. The society was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop in all the disputed points, although at the same time lenient measures were recommended to Palafox;[43] general absolution was granted him; and all rights and privileges conflicting with this decision declared null and void.

With proud satisfaction the prelate sent a copy of the brief to the Jesuit fathers of the colleges at Puebla, and however great their reluctance might be, they could not openly disregard the pontifical orders. After deliberating about the matter, they expressed their willingness to obey, and on October 23d exhibited their licenses, which were not only ratified by Palafox but supplemented with new ones. A short time afterward an episcopal decree revoked all the previous censures and restrictions. While the Jesuits submitted they protested, however, against the pope's brief in so far as it had arrived without the exequatur of the India Council, and so well they knew how to avail themselves of their influence that although this necessary requisite was later formally issued, years elapsed before it could be ordered by the audiencia that the papal brief should take effect.[44] On the advantage thus obtained all their subsequent opposition was founded,[45] for they had always sufficient friends,

[43] They could not preach or confess in their own churches without notifying the bishop, or in any other without his consent; and were forbidden to appoint jueces conservadores, or to excommunicate the bishop or his vicar-general. For full text of the brief, see *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 289–308. Alegre asserts that this decision was obtained because the messenger of Palafox appeared in Rome unexpectedly, and the proctors of the society, almost ignorant of the whole affair, had no documents to prepare a comprehensive defense. *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 340–1. The same author in *Id.*, 342–9, explains several of the decisions with the sophistry characteristic of his order.

[44] The execution of the papal brief had been ordered by royal cédulas of Dec. 12, 1648, and March 18, 1651. *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 318–19.

[45] Difficulties created by the bishop about licenses for younger Jesuit fathers, and the peremptory demand for the execution of the papal brief, were the main reasons which revived the dispute.

both at Madrid and in Mexico, to procure a delay. Their efforts to secure in Mexico the coöperation of other religious orders, to support their continuous petitions, were only successful to a limited degree. The provincial of the order of Mercy, who had consented to sign them, was strongly rebuked by the vicar-general in Spain, and forbidden again to accede to similar requests.[46]

Meanwhile there had been a bitter controversy between the bishop and the Jesuit provincial, Andrés de Rada, about the formal execution of the papal brief, and this was terminated only by the departure of Palafox for Spain[47] in May 1649. After that event the dispute which for ten years had excited general interest both in Spain and the Indies approached its end; for although it was continued by the vicar-general, Juan de Merlo, whom Palafox had left in charge of his diocese, it never again assumed such serious proportions as before. The trial of the prebendaries was continued, and the demands for the execution of the papal brief were repeated, but the matter dragged along without decisive result till 1650, when Viceroy Alba de Alispe ordered the restoration of the prebendaries to their former offices.[48] In Rome the investigation of the dispute was continued till late in 1652, and resulted in the ratification of the former

[46] The friendship formerly existing between the Jesuits and the Dominicans also ceased. Juan Paredes, one of the judges, was by the general of his order deprived of all his titles and honors, removed from his position as provincial, and subjected to other penalties. The other judge, Godines, died suddenly at Vera Cruz some time before.

[47] The letters are dated April 7 and 14, 1648, and May 4, 1649. All of them reveal the great animosity between the bishop and the society, and though full of pious phrases, are highly acrimonious. They are given in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 1, 1–17; *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 387–418; *Id., Cartas*, 10–64. The latter collection contains also letters of the bishop to high church dignitaries in Spain, and memorials bearing on financial frauds attributed to the society; together with the *Satisfacion al Memorial* and other letters of Palafox it was for a number of years forbidden by the inquisition and placed on the expurgatory index. I have consulted several of these works and obtained much valuable information therefrom.

[48] One of them, Montesinos, had died in the mean time; but the dean, Vega, was reinstated, an event which was solemnly celebrated by the Jesuits, though ostensibly the festivities were in honor of the viceroy's recent arrival. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 89–90, 124–5.

decision given in 1648. On the 27th of May 1653 a new brief was issued by Innocent confirming the preceding one, and enjoining perpetual silence upon both parties. A royal cédula of June 30, 1653, ordered an exequatur to be issued by the council of the Indies. A semi-official letter of Cardinal Spada to Palafox, dated December 17, 1652, while gently rebuking the prelate, acknowledges him to be in the right on the whole question; but the Jesuits would not accept their defeat, and made extracts from the briefs and cédulas apparently terminating the matter in their favor, though the final triumph of the bishop is beyond question.[49]

On his arrival in Spain Palafox had yet to realize the implacable character of his enemies. Having reached his native country after a tiresome voyage of nine months, he expected in vain the honors which had been promised him. The king had intended to promote him to the see of Cuenca, one of the most important in Spain, but was dissuaded, owing to the intrigues of the prime minister, prompted by the Jesuits.[50] Years elapsed, and it was not until 1653 that the bishopric of Osma, one of the least in importance, was offered him. He took possession the following year and labored with his usual zeal. Though his straitened means were a great drawback to the later years of his ministry,[51] he gained the love and esteem of his flock, and universal grief was expressed when his decease occurred on the 1st of October,

[49] The literal text of the last mentioned documents, together with comments on their judicial value, is given in *Palafox, Obras*, xii. 481–563. The interpretation given by the Jesuits was printed at Rome in 1653 under the title *Fin de la Causa Angelopolitana*, but placed on the expurgatory index of 1664 by Pope Alexander VII. for having been artfully included in the *Bulario Romano* of 1655.

[50] The Jesuits and the friends of the former viceroy Escalona were doubtless the chief instigators, and exerted all their influence to humiliate him if possible. Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 194, surmises that the duke of Alburquerque, in 1653 viceroy of Mexico, also intrigued against Palafox, but there was no reason for him to do so.

[51] The income of the bishopric was small, and Palafox had returned from New Spain burdened with a debt of 140,000 pesos. He was so poor that he had to borrow the amount necessary to pay the bulls for the bishopric of Osma. *Palafox, Obras*, xiii. 140–7.

1659.[52] His funeral took place with the ceremonies becoming his rank; the corpse was buried in the principal chapel, and an elaborate tombstone with a eulogy of his character placed over his grave. Thus ended in an insignificant town of Spain the career of a man who had been vested with the highest civil and ecclesiastical powers ever conferred by the sovereign on any of his vassals in the New World. After his death miracles were attributed to him, and these, in addition to his eminent virtues, were made the grounds of a request for his canonization. The demand was supported by testimony from Spain and the Indies, and favored by the king, the viceroy, and the ecclesiastical dignitaries. A congregation of cardinals having in 1691 discussed the matter and examined his writings[53] reported favorably, and the prescribed proceedings were instituted. Intrigues in Rome and Madrid by the Jesuits and the descendants of the duke of Escalona frustrated, however, all efforts made at this period and at a later date.[54]

[52] The news reached Mexico in May of the following year, but apparently created no impression. *Guijo, Diario,* in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i., i. 442.

[53] Palafox was a prolific and able author, his first literary attempts having been made in 1618. His writings are not only on spiritual, but on historical, judicial, and other subjects, the greater part being written in New Spain. The most important are the *Vida Interior, Varon de Desseos, Estatvtos...de la...Vniversidad de Mexico,* and the different memorials bearing on his dispute with the Jesuits, and his letters to Pope Innocent X. Some of his works have been lost; the first general edition, comprising nearly all that had been written by him, and including the manuscripts which he had left to the barefooted Carmelites, was published between 1659 and 1671 in eight tomes, to which another was added, containing his biography by Antonio Gonzalez Rosende. Another edition was issued in 1762, by order and under the supervision of the Carmelite friars of Madrid, consisting of 13 volumes in 15 tomes in folio. Besides these editions there have appeared, before and after that time, several publications of single works, chiefly in Spanish, but also in other languages.

[54] In 1726 and 1767 Ribera, *Gobernantes,* i. 151–2, says the beatification was pronounced on August 16, 1767; but he has evidently misinterpreted Lorenzana, in *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65. See also *Papeles de Jesuitas,* MS., no. 8, 8–25, 30. The fact that in the second half of the eighteenth century proceedings for the beatification of Palafox were continued, explains the partiality manifested by nearly all his biographers and by the leading chroniclers; they were either friends or foes, and therefore overrated his virtues or exaggerated his defects. The most unbiassed but unfortunately rather fragmentary account is certainly that given by the contemporary Guijo in his *Diario,* in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 6 et seq. The information furnished by him, together with that contained in the memorials and letters of Palafox, and

The question of tithes, which had occasioned the unseemly dispute between the church dignitaries of Puebla and the society of Jesus, had been a source of contention for years before. As early as 1624 complaints were filed in the India Council against the different orders, demanding the payment of tithes from all the produce of plantations and increase of stock. The claim was made by the royal fiscal and supported by the secular church, based on the obligation of the crown to provide, if necessary, the means for the performance of divine service. On the other hand the religious orders pleaded their statutes and fueros, the validity of which was disputed on the ground of the cession of the tithes to the crown.[55] The first judgment was given in 1655 in favor of the fiscal; both parties appealed, the fiscal demanding that the tithes be collected at an earlier date than the one provided in the judgment, and the orders, among whom the Jesuits were most conspicuous, clamoring for a transfer of the law-suit to the holy see.

On the 16th of June 1657 the judgment was ratified by a new decision, ordering their payment after that date to the king or the secular church. All the orders submitted, except the Jesuits, who presented protests to the sovereign, but without avail. On November 4, 1658, and December 31, 1662, orders were trans-

counterbalanced by the prejudiced statements of Alegre, gives doubtless the best means to arrive at an impartial conclusion. Still the latter authority, in his *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 274–356, passim, has almost been implicitly followed by Bustamante, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 20–33, Ribera, *Gobernantes*, i. 144–51, and Sosa, *Episcop. Mex.*, 83–90. Lorenzana, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 219, 251–69, as is natural, defends the policy of his predecessor, of whom he makes a glowing panegyric. So does Touron, a Dominican friar, in his *Hist. Gén. Amérique*, vii. 316–86, viii. 1–100, passim. Vetancurt and Gonzalez Dávila, who lived at the time of the dispute, pass it by in silence, but otherwise praise the saintly character of the bishop. Zamacois, in *Hist. Méj.*, v. 336–47, 349–50, is unusually reticent in assigning the causes which led to the dispute, and also abrupt in speaking of its conclusion.

[55] Pope Alexander VI. by a bull of Nov. 16, 1501, made a donation of all the tithes to the crown of Spain, in remuneration for the expenses connected with the conquest of the American colonies. *Diezmos de Ind.*, no. 4, 5–6. A royal cédula of June 12, 1625, ordered that all bulls issued by the holy see to evade the payment of tithes, and sent to New Spain without the king's permission, be collected and forwarded to the India Council. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 49.

mitted that the judgment take effect, and the archbishop and cathedral chapters invested with the requisite authority. Nevertheless execution was delayed for years, owing to the difficulties which arose as to the valuation of property, and several times new orders, reaffirming previous cédulas, were issued in Spain. In Puebla the Jesuits contrived to delay payment till 1673, when after fruitless appeals to the audiencia, and after being placed under excommunication, they finally submitted. After that no other difficulties arose till 1732, when investigation showed that frauds had been committed by the society in their statements of the revenue derived from their property.[56]

Notwithstanding the many disputes in which the society had become involved, the ranks of their partisans continually increased, and new establishments gave evidence of the sympathy which the order enjoyed. Licenses having been obtained in Spain for the founding of a novitiate at Mexico in support of that of Tepotzotlan, donations of money were made for this purpose in 1626, and in 1642 it was completed and dedicated to Santa Ana. Subsequent discussions with one of the founders caused its abandonment, till 1672,[57] when Andrés de Tapia y Carbajal, a very wealthy man and one friendly to the order, endowed the establishment with sufficient means for the maintenance of twenty novices and the necessary fathers and lay-brothers. On the 19th of November the society took possession of it, changing the name to that of San Andrés.

Several brotherhoods were also founded by the order, that of the Immaculate Conception being the most prominent, and including ecclesiastics, laymen,

[56] Details on this subject are contained in a number of memorials and pamphlets, forming a collection under the title *Diezmos de Indias.* Some of the documents are of Jesuit origin; others have been written by the secular church and their partisans. Those numbered from one to five have been consulted in this chapter; the rest bear exclusively on later disputes.

[57] Lazcano, *Vida del P. Oviedo*, 56-7, says it was in 1676.

and students of the higher grades. Recognized by the general in Rome in 1651, the number of its members increased rapidly, and a few years later persons of the highest rank, including a viceroy of New Spain, were eager to be admitted.[58]

Before the close of the seventeenth century the society had still further spread its influence by holding missions throughout the provinces. Their attempts were successful, and nowhere more so than in Mexico, through which territory fathers Perez and Zappa passed from town to town, and made numberless converts, miracles being wrought, as the chroniclers report, to attest the saintly character of the Jesuits.[59]

[58] Minute records as to its organization and progress are given in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 259–62; *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., app., i. 47.

[59] Lengthy descriptions of these revivals are given in *Perez* and *Zappa, Rel.*, 61–79.

CHAPTER VII.

VICEROYS TORRES, ALVA, AND ALBURQUERQUE.

1648–1660.

BISHOP TORRES GOVERNOR OF NEW SPAIN—HIS BRIEF RULE—EPIDEMIC—GOVERNMENT OF THE AUDIENCIA—VICEROY ALVA ARRIVES—HIS QUIET RULE—ALBURQUERQUE APPOINTED VICEROY—HE GOVERNS WITH PRUDENCE—AND CHECKS ABUSES—LOSS OF JAMAICA AND THE INFLUENCE THEREOF ON NEW SPAIN—YUCATAN INFESTED BY PIRATES—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE ALBURQUERQUE—THE SWIFT PUNISHMENT THAT FOLLOWED—PUBLIC REJOICINGS—VICEROY AND ARCHBISHOP RECALLED—THEIR DEPARTURE AND SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

IT had been the usual policy with the court of Spain, to appoint the archbishop of Mexico as viceroy ad interim, whenever a sudden vacancy occurred in that office, but on the promotion of the duke of Salvatierra an exception was made, and, as we have seen, the chief magistracy with the title of governor was given to Márcos de Torres y Rueda, then bishop of Yucatan.[1]

He arrived in November 1647, and remained in Tacuba till February 1648, when, upon the notice that a vessel sent for him from Peru had arrived at Acapulco, he repaired to Mexico to receive the gov-

[1] I have before me a copy of the cédula, appointing him as governor, and dated July 8, 1647. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 198–9. He was born in Almazan in Spain, and, when a student at Salamanca, won the degree of licenciate in arts among 106 competitors. After holding several important ecclesiastical offices, he was presented to the bishopric of Yucatan in 1644. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 219. In November 1646 he took possession of his see, the greater part of which he visited in person, attempting on that occasion to introduce several innovations, which appear to have been for the purpose of filling his own pockets. Cogolludo mentions his meanness to the captain who brought him the news of his appointment to the viceroyalty; 'auduno tan corto con el Capitan, que dió harto que dezir?' *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yuc.*, 701.

ernment; but on the following day a resolution of the real acuerdo ordered his immediate return to Tacuba, there to await the proper moment for his installation into office.[2] This did not take place until May 13, 1648,[3] when the bishop-governor, with the usual retinue, made his official entrance into Mexico, and exhibited in the palace his credentials.

His rule was brief and eventful. An epidemic is said to have caused great devastation at Vera Cruz in the latter half of the year 1648, but in view of the scanty information on the subject, considerable allowance must probably be made for exaggeration. On his decease in April of the following year[4] the audiencia assumed the government; and the senior oidor, Matías de Peralta, acting as president, removed to the viceregal palace. Before the exequies of the late governor were concluded[5] his entire estate had been sequestered, partly to guarantee the sum of twenty thousand pesos, which he had received in advance of salary, and also because suspicions had arisen that a large part of his estate belonged to the crown, and had been fraudulently appropriated by the secretary and nephew of the deceased, Juan de Salazar. To that end the surrender was ordered under severe penalties, of all the property of the bishop, and that of his relatives, to the senior oidor, who, together with the fiscal, had assumed the functions of executor of

[2] Guijo, *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 7–8, adds that returning to Tacuba the bishop found that all the furniture of his residence, belonging to Salvatierra, had been removed in the mean time.

[3] Mayer, *Mex. Aztec*, i. 202, following the *Lieeo, Mex.*, ii. 223, says erroneously March 13th.

[4] Torres was on bad terms with the audiencia, and in January 1649 had some dispute with the municipal authorities, caused by his pretentious conduct. It is said that this brought on the sickness which terminated fatally on April 22d. Cogolludo remarks that Torres, not supposing his illness to be of a serious nature, did not make such provisions for the administration of affairs as his high position required. *Hist. Yuc.*, 702. This does not appear probable, judging from the deed executed by the governor on the 8th of April, and appointing, in case of his demise, the audiencia to succeed him ad interim. *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser., no. 23, 1–2.

[5] He was buried on the 25th of April in the church of the Augustinian convent at Mexico; the bishop-elect of Habana, Nicolás de la Torre, officiated, as the archbishop was absent. *Guijo, Diario*, 55–62.

the governor's will. Steps were also taken to prevent the shipment of such property by the fleet, then ready to sail; and on the 15th of May 1649 orders were sent to the governor of Yucatan to attach all the estate of the late bishop in that province.

Although a considerable amount was delivered up to the president, a repetition of the order was resolved upon, and to make it more effectual was published from the pulpits, ecclesiastical censures being threatened against all who failed to surrender it or even withheld information as to its concealment. It seems, however, that the conduct of the audiencia was guided more by personal hostility against Torres and his kindred than by pretended loyalty; for Salazar, having laid his case before the India Council, was acquitted, and the audiencia reproved and ordered to restore all the sequestered property.[6]

For nearly fifteen uneventful months Peralta held the reins of power in New Spain, until, in May 1650, a new viceroy arrived in the person of Luis Enriquez de Guzman, conde de Alva de Liste, and marqués de Villaflor.[7]

His rule was a quiet one, interrupted only in 1651 by the revolt of the Indians in the northern regions, where the Tarahumares, Conchos, and other tribes in open revolt killed several Spaniards, among whom

[6] The decision reached Mexico in May 1650, and its ratification in 1657. The audiencia was reprimanded for disrespect shown at the funeral of Torres, and ordered to make restitution to all the servants and followers of the bishop. *Guijo, Diario*, 107–8, 379–80.

[7] His other titles are: gentilhombre de la cámara de su Magestad, señor de las villas de Garrovillas, Carvajales, Membibre, i Castro Calvon, i lugares de su jurisdicion, alférez i alguacil mayor de la ciudad de Zamora, alcaide perpetuo de las Torres i Fortaleza de ella, por el Rey N. Señor, alcaide mayor de sacas, y escribano mayor de rentas de la dicha ciudad. *Frailes Doctrineros*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., ii. 131. Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 15, followed by Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 34, and others, writes Alvadeliste; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 360, and Ribera, *Gobernantes*, i. 177, call him de Aliste; Guijo, *Diario*, 121, says de Lista. Miravel y Casadevante, *El Gran Dicc.*, i. 411, in his genealogical account of the count's family, gives the name as in the text, and is herein followed by Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 24, and Alamán, *Disert.*, iii. app. 31. The official entry of the new viceroy was made July 3d. Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 24, says erroneously it was on the 13th.

were three friars, and burned the churches. The governor of Durango was ordered to subjugate them, and during the following year restored peace throughout the disturbed districts.

The old dispute about the submission of the doctrineros to the episcopal authority was revived during the term of viceroy Alva, but his prudent conduct prevented it from assuming such significance as the former one. Royal orders, tending to check the efforts of the regular clergy to become more independent of the jurisdiction of the crown, were also successfully enforced[8] without encountering serious opposition.

Although the count appears to have made a moderate use of his authority, he was jealous of his rights as the representative of a powerful monarch, and did not fail to guard them when occasion happened. Among other instances may be mentioned a case which occurred in June, 1651, when a dispute arose about the place which the chapter of the cathedral and the pages of the viceroy should occupy in the procession of corpus christi. The procession was forcibly interrupted by order of the count, who in unison with the audiencia issued several orders, which caused great excitement among the people. The matter was settled by the chapter yielding to the demand of the viceroy, when the ceremony was allowed to proceed.[9]

Owing to the wars almost continuously carried on

[8] Several cédulas were issued to protect the royal jurisdiction. One of September 18, 1650, ratified on the 6th of June, 1655, declared all briefs and bulls of the holy see issued to the people of New Spain as null and void, if not authorized by the council of the Indies, to which they were to be sent. To the same scrutiny were subjected all those patents for religious orders which introduced important innovations or referred to the founding of new convents. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 37–8; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 219–21.

[9] *Guijo, Diario*, 179–82; *Robles, Vida*, 127–9. The viceroy would probably have encountered more opposition had there been an archbishop. The last one, Juan de Mañosca y Zamora, had died on December 12, 1650, not in 1653 as Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 25, has it. *Guijo, Diario*, 157–9, 167; *Panes, Vir.*, MS., 100; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 219. The see remained vacant for two years until December 25, 1652, when Pedro de Barrientos took possession of it in the name of the new appointee, Marcelo Lopez de Ascona, who arrived in July, 1653. He died after a few months, on November 10th of the same year. *Guijo, Diario*, 227, 229–30, 248–70; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 220. Panes, *Vir.*, says erroneously 1654. MS., 101.

in Europe by the Spanish crown, communication with the mother country had become dangerous, and the peril of raids on the coast of New Spain increased. In order to guard against these inroads, the viceroy stationed some soldiers at Vera Cruz, and provided the fleets despatched to Spain with a force at least strong enough to leave them no longer at the mercy of the first pirate or man-of-war they might encounter. It was indeed necessary to take some precautions that the treasure remittances should reach Spain in safety. The money was greatly needed; for it was only by means of the contributions of the colonies, that the monarch was enabled to carry on the expensive wars which were to sustain the glory of Castile. The king was always hard pressed; and confident of the forbearance and patriotic zeal of his subjects in the New World, had seized about a million of pesos belonging to private persons, the amount having been remitted by the fleet of 1649. Viceroy Alva soon after his arrival informed the people of this proof of the confidence of their royal master, but at the same time assured them, under pledge of the royal word, that it would not be repeated, and that measures had even been taken to make repayment in redeemable warrants against the revenue, derived from the media anata.[10]

During the last months of Viceroy Alva's rule, earthquake and drought visited the province of Mexico. The former disaster was portended by the appearance of a comet which was visible from the middle of December of 1652 till the first days of 1653. The shock was severely felt in the capital,[11] and destroyed the walls of several buildings, causing greater damage

[10] 'Tenia librada la satisfaccion de esta cantidad en juros y media annata.' *Guijo, Diario*, 121. The publication of a similar cédula in March 1651 implies that this manner of making loans was repeated, notwithstanding the promise made.

[11] 'Duró mas del tiempo que...rezar dos credos con devocion.' *Id.* 232. A minute account together with a scientific treatise on the comet is given by Ruiz, *Discurso hecho sobre Impressiones meteorologicas*, Mexico, 1653, 1 et seq. According to *Guijo, Diario*, 239, in the same year, 1653, a conflagration destroyed the whole city of Colima.

in the environs. That no others were felt was supposed to be due to a solemn procession, held during the following days in honor of the conception of the Serenísima Reina de los Angeles. With similar good effect the interposition of the vírgen de los Remedios was implored some months later; when want of rain had produced diseases, and supplications lasting nine days were ordered. The supplications were quickly heard, for within nine days abundant rains fell throughout the province.

The viceroy's term of government had meanwhile expired, and in the beginning of July 1653 news reached him of the arrival of his successor at Vera Cruz, and of his promotion to the viceroyalty of Peru. On the 1st of August he formally laid down his authority and proceeded to San Cristóbal, to greet the new ruler, the duke of Alburquerque. He remained in Mexico for more than a year, as there was no vessel to carry him to his destination. The 17th of October 1654 he left for Acapulco with a large retinue. At every point along his route he received marks of respect, for his benevolence and integrity had gained for him the sympathy of the people.[12]

Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, duque de Alburquerque and grandee of Spain,[13] arrived at Vera Cruz accompanied by his wife, a daughter of the exviceroy Cadereita, early in July, 1653, and made his official entrance into Mexico on the 15th of August, amidst the usual ceremonies. In personal qualifications no less than in rank he was a worthy successor

[12] His juez de residencia sentenced him to the payment of several amounts of money claimed from him, and transferred the decision of other charges to the India Council, but nevertheless declared him 'por bueno y recto ministro de S. M.' *Guijo, Diario*, 270. After serving his term in Peru he went to Spain, where he died about 1667.

[13] He was of one of the noblest houses of Spain, and besides the titles given in the text, and such as his new position gave him, held those of marqués de Cuellar y de Cadereita, conde de Ledesma, conde de Guelma, señor de las villas de Mombeltran y de la Codosera, gentilhombre de la cámara de Su Magestad, and capitan general de las galeras de España. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., vii. 1; *Frailes Doctr.*, in *Disturb. de Frailes*, MS., ii. 129, 152.

to the count of Alva. He lacked none of the accomplishments then commonly possessed by the nobility of Spain, and was moreover a man of jovial disposition, much given to hospitality, and lavish of expense. During his reign he lost no opportunity of displaying, though sometimes a little too ostentatiously, his boundless loyalty to his sovereign. The first occasion that occurred was in April 1654, when balls and banquets, lasting several days, were arranged by the viceroy in commemoration of the birthday of his sovereign. These festivities were, however, eclipsed by those which were held later in celebration of the birth of prince Felipe Próspero.[14] Solemn thanksgivings alternated with magnificent processions in costume, headed by the viceroy and the highest officials. For several days the town was illuminated; festivals were arranged by the Jesuit fathers; bull-fights were held in the plaza; there were no regular sessions of the audiencia for several weeks; and many of the prisoners confined in jail were pardoned, while the sentences of others were commuted. So popular became the viceroy, that a mere hint from him was sufficient to elicit an annual donation in favor of the newly born prince of 250,000 pesos for the next fifteen years.

The treasure fleet despatched from Vera Cruz in April 1654 was one of the most richly freighted that had ever left the shores of New Spain, and in the following year a large amount was forwarded; but the capture of Jamaica[15] in 1655 caused a large decrease in remittances after that date.[16]

[14] In January 1656 public prayers had been said in the cathedral and all the other churches for an heir to the throne. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i., i. 337.

[15] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 36, Rivera, *Gob.*, i. 197, and other Spanish authorities state that Cromwell was urged to despatch the expedition which effected the capture of Jamaica by Thomas Gage, the author of *The New Survey of the West Indies*. Gage was an apostate friar; hence perhaps the statement, which is not founded on fact.

[16] During the same year news arrived that a party of buccaneers had been captured by the settlers of Tampico. Twenty-two of them were sent as prisoners to Mexico. *Guijo, Diario*, 330, 362.

The news of this disaster caused serious alarm throughout Spain and the Spanish colonies, though it was but the beginning of a long series of calamities, many of which I have related. Already the North Sea was infested with pirates, and in the islands of the West Indies thousands of buccaneers, filibusters, and sea rovers,[17] who regarded the Spaniards as their natural prey, had formed permanent settlements. During the latter portion of the seventeenth century the colonies, more especially those of Central America, were never free from their raids; Portobello was sacked; Panamá was destroyed; other cities were plundered or burned; and within a few years of its capture Jamaica became the spot where most of these raids were organized, often with the consent and always with the connivance of the representative of the British monarch.

In 1657 the viceroy despatched a force of over four hundred men to aid the Spaniards in driving the English garrison from the island, but to no purpose. Most of them perished of disease without inflicting any loss on the enemy,[18] and the inhabitants remaining on the island removed to New Spain.

It was not long before the Spaniards felt the evil effects of thus tamely allowing the British to gain a foothold in the West Indies. Every year the convoy of the fleets became more difficult. In one instance fifty-five days were required for the passage from Vera Cruz to Habana, the ships having remained near the coast of Florida, to avoid capture by an English fleet. Often the church bells summoned the

[17] For the origin of piracy in the West Indies see *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 451 et seq., this series.

[18] *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 15; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 41; *Guijo, Diario*, 393–4, 406–7, 443. Still this writer speaks in another place of a great victory obtained by the auxiliaries, who dislodged the English from the island, and says that the news was celebrated in the cathedral and all other churches of Mexico. *Id.*, 400–1. 'Todos miserablemente perecieron en manos del enemigo.' It is of course well known that the English retained possession. About this time the town of Alburquerque was founded in New Mexico, perhaps with a view to give those who had arrived from Jamaica an opportunity to establish new settlements and restore their fortunes.

loyal and pious inhabitants of the capital to prayers for the safety of the treasure ships; but not always were their prayers answered, for on one occasion during the viceroy's rule the flag-ship with five million pesos and four hundred persons on board was lost. At about the same time another fleet was attacked and partly captured at the mouth of the harbor of Cádiz. Henceforth Alburquerque became more cautious, and detained the fleet of 1658 until greater protection was afforded.

While New Spain was thus harassed by more distant foes, Yucatan was selected as a favorite scene of action by the law-defying brethren of the coast. Its isolated position, the difficulty of moving military forces from one place to another, the very position of the towns, all of which were near the seaboard, had long made this peninsula a favorite resort for pirates. After a less important expedition in 1613, during which they took temporary possession of the bay of Ascension, they reappeared in 1632 near Campeche; but noticing the energetic preparations for defense no attack was made. Their project, however, had not been abandoned. In the following year they returned under the command of their two famous leaders Pie de Palo and Diego the Mulatto. After a hot fight the town was taken and sacked. Efforts to obtain a ransom failed, however, and when rumors of a force approaching from Mérida became known to the corsairs, they departed.[19]

Again a short period of tranquillity followed, till, in 1644, a squadron of thirteen vessels with fifteen hundred soldiers landed at Champoton. The inhabitants having fled, the invaders departed after completing their stores,[20] taking with them two Franciscan friars

[19] Under the same Diego the Mulatto, Salamanca was sacked in 1642, the town having been taken by surprise. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 658–9.

[20] They shot some cattle, preparing the meat in the church, which sacrilegious act especially calls forth the wrath of the pious Cogolludo. 'Sirviendose de la Iglesia para tan indecente execucion, y especialmente de la pila Bautismal.' *Hist. Yuc.*, 682.

whom they found hid near Zihó, and placed on board one of their vessels. Such an act committed against the representatives of the faith, say the chroniclers, provoked the wrath of heaven, and as a due chastisement all the vessels foundered, that bearing the friars only after the holy men had been placed ashore on the coast of Florida.[21]

But this incident made little impression on the buccaneers, who continued their depredations on both the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula. In April 1648 they captured a frigate with more than a hundred thousand pesos on board, and a few weeks later boldly attacked a vessel in the very port of Campeche. At about the same time another band, commanded by the pirate Abraham, captured Salamanca.[22] During the second half of the seventeenth century their raids became more frequent. In 1659 and 1678 Campeche was again taken and sacked by English and French freebooters. They were aided on this occasion by logwood-cutters, who since that time had begun to establish themselves on the peninsula; and, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Spaniards to expel them, successfully maintained their positions,[23] till in 1680 they were driven from the bay of Términos by forces sent against them from Mexico and Yucatan.[24]

Alburquerque bore the reputation of a just, vigilant, and capable ruler, one who strictly carried out the duties of his office, regardless of censure. Hearing that one of the contadores mayores had challenged the other, he ordered both under arrest, and sentenced to fines of three thousand and fifteen hundred

[21] Cogolludo gives an interesting account of the miraculous powers which our lady of Champoton and the 11,000 virgins exhibited on this occasion. *Id.*, 683–4.

[22] He repeated the sack of the same town in 1652.

[23] For a detailed account of the origin of the logwood establishments, from which the settlement of Belize emanated, I refer to the *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. 623 et seq., this series.

[24] Robles, *Diario*, 303–9, gives a pretty detailed account of the trophies obtained on this victorious expedition.

pesos respectively, though duelling was at this time a common practice in New Spain. During the year 1659 he suspended the corregidor and his lieutenant, and imprisoned several of the regidores because they had been bribed to consent to a reduction in weight of the loaf. Personal inquiries at the mills and bakeries had convinced him that there was no reason for making such a change.

The clergy were not exempt from the duke's searching vigilance, and in his excessive zeal for the welfare and dignity of the church he occasionally played a somewhat ridiculous part. Patrolling the streets near the palace one night, as was his wont, he noticed at a late hour two Austin friars in a dilapidated looking bakery eating fritters. The viceroy was shocked, and at once ordered their arrest; not, he declared, because the act of eating fritters was of itself unclerical, but that, considering the time, the place, and the sacred vestments of the culprits, such an indulgence was scandalous. One of the ecclesiastics took to his heels and escaped, but the other was taken to the palace and sternly reproved and kept in custody till the following day, when he was delivered to the prior of his order. After remonstrating with the latter, the viceroy summoned also the other heads of religious orders, and having expressed his disapproval in general, directed them to exercise in future a better surveillance.[25] This was readily promised, and severe penalties were imposed for similar transgressions. A reformation had indeed become necessary; for the greater part of the friars were no longer the worthy followers of those whose charity, humility, and untiring zeal had made so deep an impression on the native population a century before. In addition to their hypocrisy, some of them were guilty of the worst crimes common to their fellow-men; and it is related that in 1655 two

[25] In the following year, 1655, the rebuke was repeated, the king having issued three cédulas, complaining of the increasing disorders of the monastic life. *Guijo, Diario*, 311–12.

Augustinian lay-friars did not shrink from assassinating the former provincial of their order.

It was perhaps the viceroy's undue interference in ecclesiastical matters that excited the enmity of the archbishop. During his administration the same ridiculous dispute arose which had occurred during the régime of his predecessor, concerning the precedence of the attendants at the procession of corpus christi. Neither would yield the point, and the matter was settled only by an agreement that neither the pages of the viceroy nor those of the archbishop should assist.[26] The latter, named Mateo Sagade Bugueiro,[27] was a man of rather haughty character, and ere long new difficulties arose between him and the representative of the crown, occasioned by the controversy of the former with the commissary-general of the holy crusade. The archbishop also publicly accused the viceroy of withholding and intercepting his correspondence with Spain, but finally a reconciliation was effected, and after that time a better understanding prevailed.

The religious zeal of the viceroy[28] well nigh cost him his life. It was his custom each afternoon to pay a visit to the cathedral, then in course of completion, in order to inspect the progress made during the day, and afterward to attend vespers in one of the chapels. While kneeling at prayer on the evening of the 12th of March 1660, a soldier named Manuel Ledesma y

[26] Similar difficulties continued to disturb the good understanding between the viceroys and the archbishops, although royal cédulas had clearly fixed the jurisdiction to which either of them was entitled, their tenor being essentially favorable to the viceroys. In later years under the rule of Mancera an outbreak of these old hostilities was prevented merely by the duke's diplomacy, and the modesty and genuine christian spirit of the then archbishop Alonso de Cuevas. *Dávalos, Mancera, Instrucciones*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 471–2.

[27] He was born in San Pedro de San Roman in Galicia, and had previously held the offices of canon of the churches of Astorga and Toledo. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 220. Panes, *Vir.*, MS., 101–2, calls him Mateo de Yaga, and says he was born in Pontevedro in Galicia. He was consecrated in Mexico the 25th of July, 1656. *Guijo, Diario*, 362.

[28] He assisted at the festivals of the churches and made liberal contributions toward the completion of the cathedral. Guijo states that a royal cédula arrived in May 1655 ordering that the building be completed as soon as possible. *Diario*. 309.

Robles entered the chapel and gave him several blows with the flat of his sword. The viceroy sprang to his feet, and placing the prie-dieu between himself and his assailant, meanwhile clutching with his right hand at his sword, exclaimed, "What mean you?" "To kill you," was the answer.[29] At that moment the treasurer of the cathedral came to the duke's assistance and was soon followed by others. The would-be assassin was overpowered, and the duke after finishing his devotions returned to his palace. A trial was held the same evening by the military auditor, but considering the grave character of the crime, the audiencia ordered that the prisoner be brought before their court. At the same time a resolution was passed that there should be no rest until the law was vindicated.[30]

During the whole night the depositions of witnesses were taken, corroborating the attempt to murder, but they added little to the contradictory confession of the accused, who in one place gives as a reason a supposed offence suffered from the viceroy, while in another he states that his sole purpose was to perpetuate his name.[31] There is little doubt his mind was deranged; he could easily have killed the viceroy had he been so disposed; but as it was a great man who had been frightened, his judges were determined not to recognize the fact; the appointment of an advocate for the accused was but for form, and no time was granted him to prepare his defence. At seven o'clock next morning the verdict was rendered; the

[29] 'Matarlo y que no se diga misa.' *Copia de la Causa Criminal*, in *Registro Trimestre*, 289. 'Voto á Cristo, q le he de matar,' says the viceroy in his letter of March 16, 1660, to the king, adding 'me dió de cuchilladas y estocadas, en las espaldas y riñones.' The latter assertion, notwithstanding its source, is exaggerated, as proved by the depositions of the witnesses during the trial. *Carta*, in *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser. no. 24, 1.

[30] 'Hasta tanto se dé jurídica y competente satisfaccion á ejemplar tan atroz, no se deje la mano de las diligencias.' *Copia de la Causa Criminal*, 277.

[31] Guijo, *Diario*, 439–40, asserts that he was submitted to torture; but this is doubtful; as the minutes of the trial would hardly have concealed the application of a measure which then was considered quite legal in order to obtain a confession.

criminal was condemned to be dragged through the streets,[32] and thence taken to the gibbet. His head and right hand were to be cut off and exposed, the former on the main square, the latter, together with his sword, in front of the door of the cathedral where the crime had been committed. Three hours later the tribunals and loyal inhabitants of Mexico had the satisfaction of witnessing the execution of the sentence, the corpse, feet upwards, remaining exhibited on the gallows till late in the afternoon.[33]

Public demonstrations of joy and processions, arranged by the archbishop and the religious corporations, celebrated the escape of the viceroy from death.[34]

A few months later Alburquerque was informed that the conde de Baños had been appointed his successor, and that he himself was promoted to the viceroyalty of Sicily.[35] At the same time the archbishop was recalled, and both set sail from Vera Cruz in May 1661.[36] In September the duke surrendered the reins of power to the new viceroy[37] at Santa Ana, as was the custom. His residencia was begun at the same time by Ginés Morote, but difficulties between the latter and the audiencia prevented its completion until 1662, when it was concluded by the oidor Fran-

[32] 'Que sea arrastrado á la cola de dos caballos metido en un ceron...y en la horca...ahorcado hasta que naturalmente muera.' *Copia de la Causa Criminal*, 301–2.

[33] The culprit did not repent of his crime. 'No pudieron reducirlo á que se confesara, ni á que invocase el nombre de Jesus.' *Guijo, Diario*, 440. The viceroy in his letter to the king expresses regret, and adds that 'both in writing and verbally he pardoned him for this and the other life.' *Carta*, in *Vir. Instrucc.*, MS., 1st ser. no. 24, 2.

[34] For details of this event see *Copia de la Causa Criminal*, in *Registro Trim.*, 265–305; *Guijo, Diario*, 439–40; *Carta*, in *Vir. Instrucc.*, MS., 1st ser. no. 24, 1–3.

[35] Guijo says he was made general of the fleets intended to operate against the Portuguese. *Diario*, 442.

[36] Lacunza, *Disc. Hist.*, xxxv. 501–2, speaks of the removal of both as caused by the king's displeasure with their conduct, 'fueron muy ricos, aunque con el deshonor consiguiente.' There is not the slightest reason for such a statement, and their later career indicates plainly the contrary, Buguerio being presented to the see of Leon, one of the greatest in Spain, and Alburquerque, as already stated, being made viceroy of Sicily.

[37] During his term of office he made many improvements in the viceregal palace.

cisco Valles.[38] In the mean time the duke had left for his native land, carrying with him the sympathy and good wishes of all the people of New Spain.

GULF OF MEXICO.

[38] The visitador fixed the bond at 180,000 pesos, but was overruled by the oidores, who reduced the amount to 50,000 pesos notwithstanding the protests of Morote.

CHAPTER VIII.

YUCATAN.

1601–1708.

An Uneventful Period—Good Rulers—Marshal Cárlos de Luna y Arellano—The Government of the Towns—The Monarch as a Mendicant—Governor Juan de Vargas—His Maleadministration—The Licentiate Carvajal Takes his Residencia—Indian Revolts—The Succession of Rulers—Campeche Fortified—Soberanis and Martin de Ursúa—More Dissensions—Excommunication of Soberanis—Concerning the Conquest of the Itzas—Conduct of Ursúa Justified, and his Subsequent Promotion—His Qualities as a Soldier the Cause of his Preferment.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, it will be remembered, the governors of Yucatan were constantly at variance with the church,[1] and unseemly quarrels between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were prevalent almost from the time that the custodian Villapando built at Mani[2] the first convent founded in the Maya peninsula. On August 11, 1604, the marshal Cárlos de Luna y Arrellano[3] took possession of the government, and although his reign lacked none of the usual strifes, as well with the city council as with the bishop and the secular and regular clergy, his qualities as an honest ruler and the progress which the province made during his administration were fully recognized. The strongest proof of his rectitude is that, although no failure of crops

[1] In *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 428 et seq., this series, the conquest of Yucatan is related, and on pages 648–654 of the same volume is a brief sketch of the history of this province during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

[2] About 1550.

[3] The author of *Datos Biográficos*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 791–2, says his Christian name was Tristan and that of his father Cárlos.

or other calamity occurred during his administration, eight years' service left him a poorer man than before, while several of his predecessors had entered upon office encumbered with debt and retired with a fortune.

To Luna succeeded Antonio de Figueroa,[4] who is also spoken of as a just ruler, but whose government, save for a dispute with the encomenderos of Valladolid,[5] is void of any noteworthy event. After a term of nearly five years his successor arrived in the person of Francisco Ramirez Briceño, the first governor since Montejo's time on whom the king conferred the title of captain-general. He took possession April 27, 1617,[6] and being an experienced soldier, at once began the military organization of the country. During his brief term of office he gained the sympathy of the people, and his early death, on December 7, 1619,[7] excited general grief.

By virtue of a royal cédula of the 24th of May 1600, now for the first time carried into effect, each of the alcaldes ordinarios governed the different towns and villas that lay within his own jurisdiction. This ceased when on September 3, 1620,[8] Captain Arias, count de Losada y Taboada, arrived, as governor ad interim, appointed by the viceroy of Mexico. Within a few months the reins of power were delivered up to Diego de Cárdenas, a knight of Santiago, who, being appointed by the crown, took possession in September 1621.[9]

[4] Ancona, *Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 201, misled by a contradictory statement in Cogolludo, gives the date of Figueroa's succession to the government as August 29, 1612, instead of March 29th, for which statement he only refers to Lara.

[5] They surprised him on a journey to the River Lagartos, and sent him by force to the viceroy of Mexico, together with a long list of accusations. Immediately acquitted by the latter, he returned to Mérida, and against all expectation refrained from punishing the aggressors.

[6] *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 474. In another place the same author says Figueroa ruled till September 27, 1617.

[7] Cogolludo says his death resulted from an illness, and Lara that he was poisoned.

[8] August 28th. *Lara, Apuntes Históricos; Castillo, Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 61.

[9] 'Manifestaba su Magestad las graues necessidades...por las guerras que tenia con Hereges, Turcos, y Moros.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 541.

On the 13th of July 1618 the title of 'Muy noble y muy leal' was bestowed on the city of Mérida, and in August of the same year a coat of arms was presented to the cabildo.[10] Still further to testify his regard for the inhabitants of the capital the monarch condescended to ask of them, four years later, a contribution in money.

In order to justify the cherished title, liberal donations were made to the royal mendicant by the city council, the encomenderos, and many other settlers, the governor himself setting the example with a gift of one thousand pesos out of his own salary. Little else is known of his rule, which seems to have been unusually quiet, not even the customary dissensions with the clergy being mentioned by the historians, who represent Cárdenas as a pious and charitable man. After a reign of seven years[11] he gave place to Juan de Vargas,[12] who entered into office on the 15th of September 1628. A change now occurs in the peaceful condition of affairs, for Vargas is characterized as one of the worst governors ever appointed to the province.

Mérida Coat of Arms.

Soon after the conquest of Yucatan the natives were made to feel the bitterness of their bondage. They were robbed and maltreated by their taskmasters, first under the title of alcaldes and corregidores, and later by officials under different names.[13] During

[10] The text of the cédulas by which the title and coat of arms were bestowed is given in *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 461–2. Calle is in error when he gives 1619 as the date in *Mem. y Not.*, 82.

[11] Ancona says erroneously he ruled only four years.

[12] A knight of Santiago and descendant of the renowned Spanish general, Alonso de Vargas.

[13] Jueces de grana, de vino, ó de agravios.

Figueroa's term of office the production of cochineal had been largely increased, and the number of such officials, who in reality were but the agents of the governor, was rapidly multiplied. In vain prohibitory and restrictive orders had been issued by the audiencia of Mexico and were now repeated in a royal cédula of March 17, 1627. Changing their title into that of capitanes á guerra, the governor evaded the execution of the law and the evil remained unchecked. New complaints were filed with the central government at Mexico, and Vargas was ordered under heavy penalties to revoke the appointments, and forbidden to make new ones under any name whatever.[14] He remonstrated, alleging the necessity of such officials, and refused to obey until representations were made to the king and the council of the Indies.

Simultaneously an imbroglio occurred between the treasury officials and the governor, who, transgressing his authority, proposed to make an inspection of the royal treasury. To this the former objected, and in the dispute which ensued one of them was personally maltreated by Vargas, who, carried away by anger, seized the treasurer and contador and sent them to Spain to appear before the India Council, without granting time for defense.[15] Such harsh conduct aided to swell the number of malecontents, and more claims were brought before the audiencia of Mexico, urging that an oidor be sent to investigate the matter and restore order. Vargas, when informed, tried to evade the blow, prevailing on the city council to support his protest against the necessity of such a measure by appointing his lieutenant-general their attorney.

In the mean time the licenciate Yñigo de Argüello Cárbajal[16] was sent as visitador, and presented him-

[14] A royal cédula of August 23, 1642, approved this decree of the audiencia. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 88.

[15] Ancona, *Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 221, intimates as the probable reason an attempt of the officials to exact the fines imposed by the audiencia of Mexico.

[16] A knight of Calatrava and oidor of the audiencia of Mexico. His commission was issued on the 7th of April, 1630. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 566–76.

self in Mérida August 14, 1630. Notwithstanding the governor's opposition,[17] Carbajal began to execute his mission; whereupon Vargas ordered him to leave Mérida within six days, and the province within fifteen days, and made preparations for armed resistance. At this juncture the bishop, Gonzalo de Salazar, interfered in behalf of the visitador. Authorized by a royal cédula to co-operate with the viceroy in the suppression of local disturbances, he published, December 17, 1630, a decree, which under severe penalties and ecclesiastical censures[18] ordered the governor, municipal authorities, and all the inhabitants to obey the orders of Argüello.[19]

Free from restraint, the licentiate continued the trial, and after two months sentenced the governor on some of the charges to temporary suspension from office and heavy fines, reserving the other accusations for the decision of the audiencia of Mexico, whither the accused was to be sent as a prisoner. Other officials were also punished, and compensation granted to the oppressed natives. In March 1631 Carbajal left with his prisoner for Mexico,[20] the government remaining in charge of the alcaldes till November, when Fernando Centeno Maldonado arrived, being appointed by the viceroy as governor ad interim. He was replaced by Gerónimo de Guero, who took charge

[17] Vargas claimed as governor and captain-general only to be answerable to the king and the council of the Indies. He also alleged the great expense and damage to the native population, which the visitador's mission would cause. Cogolludo gives these and other reasons in a lengthy way. *Hist. Yuc.*, 567–9. The governor was wrong, however; orders of the crown dated November 2, 1627, and May 19, 1631, placed the government of Yucatan under that of Mexico. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 91, 159; *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 110.

[18] Excommunication mayor, heavy fines, and liability to be tried for high treason.

[19] Ancona, *Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 223, says nothing about the bishop's intercession being based on a royal cédula.

[20] In Mexico Vargas was committed to prison, and a trial instituted against him, but before its conclusion he died. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 576–7. Ancona, *Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 223–4, and Castillo, *Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 60–1, attribute his death to grief caused by the stern rebuke of the viceroy. It is nowhere else intimated that Vargas possessed a conscience, or any sense of shame. During his administration heavy rains occurred, lasting, as Cogolludo says, for 27 consecutive days, and causing a severe famine.

in 1633. His rule was brief, and is favorably noticed by the chroniclers of his period. After his decease at an advanced age on March 10, 1635, the government again devolved on the alcaldes; but a few months later was transferred to Centeno, who for a second time had been temporarily appointed by the viceroy. During his term of office, which lasted until March 4, 1636, he had serious dissensions with the Franciscans, and in consequence of their instigations his removal was ordered. He died, however, before the arrival of his successor, Andrés Perez Franco, who on March 14th took office as governor ad interim, holding that position only two months.

On May 17, 1636, Diego Zapata de Cárdenas, marqués de Santo Floro, presented his credentials from the court of Spain as governor and captain-general, and was duly admitted. Although the chroniclers disagree in their estimate of his character, they admit that serious dissensions occurred between him and the city council, which corporation even planned a coup d'état. The fact, however, that his term of government was extended to nearly eight years speaks strongly in his favor, as also do his measures to relieve the natives from the payment of oppressive taxes.[21] His efforts on their behalf are probably due in part to a revolt among the Bacalar Indians, which, beginning in 1636, lasted till after his removal from office.

The treatment of the Indians had, as we have seen, always given rise to dissensions and doubts, both in old and New Spain. Meanwhile they were continually being robbed, now by the insatiable agents of the governors, now by the priests and friars, and between both they were despoiled of whatever they possessed.

[21] The tribute of the Indians amounted in 1643 and 1644 to about 154,000 pesos, including the former encomiendas of Montejo, and more than 20,000 pesos belonging to those of the crown. The whole number of encomenderos in Yucatan was 131. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 385–6; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 82–8, 183.

It is not strange then that the true faith had little attraction for them, or that occasionally they attempted to shake off a yoke which plunged them not only into a condition worse than they had known in aboriginal times, but threatened the extermination of their race. It was seldom, however, that they even temporarily succeeded, and a severe administra-

Map of Yucatan.

tion of justice by the Spanish authorities always suppressed their mutinous tendencies for a number of years.

It is thus that, at frequent intervals, we have to record Indian revolts. The first one, in 1610 at Tekax, caused by dissatisfaction with the cacique, was easily quelled, and three of the ringleaders forfeited their lives on the gallows of Mérida. In 1633, owing to a famine some years before, a large number of natives who had abandoned their villages were

brought back by force, the governor Centeno employing to that end energetic measures. A gibbet was erected wherever he went, and death threatened to all who would coöperate in concealing fugitive Indians. Thus in the coast districts alone more than sixteen thousand tributaries were restored in a short time to their settlements.[22] A more extensive outbreak, however, occurred in 1636, occasioned probably by the efforts of the governors to exact the contributions for the Barlovento fleet. Gradually the revolt assumed greater dimensions, and in 1639 only the villa of Salamanca had remained faithful, the remainder of the Bacalar district having openly declared its sedition, and relapsed into idolatry. Armed expeditions were proposed, but objected to by the governor, Santo Floro, and after long deliberations only some friars were sent to the seditious region, a proceeding which utterly failed. It was only in 1644 that part of the fugitives were induced to return to their villages.[23] Later revolts, though most of them of less importance, occurred in 1653, 1669, and 1670, when the Indians of Sahcabchen rebelled, and again about 1675.[24] Still there remains no doubt that the natives were gradually brought under subjection, and the zealous missionaries by their incessant labors obtained more and more influence over the native population.

The successor of Santo Floro, Francisco Nuñez Melian,[25] took charge of the government the last day of December 1643, but his sudden death on April 13, 1644,[26] again made necessary a temporary appointment by the viceroy at Mexico. Enrique Dávila y

[22] For details of this expedition see *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yuc.*, 593–5; also *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 224–5.

[23] Governor Francisco Nuñez Melian succeeded in bringing back about 9,000 Indians. *Cogollvdo, Hist. Yuc.*, 679.

[24] The date for the last revolt cannot be exactly fixed, as it is not given by Villagutierre, who, in his *Hist. Conq. Itza*, 146–7, merely alludes to them.

[25] The general Luis Fernandez de Córdoba, previously appointed, was promoted to the government of Cartagena before undertaking the voyage. *Cogullvdo, Hist. Yuc.*, 678.

[26] During a review of the military forces at Mérida.

Pacheco was the one selected, and on June 28, 1644, he assumed office, relieving the alcaldes ordinarios, who had ruled in the mean time. His administration is recorded as one of the best ever experienced. At his residencia it is said that only one insignificant charge was brought against him, and after the death of his successor Estévan de Azcárraga,[27] who was in charge from December 4, 1645, to August 8, 1648, he was again summoned by the viceroy of Mexico to represent the crown.[28] He remained in that position from December 15, 1648, to the 19th of October, 1649, at which date a new ruler, appointed by the crown, arrived in the person of the count de Peñalva.[29] Under his rule a serious famine occurred, and great numbers died of starvation. The evil was increased by the injudicious though well intended measures of the governor to remedy it. The number of enemies thus created was increased by his avaricious proceedings, and on August 1, 1652, he was found assassinated in his room.[30]

After the death of Peñalva governors followed in rather quick succession, but nothing important is connected with their time. The temporary rule of the alcaldes ended when on November 19, 1652, Martin de Robles y Villafaña, nominated by Viceroy Alva de Lista, took charge of the government, but being pro-

[27] Azcárraga died during an epidemic which, in 1648, played havoc in Yucatan to such an extent that no bells were tolled except for mass. Not even the governor's death met with an exception, and the burial took place without any of the usual solemnities. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yuc.*, 714–30, gives many details referring to the pestilence. From 1627 to 1631, and later in 1636, floods and bad crops had also produced famine and epidemics, of which many people died. *Cogollvdo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, 202–3, 558, 592–3.

[28] One of the alcaldes, who in the interim held the goverment, was Juan de Salazar Montejo, a great-great-grandson of the Adelantado Francisco de Montejo.

[29] Dávila had been held in such esteem, that after his departure from Yucatan, the city council of Mérida in a letter to the king greatly eulogized his administration. Later, after the death of Peñalva, a petition was sent to Spain, requesting that Dávila be sent as governor for a third time. *Cogollvdo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, 731–3. The full title of his successor was García de Valdés Osorio, first count de Peñalva. *Id.*, 742.

[30] Cogolludo assigns no cause for his death, but his unusually brief mention of his demise rather confirms the statement of Lava, that such a crime was committed. No clue was ever obtained.

moted to the province of Carácas was relieved by Pedro Saenz Izquierdo in November 1653, also by appointment from Mexico, and it was not until May 1655 that Francisco de Bazan arrived from Spain with a commission from the crown. He was followed by José Campero,[31] who governed from August 1660 till his death on the 29th of December 1662.[32] Between his successors, Francisco de Esquivel and Rodrigo Flores Aldana, temporary troubles arose, each claiming the government, and finally the latter, who had been removed by the audiencia of Mexico, was reinstalled on January 29, 1667, by order of the king,[33] with whom he was a favorite. Without any apparent reason he was superseded on December 29, 1669, by Frutos Delgado, oidor of the audiencia of Mexico, who came to take his residencia. But in the following year Fernando Francisco de Escobedo, appointed immediately by the crown, took charge of the government.[34] During his rule, which lasted from October 18, 1670, to March 27, 1672, the governor, who was an experienced soldier, directed his attention to the military affairs of the province, and the improvements which he made were continued by his successors, Miguel Franco Cardoñes and Sancho Fernandez de Angulo y Sandoval, of whom nothing worthy of note is recorded.[35]

[31] Castillo says erroneously in one place that Bazan's successor was Antonio Ancona, whereas in another he gives José Campero. *Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 54, 142–5. His full title was José Campero de Sorrevilla, maestre de campo and knight of Santiago. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 2.

[32] His death was hastened, if not caused, by a trick played on him in the cathedral of Mérida, at a late hour of the night, and the bishop and the Jesuits were supposed to have taken part in it, in order to gain more influence over him. *Registro Yucateco*, ii. 74–6.

[33] Esquivel delivered the government to Flores on July 28, 1664, having ruled since September 4, 1663, but, obtaining his opponent's removal, again took possession on the 28th of March 1665. Guijo calls him Flores de Vera. *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i., i. 548.

[34] *Robles, Diario*, i. 140; *Juarros, Guat.*, 265. He was a knight of the grand cross of St John, bailío of Lora, and general of the artillery of Jaen. Ancona, *Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 263, calls him Fernando Franco de Escobedo, and says he was commander of the villas of Samayon and Santi-Estévan. He was later promoted to the presidency of Guatemala.

[35] Cordoñes governed from March 27, 1672, till September 28, 1674, and Angulo from that date to the 18th of December 1677. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 263–5.

The following governor, Antonio de la Iseca y Alvarado, an old inhabitant of Mérida, was removed through the intrigues of his enemies on the 20th of February, 1679, by the oidor Juan de Aréchiga, sent by the audiencia of Mexico. He was reinstated, however, one year later, and remained in undisturbed possession till 1683,[36] when on July 14th Juan Bruno Tello de Guzman succeeded him. The administration of this governor is marked in the annals of Yucatan by the frequent invasions of pirates, who, owing to the pusillanimity of Tello, met with little resistance. To check such raids the fortification of Campeche was resolved upon, but it was only under the rule of his successor, Juan José de la Bárcena,[37] an experienced soldier and energetic man, that any considerable progress was made with the works.[38]

The rule of the last two governors, who at the close of the seventeenth century administered the affairs of the province, is noteworthy for the internal dissensions which prevailed. On August 20, 1693, Roque de Soberanis y Centeno, a man rather young for such high position, was intrusted with the reins of power.[39] Mainly through lack of experience he made, within a short time, a number of enemies, in whose ranks appeared also the bishop of Yucatan, Juan Cano y Sandoval.[40] The dispute became so fierce that Soberanis was excommunicated in July 1694, and upon complaints laid before the audiencia

[36] In 1682 a conflagration destroyed half of the town of Campeche. *Robles, Diario*, i. 343.

[37] *Castillo, Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 89–91. Robles, *Diario*, i. 399, calls him Barrera. He ruled from July 25, 1688, till August 20, 1693.

[38] Details are given in *Castillo*, loc. cit. The total cost of the fortification of Campeche, derived from contributions by the crown and the inhabitants, and from certain imposts, amounted to more than 200,000 pesos. In February, 1690, the first pieces of heavy artillery ever seen in the province were landed at the town.

[39] He owed his appointment to his descent from one of the wealthiest and most influential families of Cádiz.

[40] Biographers of the bishop, who was a native of Mexico, speak of him in very favorable terms. See *Registro Yuc.*, ii. 278–81; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 145; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 359–60; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 70; *Robles, Diario*, i. 355, 360, 375.

of Mexico was removed from office, and summoned before that tribunal.[41] Martin de Ursúa y Arizmendi, the governor elect, was appointed to replace Soberanis, and at once made preparations to avail himself of the opportunity to carry out his favorite project—the conquest of the Itzas.

Meanwhile, however, Soberanis, acquitted in Mexico, was restored to his government, and from this time to his death on September 25, 1699,[42] made all possible opposition to the schemes of his successor, notwithstanding royal orders to the contrary. Ursúa's second term lasted from 1699 to the end of 1703, when he was deposed by the viceroy of Mexico, on a charge of implication in the murder of an alcalde of Valladolid.[43] Ursúa went to Spain, where he not only justified his conduct, but obtained new distinctions, and was reinstated on June 6, 1706, holding office till the 15th of September 1708, when he was promoted to the presidency of Manila.[44]

The services that he rendered in the expedition against the Itzas in 1697, and which have already been related,[45] were probably the main reason for his preferment, for during that campaign he displayed all the qualities of a cautious and capable leader.[46]

[41] An oidor, Francisco Zaraza, sent to Mérida in December 1694 to investigate the matter, returned to Mexico in July 1695, without pronouncing sentence, the bishop having died in February 1695. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 159–60, 167, 170, 172.

[42] Of yellow fever, the first time the disease appeared in the country. *Lara, Apuntes Históricos*, followed by Castillo, *Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 69.

[43] A visitador, Cárlos Bermudez, was sent from Mexico and later a governor ad interim appointed, Alvaro de Rivaguda, who punished several of the guilty persons, but failed to discover any evidence of the complicity of Ursúa. *Robles, Diario*, 1st ser., ii. 468, 477, 484; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 316–25.

[44] The titles of count de Lizarraga Véngoa, conqueror, perpetual governor, and captain-general of the Itza provinces, were among others given him. *Elorza y Rada, Nobil.*, 211.

[45] See *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 681 et seq., this series.

[46] In addition to the authorities already quoted, the reader is referred to *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 220, 385–6, 452–752, passim; *Villagvtierre, Hist. Cong. Itza*, 326–40, 410–17, 535–41; *Guijo, Diario* in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., i. 223–4, 548; *Robles, Diario*, i. 81, 140, 312, 343, 355, 358, 375, 399, 452, ii. 155, 183; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 84–5, 87–8; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 64; *Barbachano, Mem. Camp.*, 2–8; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist. Yuc.*, 54, 59–61, 63, 69, 72, 93, 294–5; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 33; *Stephens, Yuc.*, ii. 194; *Dicc. Univ.*, vi. 785–6; viii. 494, x. 763–6.

CHAPTER IX.

FIVE MORE VICEROYS.

1660–1680.

COUNT DE BAÑOS, THE TWENTY-THIRD VICEROY—A NEW ORDER OF THINGS—INDIAN REVOLT AT TEHUANTEPEC—AN ARBITRARY RULER—CHARACTER OF THE MAN—HE IS REPLACED BY ARCHBISHOP OSORIO—THE PRELATE'S BRIEF BUT BENEFICENT GOVERNMENT—A NATIVE OF MEXICO MADE ARCHBISHOP—ARRIVAL OF MARQUIS MANCERA—HIS EFFICIENT RULE—CALIFORNIA EXPLORATIONS—THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO—ITS DEDICATION—MANCERA'S WISE POLICY—ERUPTION OF POPOCATEPETL AND OTHER CALAMITIES—VERAGUAS, DESCENDANT OF COLUMBUS, AS VICEROY—HIS UNTIMELY DEATH—ARCHBISHOP RIBERA SUCCEEDS—HIS CHARACTER AND GOOD GOVERNMENT—HE DECLINES NEW HONORS—HIS RETIREMENT TO SPAIN, AND DEATH.

LATE in July 1660 the twenty-third viceroy of New Spain, Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda, marqués de Leiva y de Ladrada, conde de Baños,[1] arrived at Vera Cruz. He entered Mexico on the 16th of September, and on the same day took charge of the government. One of his first acts was the imprisonment of the castellan of the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, without any apparent reason, and such arbitrary measures were several times repeated during his administration which was in strong contrast with that of his predecessor. During the last months of Alburquerque's reign, news was received in Mexico that the Indians of the district of Tehuantepec were in revolt and had killed the alcalde mayor.[2] A small force sent against them was defeated, and preparations were made to assemble a larger expedition. But before this was ready it was

[1] Guijo calls him Juan de la Cueva Leiva y Labrada. *Diario*, 444, 447.

[2] The cause of the outbreak was the usual extortions practised upon the natives, many of them being driven to suicide. *Robles, Vida*, 151–3.

learned that the troubles had been allayed by the intercession of the bishop of Oajaca, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos.[3]

The count was a man utterly unfitted for the position,[4] and soon made himself extremely unpopular among his subjects. Vain, arrogant, and selfish, he is mentioned as one of the worst rulers that was ever placed at the head of affairs. As an instance of his vanity it may be mentioned that in the second year after his arrival he used his influence to change the route of the procession of corpus christi in such a manner that it would pass by the viceregal palace. In the following year, on repeating this request, he met with energetic opposition from the new archbishop, Diego Osorio de Escobar y Llamas,[5] who under severe ecclesiastical penalties forbade any deviation from the rule observed since the early days of Spanish dominion.

This was more than the overbearing viceroy could endure; and considering himself moreover deeply injured by the general sympathy displayed by the public, and the religious corporations, at the sudden death of the commander of San Juan de Ulúa, who had been imprisoned by his order, he resolved on revenge.[6]

[3] Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v., erroneously gives the date as 1661; Mayer says 1661 and 1662, *Mex. Aztec*, i. 208; Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, i. 95, 1664. Domenech, reversing the order, says the troubles arose in consequence of decrees issued by Dávalos, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 275–6. A letter of the king dated October 2, 1662, thanks the bishop for his services in flattering terms and promises him the royal favor. *Robles, Vida*, 164–5.

[4] Among other instances of his incapacity it may be mentioned that when news was received of the occupation of Cuba by the English the viceroy attempted to organize an expedition, but except enlisting a number of recruits and appointing two of his sons as officers, it is not recorded that he accomplished anything.

[5] Born in Coruña in Galicia, and in 1656 made bishop of Puebla after holding several important offices in Spain. *Lorenzana*, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 220–1, 269. In 1663 he was promoted to the see of Mexico. Lorenzana, in *Id.*, 269–70, gives 1666 as the year, but mentions the correct date on p. 221. His mistake has been copied by Ribera, *Gobernantes*, i. 213.

[6] The election of Osorio had frustrated the hopes of the bishop of Nicaragua, Juan de la Torre, then in Mexico, who was one of the viceroy's favorites. Torre even later wrote to Spain, calumniating the character of the archbishop and of the oidores, on the other hand extolling that of his patron. By accident the affair became known, and the audiencia peremptorily ordered Torre to depart for his bishopric. *Guijo, Diario*, 506–7.

Failing in his efforts to undermine the influence of the archbishop, who again in 1664 denied the right of the count to change the route of the corpus christi procession,[7] he next thought of exiling him under some pretext, which it would not be difficult to find. Meanwhile he caused all letters from Spain addressed to Osorio to be destroyed. On the 27th of June his preparations were concluded, the audiencia had already been informed, and on the following day the plan was to be executed. But at this moment an incident occurred which overthrew his projects. A vessel from Spain ran ashore near the old town of Vera Cruz. The crew and mails were saved, and even the vigilance of the spies kept by the viceroy could not prevent the agents of Osorio from securing and delivering in safety the archbishop's correspondence. The latter with surprise observed that among the letters was one, addressed to him, as viceroy of Mexico. Immediately the news spread, carrying with it no less joy than astonishment to all save the count, for he had withheld and burned six previous despatches of the same character.[8]

On the following day Osorio sent the official information to the viceroy and the oidores, summoning the latter to the archiepiscopal palace. Showing them two royal cédulas, which referred to him as viceroy and captain-general, he asked their opinion, whether these documents were sufficient authority for him to assume the government. The audiencia returned to the palace, there to discuss the question in presence of the count. The latter denied the right of Osorio, unless a cédula expressing the formal appointment be exhibited. The doubts were soon solved, for in the box containing the despatches another letter was

[7] For having attempted this, the viceroy was afterward fined 12,000 ducats.

[8] When the bishop learned this, he demanded their delivery under severe penalties. An official of the government, who had witnessed the destruction of the documents, among which there had been one from the inquisition in Spain, was imprisoned by the holy office of Mexico for having concealed this fact. *Guijo, Diario*, 529–30.

found directing the audiencia to take charge in case Osorio should have died or resigned. Immediately the oidores returned and informed the archbishop that his authority was recognized, and two hours later he took the oath and was formally installed. Soon afterward, when again in his palace, the ex-viceroy paid him a visit, as prescribed by etiquette, and left him his guard. No sooner did the people see the count alone, than they began to shout, scoff, and throw stones at him and his companions, obliging them to hasten as quickly as possible to the viceregal palace.[9]

Great were the demonstrations of joy at Osorio's appointment. The streets were crowded; there were festivities and illuminations, and the following day a te deum was sung in the cathedral. At the same time, in consequence of his resignation of the archbishopric, the bishop of Oajaca, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos, had been appointed as successor. At the request of the chapter and the new prelate Osorio continued, however, to govern the see till November, when Cuevas arrived. Although the rule of the new viceroy lasted but a few months, many changes were made for the better. The people began to breathe more freely. Persons exiled by Baños, and others, who from fear had left the town, returned; justice was administered with rigor, but with impartiality; the count of Santiago Calimaya, notwithstanding his high rank, and Pedro de Leiva, son of the ex-viceroy, were both

[9] This according to Guijo. Nevertheless many later writers represent Baños as a popular ruler. Alegre says the viceroy visited and supported the hospitals of the society, and calls him 'un virey de los mas ejemplares y justos.' *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 425–6. Similar though less enthusiastic praise is bestowed on him by Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 15, Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 25, Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 47, and others. Similar manifestations, as whistling and hissing, were repeated months afterward, when the count was present at some bull-fights arranged in honor of viceroy Mancera. In October 1664 his residencia was begun, but not concluded till 1666. *Guijo, Diario*, 557; *Robles, Diario*, i. 15. The entire property of the ex-viceroy was attached, notwithstanding royal orders to permit his return to Spain, and he was placed under bonds for 40,000 pesos. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 38; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 148–9. In 1666 Baños returned to Spain, where after the death of his wife he entered the order of the barefooted Carmelites. *Robles, Diario*, i. 17–18, 223, 239.

placed under arrest for arranging a duel.[10] Abuses introduced under the rule of Baños were reformed; all grants and appointments made by the latter were declared as null and void by order of the crown; and severe punishment was inflicted on several negligent and defaulting officials.[11]

The activity displayed by the bishop-viceroy was astonishing, and seemed to be transmitted to all departments of the government. Assistance in money, workmen, and ammunition was sent to Cuba; the management of the royal treasury was reorganized so effectually that, after a rule of only six weeks, there were four hundred and fifty thousand pesos ready to be sent to Spain, and from July till October more than seventy law-suits were despatched in the court of the audiencia. Thus the whole aspect of affairs was changed, and hopes were entertained, that New Spain would prosper under his administration, when news arrived that a successor, appointed by the crown, had reached Vera Cruz. On September 27th the viceroy formally gave up his office, and on November 15th his archbishopric, when his successor took possession.[12]

Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos was the first native of Mexico who ever occupied the archiepiscopal chair of New Spain. He was born in 1590, had studied in the Jesuit college, and been rector of the university in 1632. After holding the offices of canon at Puebla,

[10] The imbroglio arose in 1660 on the arrival of Baños, in consequence of remarks made by Pedro de Lciva, about the creoles, in presence of the count. Altercations and brawls followed, but the final settlement of the question had been delayed till Baños was removed. *Guijo, Diario*, 546–7.

[11] Diego Valles, an official of the treasury and quicksilver department, was suspended and heavily fined in virtue of a royal cédula, 'the severest ever despatched against an official,' says Guijo. He was charged with being bribed by Baños. Two regidores were removed for having revealed the secrets of the cabildo sessions to the former viceroy. See *Guijo, Diario*, 537–48, where also several similar cases are mentioned.

[12] A month later, December 15, 1664, Osorio returned to his diocese of Puebla, which he retained till his death in 1673. His residencia was taken in 1666, and several charges were preferred against him by representatives of the count of Baños, relative to his conduct at the time of his succession to the government, but no sentence seems ever to have been pronounced against him, save one, imposing a small fine, which afterward was revoked by the council of the Indies. *Robles, Diario*, i. 29–34, 151.

and deacon and treasurer of the cathedral of Mexico, he became in 1657 bishop of Oajaca, whence he was promoted to the see of the capital. He wore the mitre but for a short time, dying the following year.[13]

The twenty-fifth viceroy, Antonio Sebastian de Toledo, Molina y Salazar, marqués de Mancera,[14] arrived at Vera Cruz in July 1664, but his entrance into Mexico was delayed for several months, when, notwithstanding an order of the crown, it was made on the 15th of October with the usual ceremonies.[15] On the same day he took possession of the government.[16] His previous career had already given him an opportunity to exhibit his abilities, and he now showed that his election was fully justified.

Immediately after his arrival the drainage of Lake Zampango was recommenced. The undertaking had been begun nearly a century before, but was still in a backward condition. Under Mancera a friar of the

[13] His appointment was chiefly caused by the valuable services rendered in suppressing the revolt of the Indians of Tehuantepec. Florencia, *Hist. Prov. Comp. Jesus*, 232, says erroneously that from his see of Oajaca he was promoted to that of Puebla. In August 1665 he fell sick, and on September 2d he died. Five days afterward his bulls arrived from Spain. His biography was written by Antonio Robles, the author of the *Diario de sucesos notables*, under the title *Resguardo contra el olvido...de la vida...del Illmo Sr Dr D. Alonso de Cuevus Dávalos*, Mexico, 1757, pp. xliv. 208, 38. It contains minute details of the bishop's life, and the miracles he wrought, but little historical material. The work is less bigoted than others of that character and epoch—the beginning of the eighteenth century. See also *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 25; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 221, 308–9; *Robles, Diario*, i. 4–5, 12; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 240.

[14] Señor del Marmol y de las cinco Villas, tesorero general de la Orden de Alcántara, were his other titles according to *Miravel y Casaderante, El gran Dicc.*, vii. 132. He was also comendador de Puerto-llano in the order of Calatrava and belonged to the council of war. *Palafox, Estatutos Dedicatoria.* Later Mancera was made a grandee of Spain. When he came to Mexico he had already a splendid record as an able official, having been embassador of the crown at Venice and in Germany.

[15] A cédula of July 1663 forbade public demonstrations or receptions to all new viceroys, for the reason that they entailed too much expense on the respective towns and villages. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 11. Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 214, asserts that no public reception took place, and that Mancera presented to the king the money appropriated by the city to cover the expenses. A contemporary, Guijo, gives, however, a minute description of the festivities held in honor of his arrival, and one which differs little, if at all, from those celebrated on similar occasions. *Diario*, 553–5.

[16] Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 25, followed by Panes, *Vireyes*, MS., 103, erroneously places his succession to the government in the year 1665.

Franciscan order was put in charge of the work,[17] and earnest efforts were made for its completion. Although this was not accomplished, greater progress was made than under any of his predecessors, and at a smaller cost.[18] The work was confirmed by his successor, the archbishop Ribera, and concluded in the middle of 1675, inundations which occurred meanwhile having caused operations to be pushed with vigor.[19] A te deum was sung in the cathedral, and other solemnities celebrated the event.

The viceroy's attention was now directed to financial and military affairs, both of which were in a deplorable condition, owing to the indolence and dishonesty of previous rulers. Convinced that the creation of new imposts would not check the evil, and only add new burdens to those under which the inhabitants were already laboring, he began his reforms by improving the administration of the treasury department. When he arrived he not only found the strong-box empty, but was faced by a considerable amount of debts, contracted in preceding years, when the expenses had always exceeded the income. Exercising a strict vigilance, and submitting the officials to frequent inspections,[20] he put an end to the peculations[21] which had been committed in all the different branches.

[17] His name was Manuel de Cabrera, and a monthly salary of 200 pesos was assigned him. *Guijo, Diario*, 562–3. Mancera, in the instructions to his successor, calls him Juan de Cabrera in one place, in another Manuel.

[18] The excavations made during the time of Mancera extended over 1,693 varas, the expense amounting to 138,550 pesos. See Mancera's report to his successor, in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 263–4. This statement is doubtless more reliable than that given by Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 236, who speaks of 1,319 varas with a cost of 105,950 pesos.

[19] Still the work seems to have been insufficient, for in 1678 another inundation, which damaged the drain somewhat, has been recorded. *Robles, Diario*, i. 268. Another peril, though of a different nature, threatened Mexico from the close proximity of the powder-mill and magazine. Mancera averted the danger by removing the establishment to a greater distance, and distributing the powder in several depots, each of which contained only a small quantity. A short time after this was done a flash of lightning struck the factory without causing any damage.

[20] 'El primer móvil que da impulso á la corriente y pura recaudacion de los Reales haberes, conteniendo el desórden...es el temor de las cuentas.' *Mancera*, in *Instrucc. Virreyes*, 290.

[21] In the custom-house alone they amounted in less than two years to more than 160,000 pesos. *Id.*, 296.

of the department, and was able to leave it to his successor free of debts, and with an increased revenue. Besides attending strictly to all the remittances which then were made to the West India Islands, the Philippines, and in support of the various presidios, he still sent more than four million pesos to Spain.

After the death of Felipe IV., whose obsequies were celebrated in Mexico with becoming solemnity,[22] the queen-regent gave to her loyal subjects of New Spain a proof of confidence, not uncommon at that time, by appealing to them for voluntary donations to meet the increased expenses caused by the change in the government. Viceroy and archbishop immediately set the example[23] by subscribing a considerable amount, which in a short time was swelled to more than a hundred thousand pesos. It was only natural that such patriotism should be recognized, and the crown expressed its approval in several cédulas, the last of which, dated June 11, 1672, directed that the viceroy should instruct his successor as to his policy in financial matters.

Mancera's reforms in military affairs were less successful, chiefly in consequence of the lukewarm coöperation of the government in the mother country. The latter indeed issued on one occasion orders reducing the pensions and gratuitous subventions, and appropriated the amount thus saved to the support of a fleet,[24] but contradictory instructions, now directing the vessels to protect the coasts of New Spain and the islands, now recalling them to Spain, left the

[22] The king had died on September 17, 1665; his demise was published in Mexico the 26th of May 1666, and all persons were ordered under fine to put on mourning. Early in June the viceroy received the formal visits of condolence from the audiencia, inquisition, chapter of the cathedral, and the religious orders; funeral services were also held, but the exequies proper were not celebrated till July, when they lasted for about a month. After the beginning of November mourning was laid aside. *Robles, Dairio*, i. 18–27.

[23] The former by making a gift of 12,000, the latter one of 8,000 pesos.

[24] A royal cédula of July 3, 1669, reduced all the pensions of 300 ducats or less to 200, and beyond that to one half of their original amount. None were to exceed 4,000 ducats, 'pues en esta forma es bastante la recompensa que...puedare, cargar sobre el Real Patrimonio, quando se halla tan exausto.' *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 265–6.

commerce of the colonies at the mercy of the corsairs. Disregard was also shown to the pressing demands of the duke for the improvement of the defenses of the coast ports on the North and South seas. His request that the fortifications of San Juan de Ulúa should be repaired were not even answered.[25]

It was hoped that the treaty concluded between England and Spain, October 8, 1670, whereby either power was granted the sovereignty over the lands then in their possession in the Indies, and all trade forbidden between the two nations in those regions, would be of benefit to the provinces; but such was not the case. The governor of Jamaica, Thomas Lynch, continued to grant the pirates a tacit protection, and it was only under his successor, Lord Vaughan, that the licenses given to the corsairs were revoked, and a number of the sea-robbers hanged, when, in disregard of warnings, they returned to that island to dispose of their booty.

In the beginning of 1672 some English buccaneers landed near the mouth of Goazacoalco River, and thence made raids on the neighboring villages. The viceroy, afraid of provoking hostilities, or for some other reason, did not proceed against them, but asked for instructions from Spain. In reply he was rebuked for his hesitation, and ordered to dislodge the invaders, and try the captured pirates in Mexico, instead of sending them to Spain, as had been usual. An expedition was despatched, and succeeded in driving the English vessel ashore, where it was burned. The crew, however, fled to the woods. Subsequently detachments

[25] Mancera himself had inspected them in the beginning of 1670. *Mancera*, in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 277; *Robles*, *Diario*, i. 86. It was not alone from pirates that danger threatened Vera Cruz; a garrison of tolerable force was also required to prevent an outbreak of the negro slaves, who at intervals had been sent there, sometimes several hundred at a time. In 1669 about 500 of them, when near Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico, had risen, overpowered and killed the escort, and fled to the woods. It became necessary to send forces against them to remove such dangerous neighbors from the principal port of New Spain.

were also sent against British corsairs near Campeche, and in the Laguna de Términos, but their operations were confined to the destruction of some settlements on the coast, as the deep draught and unwieldy shape of the Spanish ships prevented them from pursuing the enemy in the shallow water.

In matters of local interest, as well as in the affairs of state, Mancera proved himself a zealous ruler. Aroused by the comments made in Europe on the slow progress of the cathedral building of Mexico, he set to work energetically to hasten its completion. In 1573, as already mentioned, the construction of a temple worthy the high rank which the capital of new Spain occupied among all the colonies of the crown, had been commenced. The grandeur of its plan was, however, equalled only by the dilatoriness with which it was executed. In 1615 only part of the outer walls had been finished, but in 1623 the vaults of the main sacristy were ready, and three years later the old cathedral was pulled down; the host was transferred to the new building, and divine service performed there. From that time progress was slow, and the great inundation of 1629 caused it to be entirely interrupted till toward the end of 1635, when work was resumed with zeal by Viceroy Cadereita, and continued with good results by his successors.[26]

The activity of Alva de Liste, who brought the completion within the reach of probability as was generally said, and in whose time the construction of a tower over the ciborium was begun, was, however, eclipsed by that of the duke of Alburquerque. Owing to the latter's personal interest, his frequent pecuniary

[26] Under Cadereita the first vaults of the principal nave and five others of the aisles were concluded. During Escalona's rule part of the main nave was covered, and in 1641 the holy sacrament placed there, as the sacristy proved too small. *Sariñana, Not. breve*, 8. At the time of Viceroy Salvatierra, other vaults as also some chapels being sufficiently advanced, the consecration of Archbishop Mañosca took place in 1645, and this circumstance probably misled Gonzalez Dávila who asserts that during Mañosca's rule the cathedral was completed. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 66.

donations, and the premiums he gave to the workmen, great progress was made. The number of bells[27] was increased, the tower and several of the vaults finished, and the remainder of the church covered with a roof of wood. On the 30th of January, 1656, the dean and chapter assembled in the cathedral, and were joined by the viceroy, his consort, daughter, and attendants; the doors were closed, and an appropriate speech was made by the duke, referring to the condition of the work and his satisfaction at the progress attained. Then in the name of the king he formally delivered the temple with the keys to the chapter. In succession the viceroy, accompanied only by his wife and daughter, proceeded to the presbytery, and kneeling kissed its first step 'with all veneration and respect.' This done the three august personages began to sweep that part of the church in a thorough way, as the pious chronicler remarks.[28]

The formal dedication was ordered to be held on the 2d of February. The different religious orders, and the alcaldes de corte, were assigned sites in the neighborhood of the cathedral whereon to erect altars and make other preparations. All was in readiness by the end of January, and neither money nor pains was spared to produce a spectacle which for its magnificence surpassed all others of similar character. One order had vied with another in the decoration of the altars, covering them with costly trimmings of brocade and embroidery in gold and silver. On them were placed the images of the patron saints, often of superior workmanship, and always of costly material. The streets along which the procession was to march had been gaudily decorated, and all passing of carriages

[27] According to Sariñana, *Not. breve*, 14, Alburquerque increased the number from 8 to 20. Guijo, in his *Diario*, 279–326, passim, gives minute accounts of 19, assigning to the largest, named Doña María, a weight of 44,000 pounds, a figure which, if correct, would place it among the largest ever made.

[28] It may be added that, according to the same author, 200 Indians had already done the preliminary cleaning of the temple some days before at the expense of the viceroy. *Guijo, Diario*, 338–9.

in them was forbidden for several days under pain of forfeiture.

On the 1st of February all the religious orders, brotherhoods, and other clergy, together with the deacons, assembled in the atrium of the cathedral, with crosses and candles, and the procession was formed. Members of the brotherhood of San Pedro, with burning lights, and red stoles over their surplices, carried the images of San Pedro and of Our Lady of Assumption, the patron of the church. They were followed by the chapter of the cathedral, amongst whom rode thirty knights of the military orders, the dean Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos with the holy sacrament, the members of the university, the city authorities, the tribunals, the officials of the contadurías, treasury, and audiencia; the viceroy Alburquerque with his attendants, all richly attired, coming last. When the priest carrying the host reached the cathedral, the seven doors were opened, the holy sacrament was placed in the ciborium, and after prayers had been said the procession dispersed. Fireworks around the church and on the tower, together with a general illumination of the city, concluded the preliminary festival.

The following day the cathedral was opened to the public, but no mass was said during the early hours. At ten o'clock the viceroy arrived, accompanied by the university, audiencia, tribunals, and city council. He was received at the main entrance by the chapter, and conducted amid the ringing of bells into the church,[29] while the te deum was being chanted. Refusing the offered cushion he kneeled down, repeated his prayers, kissed the first steps of the presbytery, and was then led to his seat, close to which, though separate, were those of his consort and his daughter. After a procession in the cathedral with lighted tapers, divine services began simultaneously in the four different chapels into which the church had been

[29] 'Como si fuera recíen venido.' *Guijo, Diario*, 346.

divided. It was a novel spectacle to the people of Mexico, upon whom it made a deep impression. The dean, officiating at the main altar, pronounced the dedication, to which the canónigo magistral responded in a sermon, which lasted several hours. At night the cathedral and city were again illuminated, and so every night during the ten days which the celebration lasted,[30] the sermons being preached in turn by members of the different religious orders. Every day viceroy, audiencia, and other principal magistrates were present, and the same undiminished enthusiasm was shown by the people.

Alburquerque continued the work on the cathedral, and in October, 1659, a number of houses surrounding the building were demolished in order to allow more space for the majestic pile. His successors Baños and Osorio inherited his sympathy but not his zeal for the work, and it advanced but slowly under their administration. Under Mancera, however, a notable change took place, and such progress was made, that in the beginning of 1667 he was able to inform the king approximately when the whole interior of the church would be finished. In reply the sovereign expressed his thanks for the energy displayed and requested him to continue his efforts. The viceroy had not promised too much; for on the 22d of December the second solemn dedication of the temple took place. It was a festival similar to the one held eleven years before, though the solemnities did not last so long.[31] The total cost up to that date exceeded a million and three

[30] The daily consumption of wax alone amounted to 150 pounds, and its cost was defrayed by the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento*. *Guijo, Diario*, 349.

[31] The 22d of December was selected, it being the birthday of the queen of Spain. The festivities were essentially in the same style and on the same scale as under Alburquerque. One of the sermons was delivered on that occasion by the Doctor Isidro Sariñana, a parish priest of Mexico, and in 1668 he published it together with a description of the celebration and an historical account of the cathedral since its beginning. The title is *Noticia breve De La Solemne...Dedicacion del Templo Metropolitano de Mexico*, pp. 50, 28. The work is dedicated to the consort of the viceroy, Leonor María del Carreto, and contains, besides its historical records, a panegyric of the christian religion, the sovereigns of Spain, and their representatives in New Spain.

quarters of pesos, but was considerably increased in later years, as the completion was not finally effected till the beginning of the present century.[32]

The dimensions of the cathedral are 393 feet in length from north to south, by 192 feet in width from east to west.[33] The architecture is of the Doric order,[34] all the columns, bases, capitals, cornices, and friezes being of hewn stone, and the other work of tetzontli.[35]

The whole edifice, containing fourteen chapels, is divided into five parts, the principal one, the main nave, being 53 feet wide from column to column. Five portals give entrance, three of them facing the great square or plaza toward the south, while light is admitted by 174 windows. The cupola, 184 feet above the pavement, and of octagonal form, is surmounted by a fanal 44 feet high. In this magnificent temple were placed many and valuable images and ornaments. Among the former the most remarkable was that of Our Lady of the Assumption, wrought of gold, as was also the pedestal and the four angels supporting the image.[36] Another was that of Our Lady of the Conception of pure silver,[37] and less valuable ones

[32] Hernandez, *Estad. Méj.*, 257–8, says that expenses till 1677 amounted to 2,543,264 pesos. The annual appropriation from the royal treasury was 18,500 pesos; and one year 13,000 pesos more were granted by the crown. *Sariñana*, *Not. breve*, 20. Bustamante in *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 410, makes a blunder when he gives the cost up to 1667 as 1,050,000 pesos. Worse still is Saavedra in *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 280, who asserts that the cathedral was finished in 1657 by Márcos Ramirez de Prado and dedicated by him on the 22d of December, the amount expended so far being 1,759,000 pesos. Ramirez did not become archbishop of Mexico till November 1666, and died the following year in May, seven months before the inauguration of 1667 took place.

[33] Orozco y Berra, in *Dice. Univ.*, v. 674, copies the above statement of Sariñana, but is evidently mistaken in his *Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 96, where he mentions 130½ and 61 metres. Saavedra, in loc. cit., differs again, saying 155⅝ and 73 varas.

[34] Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 17, says it is of the Ionic order.

[35] A red, light, hard, porous stone, which was found in the neighborhood of Mexico and extensively used for buildings. See also *Native Races*, ii. 160, 557, 568, this series.

[36] Its weight is that of 139 marks of gold, then representing 6,984 pesos de oro.

[37] Weighing 138 marks and more than one vara high; it was a present of the silversmiths of Mexico. Since 1618 it had had its own chapel. Ribera, *Gobernantes*, i. 221, says erroneously it was of gold.

were distributed in the different chapels. Of considerable value were also the church vessels, among which a silver baptismal font, and a monstrance of the same metal, especially excited admiration.[38]

Although the viceroy proved himself beyond doubt a man of christian character, he would not allow the least encroachment of the church upon his prerogatives as the representative of the king. In 1666 a litigation arose between him and the inquisition about a small sum of money which the holy office had forcibly extracted from the royal treasury at Guadalajara under some trivial pretext. Mancera objected, and with the consent of the audiencia, notwithstanding loud protests of the inquisition, obliged the latter to refund the money. Both parties appealed to the king, who after some investigations had been made approved of the duke's conduct.[39] At other times disputes sprang up between him and the clergy about that fruitful source of discord, the royal patronage, but he usually contrived to check their aspirations when too grasping, while on other occasions he would give way if it could be done without prejudice to the crown. He was prompted to the latter course by the king, who while approving his efforts to maintain the royal authority, intimated that he disliked such quarrels, from which, moreover, little benefit was derived.[40]

The viceroy always pursued a conciliatory policy,

[38] The value of the candlesticks and chandeliers for ordinary use alone represented a considerable sum. 'Solamente en vn facistor, seis blandones Imperiales del altar, quatro mayores de cirios...y los Ciriales, sirven al culto casi de ordinario mil y cinquẽta y siete marcos de plata.' *Sariñano, Not. breve*, 28.

[39] The inquisition qualified the order of the viceroy for the repayment of the amount seized as 'injusta inusitada y de malas consecuencias,' and told him so in plain language. *Mancera*, in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 270–1.

[40] In the instructions given by Mancera to his successor he quaintly remarks, that notwithstanding his long experience, obtained both in Peru and New Spain, he still has remained so ignorant of the patronage question 'que lo que he aprendido es solo saber, que la ignoro, y que su acierto consiste en puntos y ápices indivisibles.' He expresses the hope that the new appointee may be more successful 'amidst gulfs and reefs so very unsafe.' *Id.*, 285–6.

and thus dissensions which threatened to end in a serious rupture between him and the archbishop were avoided. They had been caused by the complaints of the latter about several of the religious orders, and were decided against the primate when brought before the audiencia. The government even threatened him, though in vain, with a suspension of the temporalities. Ribera refused to obey, but was finally persuaded to do so under protest through the intercession of the inquisition.[41]

When the end of his second term of office drew near, Mancera had requested to be relieved; but the sovereign was not willing to part with such an able governor, and prolonged his term for three years more, the news reaching Mexico in the beginning of October 1670.[42] At about the same time a cédula arrived by which the viceroys of New Spain were again authorized to appoint governors ad interim for the Philippine Islands, a right which had been revoked in 1664, but was now restored[43] upon the representations of the viceroy to the India Council. Although the condition of affairs in New Spain was at this time fairly prosperous, several calamities occurred during Mancera's administration. Soon after his succession to the viceroyalty an eruption of Popocatepetl took place, lasting four days, and the showers of ashes and stones threw into consternation the entire population of the surrounding districts.[44] At about the same time a tornado struck Vera Cruz, causing an inundation, which flooded the city and did considerable damage.

[41] According to *Robles, Diario*, i. 83–4, a rather powerful influence was exercised by the duke's consort, who threatened to enter the convent of Santa Teresa if no reconciliation were effected.

[42] A few days before, a large torch-light procession had been held in honor of the king's birthday.

[43] By cédulas of October 22, 1669, and May 6, 1670. *Mancera, Instruccion*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 462–3, and in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 266.

[44] Authorities differ about the date. Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, 25, says it was in the same year when Mancera arrived, but gives the latter erroneously as 1665. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 47, also adopts 1665, in which he is followed by Ribera, *Hist. Jalapa*, i. 95, but this writer makes the blunder of placing it under the rule of Baños.

The fleet, then at anchor, suffered also to a great extent; one of the larger vessels broke her chains and was driven on a reef, where she was lost with all her cargo,[45] while two smaller ones foundered. Two years later, in the middle of 1667, earthquakes began to alarm the population, but although the first on July 30th is said to have somewhat injured the tower of the church of Santa Clara at Mexico, and the cathedral of Puebla, subsequent shocks, which occurred at smaller or greater intervals till May 1668, seem to have caused little damage.

A more serious affliction, however, was threatened by a failure of the crops of maize and cacao in the year 1673, producing a famine which caused great hardship to the natives.[46] The viceroy in unison with the city council strove to alleviate the evil, introducing into Mexico grain from other parts. While thus engaged he learned that his successor, the duke of Veraguas, had arrived; and in consequence laid down the government on the 9th of November 1673. A few days later he left the city for Otumba, where he had an interview with the new ruler. He also gave him, by order of the king, a full report upon the condition of the country, together with suggestions for its government.[47]

About the beginning of April 1674 the marquis set

[45] It was on a reef called 'Bajo de la Lavandera,' according to *Bustamante* in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 439. Robles, *Diario*, i. 12, gives the name of the vessel as 'El Buen Suceso,' differing from Alegre, *loc. cit.*, who names it San Javier and relates in a long story, how a few planks of the ship, with the image of that saint, floated against tide and wind to the city, and remained at the doors of the Jesuit college till they were recovered by two pious fathers. Since that time the image has been highly venerated, and is said to have miraculously maintained the original freshness of its colors.

[46] The Indian population increased under the rule of Mancera, as was ascertained by a census taken by his order, to vindicate the charge alleged against the Spanish government of fostering the systematic extermination of the natives. *Mancera*, in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 266.

[47] The full text of these instructions, dated October 22, 1673, may be found in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 257–301. In this document Mancera gives a minute description of the condition of the country, of important events which occurred under his rule, and of all noteworthy affairs. It is of very interesting character, free from all ostentation; it reveals the superior administrative talent of the retiring viceroy, and contains much valuable information, and many suggestions to guide his successor.

out from Mexico,[48] but on reaching Tepeaca his wife fell sick and died. Her funeral was held on the 28th of April in the cathedral of Mexico by the archbishop, and Mancera sailed from Vera Cruz the 3d of July. His rule had lasted more than nine years and had materially changed for the better the aspect of affairs in New Spain.

Almost two hundred years had now elapsed since the discovery of the New World, when the services of the great navigator were again acknowledged by exalting one of his descendants to the viceroyalty of New Spain. Pedro Nuñez Colon de Portugal, duque de Veraguas y de la Vega, marqués de Jamaica, a grandee of Spain of the first class, and knight of the golden fleece, was appointed as the twenty-sixth representative of the sovereign of Castile and Leon.[49] On the 26th of September 1673 he arrived at Vera Cruz, and on the 8th of December made his official entry into Mexico, taking possession of the government. He was well advanced in years, and in a few days died, that is to say on the 13th, and so suddenly that not even the last sacraments could be administered. His death brought much grief, for he was said to be kind and benevolent, and the steps taken by him to alleviate the condition of the natives seemed to justify the opinion. The obsequies were held with the pomp becoming his illustrious rank, and three years later the remains were taken to the family vault.[50]

[48] His residencia had been begun November 20, 1673, by the oidor Juan de Gárate y Francia, but nothing about its result is known.

[49] Alaman, *Disert.*, i. 1st app. 12, iii. app. 36, makes some contradictory statements upon the question whether he was at that time a duke of Veraguas and grandee of the first class. See also *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 274, this series. Guijo, *Diario*, 519, speaks of the appointment in 1663, of a duke of Veraguas as successor of Viceroy Baños.

[50] By the fleet which sailed from Vera Cruz June 29, 1676. *Robles, Diario*, i. 218. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 52, supposes the remains were taken to Santo Domingo. Robles intimates that they were sent to Spain, which version has been adapted by Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 240, and Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 422.

The appointment of the duke of Veraguas as viceroy of New Spain had been made more with a view of distinguishing that personage than from political reasons. Foreseeing that in all probability his rule would be only of short duration, the queen regent sent by the same fleet which carried him a sealed letter to the inquisition with instructions for its delivery to the audiencia as soon as his decease should occur. In compliance with this order the document was presented on the 13th of December 1673, and it was learned that Fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera was appointed successor.[51]

The new ruler was a native of Seville, and the son of the duke of Alcalá, viceroy of Naples.[52] In 1628 he professed in the Augustinian order, and having studied in Salamanca, and obtained the degrees of master of philosophy and theology, held subsequently several important offices in Spain till 1657, when he was presented to the see of Guatemala,[53] and thence in 1667 promoted to that of Michoacan. But before reaching his new diocese he learned of his appointment to the archbishopric of Mexico,[54] where he arrived toward the end of June 1668,[55] the see having been vacant since the death of his predecessor, Marcos Ramirez de Prado.[56] The latter having been previously bishop of Michoacan for nearly twenty-six

[51] Doubts having arisen whether he was also vested with the presidency of the audiencia, a cédula from Spain, which arrived in February 1675, settled the question by appointing him president. *Robles, Diario*, i. 177.

[52] His name is differently given by the various authorities. Lorenzana, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 291, calls him Fray Payo de Rivera. In *Rivera, Gobernantes*, i. 241, the name has been reversed to Payo de Rivera Enriquez. The same author, following apparently a version of the *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 207, says he was a natural son.

[53] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. 667–8, this series, for his career as bishop of that diocese.

[54] Sosa, *Episcop. Mex.*, 142, makes him bishop of Chiapas and bishop elect of Michoacan at the time of his promotion to the see of Mexico. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 422, says Rivera was then in Michoacan.

[55] The appointments being always made optional, his pall did not arrive till October, 1670. Two months later, on the 8th of December, he was formally installed as archbishop.

[56] He was a Franciscan and a native of Spain, but being of an advanced age, succumbed to the change of climate, when he proceeded from Michoacan to Mexico. His piety seems to have been equalled by his charity, and great

years, had been appointed archbishop in November 1666, but died in May of the following year.

A general feeling of satisfaction prevailed when the appointment of Rivera as viceroy became known, for the fame he had acquired in Guatemala, and during his pastoral labors in the capital, had justly won for him the good opinion of the people. It had been through his influence that the Bethlehemites, established in Guatemala since 1653,[57] and the first religious order created in America, were induced to extend their labors to Mexico. The congregation of San Francisco Javier, which had not been recognized by the king, were persuaded by the archbishop to cede their house to the new-comers. The latter to the number of four, Francisco de la Misericordia, Gabriel de Santa Cruz, Juan Gilbó, and Francisco del Rosario, the superior,[58] took possession of the building, and being aided by the viceroy, and the count of Santiago, were enabled ere long to open a hospital for convalescents, and subsequently also a church, the former on the 31st of May 1675, and the latter on March 25, 1677,[59] and gradually their labors extended more and more, the example given by the viceroy Rivera, in defraying the expenses of the hospital for every first day of the month, having been followed by other donations from prominent citizens. Later, however,

eulogy is bestowed on him for his untiring zeal during an epidemic, which in 1643 swept away a great part of the population of Michoacan. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 130–4; *Romero*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 1a ép. viii. 543–4. Before and after the succession of Ramirez to the archbishopric, noisy disturbances had occurred between the members of the chapters, two parties having sprung up, both of which claimed a right to the most important offices. The dissensions lasted from 1665 to 1667 and excited considerable scandal in the city. *Robles, Diario*, i. 7–10, 39–47.

[57] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. 666–7, this series, for the establishment of the order in Guatemala.

[58] García, *Hist. Beth.*, ii. 110, gives the first name, probably by misprint, as Francisco de la Miseria; Vetancurt speaks only of three brothers, mentioning one as Francisco de San Miguel, in which he is followed by Cabrera. *Escudo de Armas*, 429; *Trat. Mex.*, 37. Orozco y Berra, *Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 133, says two brothers began the foundation at Mexico.

[59] *Robles, Diario*, i. 189, 232; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 37; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 55; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 12. Orozco y Berra, *Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 133, differs, assigning the dates as May 29, 1675, and February 12, 1677, respectively.

hospitals for sick persons in general, and primary schools for children, were founded, together with houses where food and shelter were provided for travellers and strangers. The members lived according to monastic rules after the Augustinian rites, but were subject to secular jurisdiction.[60] Their four vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and hospitality were binding only while they remained in the brotherhood, but after a membership of three years they were allowed to bind themselves for life by an additional vow.

On his departure from New Spain in 1680 the viceroy further showed his regard for the order by making a donation of a thousand pesos and presenting them with all his carriages.[61] Rivera proved himself no less capable as a military leader than as a prelate, and indeed it was necessary that at this epoch, when the coasts of New Spain were continually infested with corsairs, the one at the head of affairs should possess the qualities of a soldier. Meetings were convoked, and measures adopted to prepare against threatened depredations. A council was held in February 1675 to discuss the means of raising a force of nine hundred men, asked for by the governor of Campeche. Soon afterward news reached the capital from Habana that a hostile force of about fifteen hundred men was preparing to land between old and new Vera Cruz, and immediately steps were taken to place that port in a state of defence. Ammunition was sent there, companies of cavalry were raised, and guns placed at the

[60] The bull of Pope Clement X., issued in 1674, placed the order under the jurisdiction of the bishop, *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 12, but the royal cédula of February 29, 1676, permitting its establishment in Mexico, forbids the establishment of a convent, 'que no ha de ser ereccion Eclesiastica, sino sugeta é incorporada al Real Patronato...apartando todo aquello, que puede tener color de Convento, ó Casa Religiosa, ó Eclesiastica,' expressly placing it under secular jurisdiction. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 11. For the rules of the order see *García, Hist. Beth.*, ii. 174–97.

[61] A detailed account of the Bethlehemite order will be found in *García, Hist. Beth.*, ii. 100 et seq. Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 37–9, gives also many particulars, as the founder, Pedro de San José Vetancur, was a near relative to him.

openings of the streets. The inhabitants, however, began to leave the town, taking with them their valuables.[62] Fortunately the alarm proved to be false, for on the 19th of June 1675 letters from Habana were received stating that no enemy had appeared as yet, and the panic subsided. At about the same time rumors spread of other projected invasions on the South Sea coast, and preparations had also to be made in that direction. At greater or less intervals similar news was received during the following years.[63]

In 1678 the pirates operated successfully against Campeche, and during the same year exaggerated reports announced the presence of eleven sail in sight of Vera Cruz. A meeting was hastily summoned, the treasure ready for remittance to Spain was sent to Jalapa, and the despatch of the fleet delayed. It was soon learnt that the hostile force consisted of but one vessel, which, defying the Spaniards, had been so daring as to enter the port of Vera Cruz and reconnoitre. This feat was afterward repeated by another ship, but as the garrison had been reënforced by the viceroy no attack was made.

Much difficulty was found in raising the required force for the Philippine Islands. Many of the soldiers dreading the climate would desert before reaching Acapulco, and new schemes had to be devised to obtain recruits. Thus in 1677 all criminals willing to enlist were pardoned, and one hundred and twenty-five pesos a year given them as pay. Still, only a small number could be induced to accept this offer.

While Rivera was actively engaged in discharging

[62] So says the contemporary author, Robles, *Diario*, i. 191. Still Zamacois speaks of the extreme valor of the inhabitants, who 'grasping their swords anxiously awaited the moment to cross them with those of their enemies.' *Hist. Méj.*, v. 424.

[63] In April 1676 it was said that preparations were made at Jamaica to capture the treasure fleet. Some months later rumors spread that Pánuco had been taken by the enemy. *Robles, Diario*, i. 216–19. The following year several vessels cruised in the neighborhood of Alvarado but escaped the pursuit of an armament sent against them. *Id.*, 237–8, 242–3. Panes, *Vireyes*, MS., 104, speaks of serious losses caused to the English by the gallant resistance of the inhabitants of Alvarado.

the more urgent duties of his position, he by no means neglected internal affairs. The pavements of the city were repaired, improvements were made in the viceregal palace, and the drainage labors were concluded in 1675. In 1676 it had also been decreed that gold be coined in Mexico, but it was not till 1679 that the first pieces were stamped. On that occasion the viceroy and the audiencia repaired to the mint, to witness the first coinage. Rivera's pastoral labors, however, did not suffer from the multitude of worldly affairs which claimed his attention, as was proved by the numerous consecrations of bishops, churches, altars, and temples, held by him. There was no great religious festival at which he failed to attend, and occasionally he would ascend the pulpit and preach. During the thirteen years that he wore the mitre, he visited twice all the different parts of his diocese.[64]

On several occasions the archbishop-viceroy had requested of the crown and the holy see that he might be removed from office, but both were unwilling to dispense with the services of so faithful a servant.[65] At last the king granted his petition, on account of his impaired health, but desirous of retaining him in his service, offered him the bishopric of Cuenca, and the presidency of the India Council. In September 1680 the new viceroy arrived at Vera Cruz, and in the following month Rivera formally delivered over the government. He remained, however, in Mexico, where his residencia was being taken by the oidor Frutos Delgado. On the 27th of February 1681,[66] the latter published the sentence, ac-

[64] For details see *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 25–6; *Robles, Diario*, i. 116–324, passim; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 144–5. The latter authority asserts that Rivera forbade, in 1670, all public processions on account of the disorders and excesses to which they gave rise.

[65] Repeatedly since 1675 rumors had reached Mexico of the appointment, and sometimes even of the arrival at Vera Cruz, of a new viceroy, but they had always proved unfounded, and in every instance the people rejoiced that this was the case. *Robles, Diario*, i. 197–201, 216–17, 222–3, 236–7, 260, 270–1.

[66] *Robles, Diario*, i. 318. Sosa, *Episcop. Mex.*, 149, without assigning an authority, says the 3d of May 1681.

quitting the ex-viceroy of all the charges preferred against him.[67]

Four months later, on the 29th of June, he took leave of his flock in the cathedral, and the following day left Mexico. The viceroy, at whose right side he was seated, the audiencia, and the tribunals accompanied him to Guadalupe; the ringing of the bells gave notice to the entire population of the departure of their beloved prelate, and fervent prayers were offered in all the churches for his safe return to Spain.[68]

On reaching Puerto Real in Spain, he resigned the two high positions to which the king had recently promoted him, and retired to the convent of Santa María del Risco. Still leading a pious, humble life, he received while there further marks of favor from a grateful sovereign. The king granted him a yearly rental of four thousand ducats, to be defrayed by the royal treasury of Mexico, and the pope gave him the privilege of entering any church of Spain dressed in the archiepiscopal garb. On the 8th of April 1684 he breathed his last,[69] and when the news of his decease reached Mexico, imposing funeral services were held in several of the churches to honor the memory of one whose name was deeply graven on the hearts of the people.[70]

[67] This decision was formally ratified by the India Council on the 23d of December of the same year. The same body recommended Rivera as worthy of the king's further protection. 'Declaró assimismo ser digno, y merecedor de que su Magestad empleasse su persona...en aquellos y otros mayores puestos, condignos á su ajustado obrar.' The tenor of the sentence is given in *Ribera, Sentencia*, 1–4.

[68] 'Limes 30, dia triste para Méjico, se fué el Illmo y Exmo señor maestro D. Fr. Payo Enriquez de Rivera,' says Robles, *Diario*, i. 324. C. M. Bustamante in the *Diario Curioso* of *Rivera*, 18, makes the blunder of stating that Rivera ruled 17 years as viceroy, from 1663 till 1680.

[69] Lorenzana, in *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 222, 291–2, says in one place 1684, in another 1685; the latter date has erroneously been adopted by Juarros, *Guat.*, 284.

[70] For fuller and additional references to authorities bearing on the preceding chapters see *Torquemada*, iii. 596–7; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus.*, i. 43–65, 201–3; ii. 64, passim; iii. 6–108, 165–72, 224–6, 251–2, 299; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 22–6; *Pinelo, Relacion*, 4; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 46, 54–8, 66, 73, 81–7, 122; *Seriano, Prólogo*, MS., 7–9; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Mex.*, i. 17–18; *Robles, Vida del Arzbpo. Cuevas*, 148, passim; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 65 et seq.; ii. 34, 91–2; *Ribas, Hist. Trivmphos*, 735–44, *Arricivita, Crón. Seráfica*, 158–206, 517–18; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, 115; *Concilios*

Prov., 1555 y 1565 (ed. Mex. 1769), 218, passim; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Comp. de Jesus*, 174–6, 232; *Medina, Crón. S. Diego*, 12, 27, 162–6, 240–1, 251–5; *Vireyes de Mex.*, MS., 1–3; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 14–16, 25–6, 35–8, 52–3; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 215, passim; *Villagvtierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 165–7, 190–2, 437–46; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 7–11, 38, 182; ii. 198–221; iv. 2–8; vii. 7, 62–3; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 440, 466, 471; *Espinosa, Chron. Apost.*, 260–86; *Palafox y Mendoza, Carta al Papa, 1647*, 1–38; *Id., Carta del Venerab.*, 47–401; *Id., Obras*, xi.–xiii., passim; *Id., Venerab. Senor*, passim; *Id., Vie du Venerab.*, passim; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 148–9; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i., passim; *Id.*, série i. tom. ii., passim; *Id.*, série ii. tom. vi. 5–29; *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., 1–17; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund. Mex.*, 1–14, 29, 45–62; *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., 129–43; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 355, 440–1, 457–8, 479; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 212, 339; ii. 178; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 56, 70; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 10–11, 91; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., i. 2; ii. 13–14; v. 1–34; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 239–326; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 18, passim; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 543–4; *Id.*, 2da ép., iv. 166–7; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 15, passim; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii., passim; *Robles, Diario*, ii., passim; *Correal, Voyage* (ed. Paris), i. 46–64; *Id.* (ed. Amsterdam), i. 52–73; *Juarros, Compendio*, 282–3; *Id., Guat.*, i. 284; *Liceo Mex.*, ii. 171–3, 186–7, 201–7, 222–3, 254–7, 283–357; *Guijo, Diario*, ii., passim; *Laet, Am. Descript.*, 271–6; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 71–141; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 169, 553; v. 328–432; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 28–38, 184–5; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 198–213; *Touron, Hist. Gen.*, vii. 309–86; viii. 1–188; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, no. xxxiv. 492; xxxv. 501–3; *Bustamante, Efemérides*, i., passim; *Id., Defensa*, 27; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 341–2, 386–95; *Sammlung, Aller Reisebech*, xiii. 500–7; *Museo, Mex.*, i. 49–133; iii. 230–3; *Wilson's Mex. and its Religion*, 296; *Vidal, Vida de Amaña*, passim; *Registro Yucateco*, i. 265–305, 354–6, 389–91, 449–56; ii. 73–6, 116–17, 121–31, 143–5, 329–43; *Gallo, Hombres Ilust.*, ii. 353–72; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 223–7; *Prior's All the Voys.*, 57; *Müller, Reisen en Mex.*, iii. 192; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 998–9; *Velasquez, Carta*, 1–31; *Oviedo, Vida*, passim; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 293, 304, passim; ii. 97, 252, 304, 352, 559–60; iii. 206 et seq.; iv. 171–2, 776, 790; v. 143, 183, 225; viii. 99, 129–34, 138–9, 149, 237–40, 333–4, 511–12, 571–2, 607; ix. 143, passim; x. 368 et seq.; *Barbachano, Mem. Camp.*, 10–12; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 221–63; *Dampier's Voy.*, ii. pt. ii. 9–39, 41–129; *Stephens' Yuc.*, ii. 194–5; *Arroniz, Biog. Mex.*, 136–8, 195–7; *Id., Hist. y Cron.*, 88, 110; *Darien, Defence*, 11–13; *Id., Vindication*, 149–60; *Zerecero, Rev. Mex.*, 528; *Navarrete, Relac. Peregrino*, ii. 30–1; iii. 27–33; *Id., Tratad. Hist.*, 295–6; *La Cruz*, vii. 637; *Pap. Var.*, clxix., passim; clxxi. 27 et seq.; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, i. 276; *Rivera, Gobernantes de Mex.*, i. 127–251; *Diario Mex.*, vii. 7; *Nuevo Mex., Doc. Hist.*, MS., 1199–1200; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 82–97; *Ribera, Sentencia*, passim; *Lazcano, Vida del P. Oviedo*, 17 et seq.

CHAPTER X.

THE SACK OF VERA CRUZ, AND OTHER PIRATICAL RAIDS.

1680—1686.

THE CORSAIRS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND NEW SPAIN—LAGUNA APPOINTED VICEROY—VAN HORN THE SEA ROVER—THE PIRATES RESOLVE TO ATTACK VERA CRUZ—THE CORSAIR LORENCILLO—A CLEVER STRATAGEM—VERA CRUZ SURPRISED BY BUCCANEERS—THE INHABITANTS IMPRISONED IN THE CHURCHES—AND KEPT FOR THREE DAYS WITHOUT FOOD OR WATER—THE CAPTIVES TAKEN TO THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS—DEPARTURE OF THE CORSAIRS—DIVISION OF THE BOOTY—NEWS OF THE RAID RECEIVED IN MEXICO—FURTHER OPERATIONS OF THE FREEBOOTERS—DAMPIER AND OTHERS IN THE SOUTH SEA—END OF LAGUNA'S ADMINISTRATION.

BETWEEN the years 1680 and 1687, it will be remembered, the principal towns of Central America that lay near the shores of the South Sea were continually infested by pirates. The settlements on the North Sea had been so frequently sacked that few of them contained sufficient wealth to tempt the freebooters, with the exception of Cartagena, which was too strongly fortified to fall an easy prey. Nevertheless they were not exempt from attack. In August 1682 four French vessels entered the harbor of Portobello and rescued a number of their countrymen who were detained there as prisoners. From a negro slave on board the squadron the governor ascertained that fifteen French vessels had arrived at Martinique with three thousand persons on board, the purpose of the expedition being the colonization of Darien. In Nicaragua news was received that two thousand filibusters were assembled at the same point, intending to make a raid on Panamá. Vera Cruz and other

parts of New Spain were also threatened, and the marqués de Laguna,[1] who took office in November 1680, at once made preparations for defence; the militia were called out; the principal harbors were strongly fortified and garrisoned, and the armada de Barlovento was refitted and ordered to cruise off the coast of Tierra Firme.

But at this period corsairs ceased not to harass the Spaniards on land and sea. During the absence of the settlers they made sudden raids on the coast, sacked the towns, and carried off the cattle, thus causing many thriving colonies to be abandoned. Hovering on the shores of New Spain, they lay concealed in their light swift craft behind some point or reef, whence on the appearance of a treasure ship they darted like hawks on their prey. Laying their vessels athwart the Spaniard's bow they raked her deck with musketry, then pulled alongside, and dagger in hand swarmed over the bulwarks. Rarely did they fail to secure their prize, and often the Spaniards made no defense; the pirates finding them on their knees in supplication to the virgin and the saints, who sadly failed them in their emergencies.

In consequence of these depredations the viceroy gave orders that no ship should leave Vera Cruz without orders. This measure remedied the evil to some extent; but still the corsairs lurked among the numberless islands and reefs of the Bahama Channel, through which vessels must pass on their way to Spain, and many a richly laden craft fell a prize to them before those on board were aware that an enemy was within sight. On one occasion while the vice-admiral of the treasure fleet was at dinner in his

[1] Don Tomás Antonio de la Cerda, conde de Paredes, marqués de la Laguna, de la orden de Alcantara, del Consejo de su Magestad, Camara, y junta de Guerra de Indias. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 47. He took office on November 30, 1680. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 16. In *Rivera, Gob.*, 252, he is called Antonio de la Cerda y Aragon. According to this authority he was a man of illustrious family, the members of which had always been employed in civil and military affairs. He was accompanied by his wife, the Doña María Louisa Manrique de Lara y Gonzaga.

cabin, his ship was boarded by a boat's crew of twenty-eight men in charge of a Frenchman named Pierre, a native of Dieppe. So sudden and daring was the attack that the vice-admiral and a number of officials who sat at table with him found themselves prisoners before they had time to gain the deck. The captives were put on shore at Cape Tiburon, and a few weeks later Pierre entered the port of Dieppe with his prize, which contained a rich freight of treasure and merchandise. This adventurer is dignified in buccaneer history by the title of le Grand.

In 1682 Tampico was sacked by corsairs and thirty prisoners taken. During the same year a sea rover named Nicholas Van Horn captured two vessels off the coast of Honduras. Van Horn is described as a man of swarthy complexion and short stature, a thorough seaman and a capable and far-sighted commander. He began life as a common sailor, and remained in that position until he had saved money enough to purchase a small craft of his own. Collecting a crew of twenty-five or thirty men, he began his career as a pirate by capturing several Dutch vessels, which he sold, and with the proceeds sailed for Ostend and there purchased a ship of war. His further operations were successful, and in a few years he was in command of a small fleet, with which he swept the seas, taking many prizes, and requiring all but French vessels to lower their flag as they passed him. Finally he gave offence to the monarch of France, and a captain named D'Estrées, being ordered to arrest him, put to sea in a well armed frigate for that purpose. When the captain's vessel fell in with Van Horn, the latter, finding himself outsailed, and not wishing to fight, for he was aware that D'Estrées was acting under orders from the crown, boarded his ship in a small boat, and demanded his intention in thus pursuing him. "To conduct you to France," replied the captain. "But why?" exclaimed the pirate; "I have given no cause of offence to his Majesty, and have

made war only upon his enemies." "My instructions are explicit," rejoined D'Estrées, and after some further parley ordered the anchor to be weighed. "What are you about?" cried the corsair angrily, and looking the captain straight in the eye. "Think you my men will not fight when they see me thus carried off before their eyes? You will find that my lieutenant is prompt to act, and that my crew fear neither danger nor death." The captain saw that his prisoner meant what he said, and as he had no orders to risk his vessel in an encounter with the corsair, he allowed him to depart.

Van Horn had the reputation of being the bravest of all the sea-rovers, and his crew was composed of men after his own heart. During the hottest fight he would closely observe their actions, and if any showed signs of fear, such as stooping to avoid the enemy's missiles, he would shoot them dead on the spot. But while he thus punished cowards, he rewarded without stint those who distinguished themselves in action, for he had amassed enormous wealth, and like others of his craft was lavish with his means.

Soon after joining the buccaneer fraternity he obtained a commission from one of the French governors, of whom there were now many in the West Indies, and proceeded to the island of Roatan, where he was joined by captains Laurent de Gaff, Michel Grammont, and others, who were there lying in wait for Spanish vessels. He now proposed an expedition against Vera Cruz, which was then the storing-place for the treasure and merchandise which passed between New and Old Spain. The city was protected by the island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, which at that time was supposed to be impregnable. The fortress was mounted with sixty guns which commanded the town, and swept the approach by sea, and at the north-east and south-west corners of the city were two other forts with twenty guns. A few companies of veterans were stationed on the island;

in the city itself was a garrison of trained soldiers, and several thousand men could be concentrated within twenty-four hours from the interior. The enterprise was a bold one, and by many deemed too hazardous; but the filibusters were now assembled in force, mustering probably about a thousand strong,[2] and their leaders were men fertile of resource.

Map of Vera Cruz.

[2] 'Ce fut en l'année 1683, après avoir fait une revue générale de la flotte, qui se trouva montée de deux cens Flibustiers, tous gens d'élite.' *Esquemelin, Hist. Flib.*, i. 269. Probably the 200 included only the French contingent. They numbered over 1,000. *Rivera, Gov. Mex.*, i. 255. 800 men, *Cavo*, ii. 63-4. The expedition consisted of 960 men, a motley gathering, including French, English, Spaniards, mulattoes, and Indians. *Mosaico*, i. 407. 8,000 men, *Robles, Diario*, i. 370; *Zamacois*, v. 438. The last estimate

Laurent, or as he is more frequently known by the chroniclers Lorencillo, by which name we shall henceforth call him, was appointed commander of the fleet, while Van Horn was in charge of the land forces. The former is described as a tall, well proportioned, and handsome man; light-haired and comely of aspect, a generous ruffian withal, though of course always *alieni profusus*, and one very popular among his comrades. He was in fact a model corsair. It is not recorded that he was ever guilty of quite such diabolic atrocities as were laid to the charge of Morgan or L'Olonnois, but if we can believe the Spanish records of this period, his deeds were sufficiently diabolical to be interesting. It is there stated that while still a youth he was punished by an alcalde of Tabasco for some offence. Vowing vengeance he disappeared, and not long afterward returned with a gang of malefactors who sacked and burned the town and outraged the women. But the account given by Esquemelin, one of his fraternity,[3] and probably the more truthful version is that, being captured by pirates while serving on board a Spanish vessel, he consented to join the buccaneers. This writer describes the character of his favorite hero in glowing colors, giving him credit for all the qualities of a true gentleman, and remarking with amusing naiveté that his only fault was his impatience and a habit of swearing a little too frequently.[4]

Toward sunset on the 17th of May,[5] 1683, two large ships flying Spanish colors were seen to the leeward of Vera Cruz, crowding all sail to make the port, for a

is of course absurd. Robles himself gives them only 15 vessels, while in the *Mosaico* are mentioned 11 ships and nine piraguas, one of the former being mounted with 50 guns, according to the author of *West Indies, Geog. and Hist.*, 146, the other ships having in all 124 guns. This chronicler places the land forces at 1,200.

[3] *Hist. Flib.*, i. 276 et seq.

[4] *Id.*, i. 276.

[5] The 9th of May in *Sharp's Voyages*, 116. The 17th is the date given in *Villarroel, Invasion Vera Cruz; Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 273. Although the latter is somewhat contradictory as to dates in relating the sack of Vera Cruz, he is probably right in this instance.

league or two farther out at sea was a strong squadron apparently in pursuit. At nightfall, the Spaniards on the island and mainland made fires to guide them into the harbor, for they were supposed to be two vessels laden with cacao that were now due from the coast of Caracas.[6] The pursuing squadron had changed its course when the ships neared the fort, casting anchor a short distance from the city, and the townsfolk went to vespers and to rest as usual, apprehending no danger.

About an hour after midnight a few musket shots were heard, but the inhabitants, supposing a serenade was being given to some prominent citizen, remained quietly in bed. The town was well garrisoned; the castle of San Juan de Ulúa was the strongest fortress in the New World, and to add to the feeling of security, the great fleet was daily expected from Spain. Never, for years, had the citizens been more free from alarm than when they awoke at sunrise and prepared to go about their daily avocations. The church bells tolled as usual for matins, and the people set forth to obey the summons. But no matins were said that morning in Vera Cruz; for those who first made their appearance in the streets found them guarded by parties of armed men, and soon the dread news spread from house to house that pirates were in possession of the city.

The buccaneers had obtained information from prisoners captured off the coast of the two ships laden with cacao that were hourly expected at Vera Cruz, and this information had suggested the stratagem already related. On board the vessels which the Spaniards had supposed to be thus laden was the main body of the pirates, captains Van Horn and Lorencillo in charge. During the night nearly eight hundred men, armed to the teeth, had landed at a distance of less than a league from Vera Cruz, and guided by slaves had crept stealthily on the city, surprised the

[6] *Sharp's Voyages* (London, 1684), 116; *Burney's Hist. Bucc.*, 127.

forts, and made themselves masters of the place with the loss of only four men.[7]

Lorencillo had recommended that a party be sent to surprise the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, and if his advice had been taken, the pirates might have remained masters of Vera Cruz long enough to obtain an immense ransom. But this was deemed too hazardous, and they resolved to plunder the town and make good their retreat as speedily as possible. The doors of the houses were battered in and the panic-stricken inhabitants dragged forth without regard to age, sex, or condition, into the public square, and soon afterward lodged in the principal churches, where, by nine o'clock in the morning, over six thousand persons were confined, most of them being placed in the parish church.[8] For three days and nights they were kept without food or drink, while the buccaneers plundered the city, and when at length water and a small dole of food were given to them, many died from drinking

[7] Three of these were killed by their own comrades, who mistook them in the darkness for Spaniards. *Sharp's Voyages*, 117. There is considerable discrepancy among the authorities as to the particulars of the capture of Vera Cruz. In *Sharp's Voy.*, it is stated that the buccaneers landed 774 men, who by break of day had made themselves masters of the town and forts on the mainland, and that after stationing guards at the streets 'they sent parties to break open the houses, where they found everybody as quiet as in their graves.' Villarroel's version is that on the 18th of May the pirates landed 600 men, who reached the city at 4 o'clock in the morning and charged through the streets firing their muskets and crying 'Long live the king of France!' The garrison, he says, rushed to arms, but were shot down or captured as soon as they appeared, while all the citizens who attempted to leave their houses met with a similar fate. *Villarroel, Invasion Vera Cruz*, in *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 274–5, 285. Esquemelin, *Hist. Flib.*, i. 271, states that the inhabitants remained quietly in their beds, 'jusqu'à ce que l'heure de se lever fût venue; mais alors ils furent bien surpris d'apprendre que les Flibustiers étoient maîtres de leur ville.' Esquemelin's account seems to be the more probable on this point, for the pirates, having possession of the forts which commanded the city, had nothing to gain by rousing up the inhabitants by night, and thus giving them a chance to escape during the darkness. The stratagem by which the buccaneers contrived to make their landing undiscovered is related in *Burney's Hist. Bucc.*, 127, and is apparently taken from Esquemelin, and the author of *Sharp's Voyages*, though neither mention that the buccaneer fleet appeared in chase of the two vessels. Such a ruse was, however, very likely to have been adopted.

[8] *Villarroel, Invasion Vera Cruz*, in *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 274–5. In *Sharp's Voy.*, 118, the number is given at 5,700, all of whom were confined in the parish church; but it is not probable that the building would contain so many.

immoderately. Meanwhile the ruffians who kept guard over them mocked at the wailings of the women who begged of them in vain to save the lives of their little ones. The captives were told that they were all to be burned alive, and barrels of powder were placed in their sight at the doors of the church, ready to blow up the building in case they should attempt resistance. Not a woman escaped outrage, and each day they were driven off in bands, like cattle, to satisfy the lust of their tormentors.[9]

A quantity of plate was found in the churches, and the altars and sacred images were stripped of every article of value; but these were only a small portion of the spoils. Besides the property of the inhabitants, the pirates secured large amounts of specie, bullion, and merchandise which had arrived at Vera Cruz in transit for Spain. Among the plunder was much valuable jewelry and about three hundred bags of cochineal, each weighing from a hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds.[10] The freebooters were not yet satisfied, however, and suspecting that some of the wealthier citizens had secreted their treasure, put several to the torture,[11] again threatening to burn the parish church with its inmates unless all their valuables were delivered up. Thereupon, one of the priests ascended the pulpit and besought the captives to surrender their property in order to save their lives. Thus a further large amount was obtained. For the ransom of the governor, who was found hidden under a pile of grass in a stable, the sum of seventy thousand pesos was paid.

Troops of mounted Spaniards now appeared on the outskirts of the town, and occasionally made a dash

[9] 'Las mugeres pasaron muchos travajos, porque su maldad no reservava blanca, ni prieta, ni doncella ni casada, que á fuerza de su vigor no las sacasen, llevandolas á forzarlas. Siendo este caso una de las cosas mas sensibles.' *Villarroel, Invasion V. Cruz*, 275.

[10] Esquemelin estimates the value of the booty at 6,000,000 crowns, but this must be an exaggeration. *Hist. Flib.*, i. 272.

[11] Among these was one Gaspar de Herrera, who was suspended by the private parts until he was nearly dead. *Mosaico*, i. 401.

at the pirates, though they did not venture an organized attack. It was observed, however, that their numbers constantly increased. Moreover the fleet from Spain was every moment expected, and the corsairs deemed it prudent to depart. The spoils were therefore removed to the island of Sacrificios where the fleet was stationed. All the negroes and mulattoes of both sexes, and some of the Spaniards, were taken from the churches to serve as pack animals. The latter were unused to such work, and being enfeebled by fasting could barely stagger under their burdens, but were urged on by the merciless blows of their captors. Not even yet were the pirates satisfied. About fifteen hundred prisoners, including the governor and the leading citizens, were conveyed to the island, and a ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos demanded from the citizens of Vera Cruz, under threat that twelve of the principal Spaniards, whom meanwhile they would hold as hostages, should be put to death in case of non-payment.[12]

Haggard and gaunt with hunger after their four days' imprisonment in the stifling and fetid atmosphere of the crowded churches, the captives were in a pitiful condition; but further suffering was in store for them. Before embarking for the island and on landing they were closely searched and everything of the least value taken from them, even to the piece of straw matting which was their only bed at night and their shelter from the sun by day. Their food was of the coarsest, and barely sufficient to sustain life. A supply of provisions sent to them from the city was appropriated by the pirates. They were constantly exposed to insults and threats, and most of them expected only death, or, as a worse alternative, a life of hopeless captivity. For ten days they remained on the island until the ransom was paid, about midday on the second

[12] *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i. 371–3. According to this authority the ransom was demanded from the viceroy. Zamacois places the amount at 160,000 pesos, v. 438–9.

Sunday after the capture of Vera Cruz. The Spaniards who had been held as hostages were then released; the negroes and mulattoes, to the number of at least thirteen hundred, and the most attractive of the female captives, were placed on board the fleet;[13] and the buccaneers prepared to set sail from the island.

During the afternoon a double guard was placed over the remaining prisoners; the rude huts which they had erected of branches to screen them from sun and dew were destroyed; and the pirates, brandishing their weapons, never ceased to menace them with death, in the hope of yet extorting a further ransom. The threats were not executed, however, and at night all the corsairs withdrew, for the ships were now ready for sea. The following morning a boat's crew returned to take on board another load of captives; but found that all had concealed themselves. The governor and two friars were discovered, and having no time for further search the pirates carried them off to their vessels, though the latter were afterward released. They secured also a launch laden with provisions, which had been sent from the city for the relief of the famishing prisoners.

No sooner had the ransom been paid than the fleet from Spain appeared in sight.[14] The governor of San Juan de Ulúa immediately despatched a boat to the admiral, proposing to make a combined attack on the corsairs, who now put to sea, not waiting even to take in water, or a supply of fresh meat which they had provided at the mouth of the Medellin River. Now once more the Spaniards let slip their opportunity, for, like the Austrians in the days of Bonaparte, they knew not the value of minutes. If a prompt and vigorous attack had been made on the

[13] Villarroel states the corsairs took with them over 3,000 mulattoes, negroes, and boys. *Invasion Vera Cruz*, in *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 283. Robles, that they carried away only 1,300 negroes. *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i. 376. The latter is probably nearer the truth, for 3,000 captives in addition to all the plunder would have overcrowded the vessels.

[14] It consisted of 11 sail. *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 374. 17 vessels. *Esquemelin, Hist. Flib.*, i. 274. 12 great ships. *Sharp's Voyages*, 118.

overladen ships of the buccaneers it would probably have been successful; but instead of instant action a council of officers was summoned, and while they were yet in deliberation, the pirates, crowding all sail, made good their escape.[15]

Before leaving the island of Sacrificios a partition was made of the spoils, which were divided into 1,200 shares; and it was found that each share amounted to 800 pesos, the total being valued at 960,000 pesos, Van Horn demanding for himself 80 shares or 64,000 pesos. Lorencillo appears to have been dissatisfied with his portion, for he quarrelled with the former concerning the dividend,[16] and the dispute ended in a duel in which Van Horn was wounded in the wrist. The commander of the buccaneers paid no attention to his hurt, for trifling wounds were not regarded among his fraternity; but this neglect cost him his life. His wrist grew worse; soon mortification set in; and when fifteen days out at sea, he was thrown overboard, a corpse, off Cape Yucatan. The plunder on board his vessel, amounting to one hundred thousand pesos, was bequeathed to his son, a youth of twelve, and the command of his ship devolved on Grammont, his lieutenant.

[15] *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i. 373; *Cavo*, ii. 64. The French and English versions of the matter differ materially from the above. Esquemelin says that the fleet arrived while the buccaneers were at Vera Cruz, *Hist. Flib.*, i. 274; the author of *Sharp's Voy.*, 119–20, that Van Horn proposed to attack it and offered to board the admiral's ship, but that Lorencillo refused to coöperate with him. It is not likely that the buccaneers would think of thus risking their spoils, or would have ventured to remain on the coast in the presence of so strong a fleet, supported by the artillery and garrison of the fort.

[16] *Sharp's Voyages*, 119. Esquemelin attributes the quarrel to a report that Van Horn had said something offensive concerning Lorencillo, whereupon the latter went in search of his traducer, and though he denied the charge, drew his sword, exclaiming, 'Voilà ce qui va me venger de l'injure que tu m'as faite.' Van Horn also drew, and in the fight which ensued was wounded in the wrist. *Hist. Flib.*, i. 291–2. Villarroel's version is that immediately after boasting before his prisoners that he believed in no God, and that his success was due to his own valor, he was met by Lorencillo, who reproved him for his harsh treatment of the captives. Hence the quarrel and the duel. *Invasion Vera Cruz*, in *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 281. Robles states that both were wounded, and that Lorencillo offered to restore the booty on certain conditions. *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i. 373. The account given in *Sharp's Voy.* seems the most probable.

Overcrowding and want of provisions caused sickness on board the buccaneer fleet, and numbers perished. Lorencillo and his squadron were next seen off Jamaica. Grammont sailed for the island of Little Guayove, where he arrived in safety, though with the loss of two thirds of his prisoners. A vessel which accompanied him was chased by a Spanish armadilla;[17] and the crew were compelled to take to their boats, securing their treasure, but leaving behind them the slaves and merchandise. No further attempt was made to pursue or punish the marauders. The Spaniards contented themselves with offering up thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, and an order was issued that in all churches, chapels, and convents founded by the crown, a solemn annual mass should be celebrated in gratitude "for the happy event of the flight of Lorencillo."

After the departure of the pirates those who remained on the island of Sacrificios were at once transferred to the city, which was now guarded by a large force of cavalry. During the raid over three hundred of the inhabitants perished, and many of the survivors were reduced to beggary. The entire loss amounted to several millions of pesos. None of the buildings were destroyed, but all were more or less injured, and most of them were found in a filthy condition. Several months were required to purify the churches. The streets were choked with garbage, and the air was poisoned with the stench of decomposed bodies.

For many years the name of Lorencillo was remembered with terror by the people of New Spain, and even to this day it is not forgotten.[18] Such was

[17] On June 17, 1683, it was reported from Goazacoalcos that the pirates demanded 60,000 pesos of ransom for their negro and mulatto captives. An armadillo of 6 vessels with 600 men left Vera Cruz for Goazacoalcos in the middle of July, in pursuit of the pirates; but was drived back by a storm and detained for about a week. About the 20th of August the armament returned with 6 prizes and 90 slaves taken from the enemy. *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i. 370, 380–3. The recapture of the slaves is confirmed in Esquemelin, but it is nowhere mentioned except in Robles that the Spaniards took more than one vessel.

[18] The name of Lorencillo afterward became a byword in Vera Cruz.

the dread which he inspired that life and property were no longer considered safe in Vera Cruz, and when foreign vessels appeared in sight the inhabitants fled to the woods. It was now ordered that the treasure destined for Spain should be detained at Jalapa until after the arrival of the fleet, and the armada de Barlovento was ordered thenceforth to convoy the vessels as far as Habana. This force was reorganized, and its commander tried by court-martial and cashiered for neglect of duty, Don Andrés Ochoa y Zárate being appointed in his stead.

The raid of Morgan and his gang on Panamá, in 1671, had always been considered as the boldest venture of the buccaneers; but the sack of Vera Cruz was a yet more daring exploit. When Morgan was once in possession of Panamá it was impossible that any large body of Spanish troops could arrive in time to interfere with his operations, but at Vera Cruz the case was different. Apart from the garrison of San Juan de Ulúa there were troops stationed at several points not more than thirty leagues distant. A courier was despatched to the city of Mexico within a few hours after the landing of the pirates, and arrived in three days,[19] reporting that they came in fifteen large ships and numbered eight thousand men. On the following day a hastily levied force of nearly two thousand horse and a few companies of foot set forth, soon to be followed by large reënforcements from the capital, all Spaniards capable of bearing arms, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, being enrolled. The ecclesiastics assembled in the cathedral and resolved to join them in a body. But before any of these reënforcements could arrive the buccaneers had abandoned the city, and news of their departure was received in Mexico on the 5th of June.[20]

When anything was irrecoverably lost it was customary to say that Lorencillo had taken it. *Villarroel, Invasion Vera Cruz*, in *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 288–9.

[19] The distance is about 94 Spanish leagues.

[20] The chief authorities which have been consulted in relation to the sack

On the 28th of July the viceroy arrived in Vera Cruz. His first measure was to cause the governor to be tried for cowardice, and sentence of death was pronounced; but an appeal being made, his life was spared and he was ordered to proceed to Spain. The defences of the city were repaired and strengthened, and to ensure the earlier departure of the fleet it was ordered that the annual fair be transferred from the capital to Vera Cruz, which was as yet the only port of entry in New Spain, and now for a few years became the distributing point for the merchandise of Seville.

During the remainder of Laguna's administration, the raids of corsairs and privateers continued almost without intermission. On the 3d of August 1683 news was received in the city of Mexico that war was declared between France and Spain, and in the following year hostilities broke out with England. The operations of the English buccaneers were mainly directed, as we have seen, against the cities of Central America; but those of the French filibusters extended over all portions of the coast of New Spain. On the northern portion of Santo Domingo nearly ten thousand of the latter had their head-quarters, all of them

of Vera Crnz are the contemporaneous accounts of Father Villarroel and Antonio Robles. The former, who was assistant parish priest of Vera Cruz at the time of its capture, has left in one of its registers of births a detailed record of this event. It contains occasional repetitions, and, as I have said, there is some confusion in the dates, but otherwise it is clear and graphic. A literal copy is given by Lerdo de Tejada, in his *Apuntes Históricos*, 273–85, and another copy, less carefully taken, will be found in the *Mosaico Mexicano*, i. 399–407. Though the *Diario* of Robles, i. 370–83, contains only brief items relating to this event, it serves to confirm the main statements of Villarroel and furnishes some additional facts. These are the sources from which the principal writers of later times have drawn their information, though not always conforming to the originals. Among the numerous foreign writers, English, French, and Dutch, who treat of this event in connection with the buccaneers, the author of *Sharp's Voyages* and Esquemelin are probably the best, though both are biassed, and the latter superficial. The former narrative is meagre, but professes to be taken from despatches sent from Jamaica in August 1683. As his work was published in London during the following year, this is probably the case. Further mention of this writer is made in *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 510–11, this series, and of Esquemelin in *Id.*, 567. These works are probably the most reliable so far as they relate to the stratagem by which the city was surprised, and to questions of detail relating to the buccaneer armament; for the Spaniards captured no prisoners, and neither Villarroel nor Robles could have known anything definite about these matters.

professing allegiance to the king of France. The waters of the Caribbean sea swarmed with pirates who defied the Spanish cruisers and the armada de Barlovento. All the efforts of the Spanish authorities to rid the seas of this scourge were of little avail. Orders were given that whenever a pirate craft was captured the captain and officers should be shot and the crew sent to work at the galleys in Spain. Nevertheless it seldom happened that a vessel arrived in Vera Cruz without bringing news of further depredations.

At the very time when Van Horn and his gang were sharing the spoils of this city at the island of Sacrificios, a large force of French corsairs captured the city of Guayana with its governor and garrison, and took possession of Margarita and other small islands in the West Indies. Maracaibo was also threatened, and the audiencia of Santa Fé petitioned the viceroy to allow the armada de Barlovento to proceed to New Granada. On the 2d of May 1684 news arrived in Mexico that Tampico had again been sacked by a large force of pirates, and a number of the inhabitants carried off as captives. Two days later the Barlovento fleet sailed in pursuit of them and captured three of their ships.[21] On July 6th of the same year Lorencillo appeared once more in the North Sea, this time off the port of Campeche, which he captured after a five days' siege, and thence marched on Mérida, but was driven back with heavy loss. On his return voyage he encountered the armada under command of Ochoa, and one of his frigates mounting twenty-seven guns was captured by Spaniards. Lorencillo escaped with his own vessel[22] and henceforth appears no more in connection with piratical expeditions on the mainland.

[21] Rivera mentions that, during this year, a pirate vessel was captured near Tampico with 104 men on board. The prize was taken to Vera Cruz and 5 of the corsairs were hanged. The rest would have met with the same fate but for a recent order requiring that all freebooters taken captive should be sent to Spain. *Gob. Mex.*, i. 263.

[22] *Id.*, 426, 428, 435–7. Ochoa died about this time; but whether he was killed in action is not recorded.

Nevertheless the settlers of Mérida were constantly in dread of filibusters. Many of the corsairs when not engaged in their raids employed themselves in the profitable occupation of tortoise fishing, these grounds extending from Campeche to the confines of Nicaragua. Among the numerous keys, islands, or coves of this long stretch of coast they careened their vessels, pursued their fishing, and planned their expeditions, safe from the attacks of Spanish cruisers. The intricate coast of Campeche, with which they were perfectly familiar, was constantly frequented by these marauders, and in consequence Mérida was continually exposed to their attacks. The garrison consisted of but two companies of half-clad and poorly fed soldiers, until after the raid of Lorencillo, when two more companies were sent from Spain. The encomenderos offered to build a wall around the city at their own expense, asking only that they should be released from the tax for the support of cavalry called montado.

During the years 1685 and 1686 the principal operations of the pirates were the raid of Agramon on the coast of Florida, and the expedition of Dampier to the South Sea. The former was driven off with the loss of fifty men. The operations of Dampier, Swan, and others on the coast of Central America have been related in their place; and it has already been mentioned that the latter, accompanied by Townley, resolved to try his fortune on the coast of Mexico, hoping to capture the Manila ship, which at this epoch was wont to leave the Philippines in June and arrive at Acapulco about Christmas. After an unsuccessful attempt to take the Lima galleon from under the guns of the fort at Acapulco early in November 1685, and an equally vain effort to find the town of Colima on the 26th, they reached Salagua, or Santiago, December 1st, and had a skirmish with the Spaniards, capturing two mulattoes, but were unable to find there any such town as was described in the Spanish pilot-books.

Many of the Englishmen died in this region of a prevalent dropsy following chills and fever. The malady might have been easily cured by certain parts of an alligator pulverized and taken in water, but there were no alligators to be had. On the 11th they sighted Cape Corrientes, and it was their plan to cruise about this place and watch for the galleon; but it was also necessary to obtain supplies, and during one of the raids made for this purpose, the galleon is supposed to have passed by unnoticed; at least the hope of taking her was soon given up, and on January 6, 1686, the fleet separated, sailing from Banderas Valley, where on December 4th they had had a fight with the Spaniards, losing four men and killing seventeen. Captain Townley with two vessels returned down the coast, while Captain Swan continued his voyage northward in the hope of finding towns or rich mines. The northern limit reached by the ships was 23° 30′, just above Mazatlan, although Swan went in boats still farther in search of Culiacan, which he did not reach. The fleet turned about on February 2d. On February 11th they anchored at the mouth of the Rio Santiago, or Tololotlan, up which stream seventy men were sent in four boats; but having captured an Indian who could guide them to Santa Pecaque, probably Centipac, Swan set out in person with double that force. The inhabitants ran away, and the town was entered without resistance. Several days were spent in loading the canoes with supplies, and on the 19th fifty men on their way from the town to the landing, each leading a horse laden with maize, were attacked by Spaniards, Indians, and negroes from Santiago, and every man killed, as already related,[23] including Ringrose the buccaneer author, who was Swan's supercargo. This disaster discouraged the British "from attempting anything more hereabouts." It was proposed to go to Cape San Lúcas for repairs, and they sailed on the 21st, passing the Tres Marías

[23] *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 568, this series.

but were driven back thither on the 7th of March. It was now decided to sail for Manila, and after taking water at Banderas they left Corrientes on the last day of March. The men murmured at the long voyage before them, but hoped for rich booty in the East Indies. The historian of the expedition naturally does not quit the coast without having his say about Californian geography and the Strait of Anian.[24]

Apart from the raids of buccaneers few incidents worthy of note occurred during the reign of Viceroy Laguna; there was an Indian revolt in New Mexico, and an expedition to the coast of Lower California, which will be related in their place. On the 8th of February 1684, the viceroy received intelligence that his term of office was extended for three years.[25] In 1686 his residencia was taken by the fiscal Bastida. The charges were trivial, and about two years later he returned to his native country, where, having made a donation of fifty thousand pesos for some charitable purpose, he received the rank of grandee of Spain, and his son the title of duke of Guastala.

[24] *Dampier's New Voyage around the World*, London, 1699, i. 237–78. The author, Wm. Dampier, was on the fleet, but in what position does not appear. He had left Virginia under Captain Cook in Aug. 1683, had been with Captain Davis in the south, and had come north with Captain Swan. Between 1686 and 1688 several attacks on the coast of Cumaná were repelled by Governor Gas[illegible] Mateo de Acosta, but he was unable to expel a French colony established at the mouth of the river Guarapicheto, and the armada de Barlovento was ordered to proceed to his aid. A number of French pirates were pardoned, and one of them, named Lorenzo, appointed sargento mayor. In December 1686, three prisoners taken at Laguna de Términos gave information that 100 men had been engaged there for several months in cutting logwood and shipping it to Jamaica. Measures were taken by the viceroy to expel them. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 263–4. The treaty concluded between England, France, and Holland at this period, whereby these countries were pledged to aid each other in extending their possessions in America, caused much uneasiness to the Spanish crown, and the viceroy was ordered to make vigorous preparations for defence. The forts were repaired, the armada de Barlovento was refitted, another vessel purchased, and Jacinto Lopez Gijon, admiral of the Flemish squadron in the ocean fleet, placed in command.

[25] During the previous year an impostor appeared in the person of Antonio Benavides, who represented himself as the marquis of Saint Vincent, a field-marshal and governor of the castle of Acapulco. He is commonly known as the Tapado. He was arrested by order of the audiencia, tried, and sentenced to death. While in prison he tried to strangle himself with a handkerchief. After his execution his head and one of his hands were taken to Puebla. The other hand was fastened on the gallows. *Robles*, 370 et seq.; *Cavo*, ii. 64; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 60–1.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROVINCE OF VERA CRUZ.

1683–1803.

EXTENT OF THE CITY OF VERA CRUZ—ENTREPÔT OF COMMERCE—CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION—PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE—ITS INHABITANTS—ITS TRADE—SCARCITY OF WATER—THE BLACK-VOMIT—THE PORT OF VERA CRUZ—THE FORTRESS OF SAN JUAN DE ULÚA—ITS GARRISON—THE WORKS COST NEARLY FORTY MILLIONS OF PESOS—CESSATION OF BUCCANEERING RAIDS—THE TOWNS OF CÓRDOBA, JALAPA, AND ORIZABA.

THERE are few records as to the condition of the province of Vera Cruz for some twenty or thirty years after the sack of its capital. About 1730 the city contained perhaps three thousand Spaniards, mulattoes, and negroes, apart from its garrison; the remainder of its heterogeneous population including people from all the western nations of Europe. The city was about one sixth of a league in length and half that distance in width. Most of the inhabitants were mulattoes; some of them being wealthy, for money was readily made at this entrepôt of commerce, and even the negro slaves could accumulate enough to purchase their freedom.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Vera Cruz was but an insignificant port, serving as a landing-place for the bands of adventurers who came to the shores of New Spain. At the opening of the nineteenth century it was the commercial emporium of a territory whose vast resources, little developed as they are even to this day, had excited the envy of the world. At the latter date its population was estimated at over thirty-five thousand, of whom about

twenty thousand were permanent residents.[1] The inhabitants were quiet, orderly, and peaceable. Business dishonesty was unknown, and property of all kinds was secure, few precautions being needed to insure its safety. There were no beggars in the streets, and few criminals in the public jail; the poorer classes were all employed in some useful occupation, and among the rich were not a few who had acquired immense fortunes in commercial pursuits. The government employés, both civil and military, performed their duties faithfully and were accorded the consideration due to their rank. The church was well supported, and the religious orders were among the largest property-holders in the province.[2]

[1]Of the floating population 3,640 were seamen, 7,370 muleteers, and 4,500 passengers, troops, servants, and non-resident tradesmen. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 366. In old Vera Cruz there was in 1777 a population of 777 persons, of whom only 39 were Spaniards. *Vera Cruz, Fabrica*, in *Mex. Doc. Eccles.*, MS., i. no. ii. fol. 10. At this date the population of the new city was estimated by the traveller De Menonville, in Pinkerton's *Col. Voy.*, xiii. 777, at 6,000 to 7,000. If this be so it had increased more than five-fold within 30 years. The writer affirms that at the time of his visit the houses were built entirely of stone brought from Campeche, and that he saw the ruins of at least 20 buildings that had lain there for fifty years, the walls of which were of masonry; but why stone should be brought from Campeche when there was excellent material in the neighborhood he does not explain. Speaking of the city he remarks that not the slightest culture embellishes the neighborhood. 'The men,' he continues, 'are, generally speaking, lofty-minded and proud; either from this being the specific character of their nation, or owing to their excessive wealth in a country where gold stamps so much value on its possessor. They comprehend trade very well, but here, as elsewhere, their natural indolence, and their rooted habits, and superstition, render them irremediably averse from labour. Incessantly they are seen with their chaplets and relics on their arms and round their neck; their houses are filled with statues and paintings of saints; and their life is a series of devotional practices. The women live recluse in their apartments above stairs, to avoid being seen by strangers; though it is by no means difficult to perceive that, but for the restrictions placed on them by their husbands, they would be far more easy of access. Within doors they wear over the shirt nothing but a small silk corset, laced with a gold or silver cord. Still, though so simple their dress, they wear a gold necklace, bracelets at the wrist of the same metal, and at their ears pendants of emeralds of greatest value. Generally speaking, the fair in this city are not handsome; for however rich their dress they show a deficiency of grace and fancy, and, under an apparent reserve, are strongly inclined to lasciviousness. The only amusements are the neveria, a sort of coffee-house, whither the genteeler sort repair to take ice-creams, and some imitations of bull-fights for the vulgar; unless indeed under this denomination be comprised the processions and flagellations of the holy week.'

[2] In 1746 Vera Cruz contained seven convents belonging to the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Merced orders, two hospitals, and a Jesuit col-

At this period the trade of Vera Cruz probably exceeded thirty million pesos a year. Apart from commerce the city had little to depend upon. So limited was the area of cultivated land in its vicinity[3] that nearly all the leading articles of consumption were brought from a distance. Stock-raising was the chief occupation in the surrounding country, and hides and dried fish the only commodities exported from the province. Much of the prosperity now enjoyed was due to the measures adopted by Cárlos III. in 1778 with a view to facilitate commerce between Spain and her colonies. Many of the restrictions which had aimed at a monopoly of trade, and had served only to divert it into the hands of foreigners, were now removed, and no community was more greatly benefited thereby than that of Vera Cruz, which was still the only port of entry on the northern seaboard of New Spain. In 1795 a tribunal of commerce[4] was established there by royal decree, and its operations were of great benefit both to the city and the province. At the opening of the nineteenth century the city had attained the full growth of her prosperity, and more substantial buildings were erected than during the two preceding centuries. The madrepore stone, called by the natives *piedra múcura*, and found in abundance on the reefs

lege. There were also two chapels outside the walls. *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, i. 271. Although there were more priests in Vera Cruz than were needed, many of the towns in the district had none, and in 1802 had not been visited by the bishop of Puebla, to whose diocese they belonged, for 47 years. The first hospital was established by two Jesuits on the island of San Juan de Ulúa. During the rule of the Marquis of Montesclaros a hospital was founded in Vera Cruz and named after the marquis. It was abandoned in 1805. The next one founded in the city was the military hospital of San Cárlos, completed in 1764. One named Our Lady of Loreto was built for the accommodation of women, and one for convalescents was commenced in 1784 and placed in charge of the Bethlehemite nuns. The last three, together with the public hospital of San Sebastian, existed in 1807. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 377–8.

[3] Elsewhere in the province agricultural products were considerable, including among other items 300,000 fanegas of corn a year, 243,750 arrobas of cotton, and 80,000 arrobas of sugar. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 365–6.

[4] 'Consulado.' In 1784 the office of 'comandancia del resguardo de todas las rentas' was created in Vera Cruz by order of the crown, the regulations adopted being the same as those in force at Cádiz.

in the harbor, supplied an excellent material, and came into general use. Before this time the houses were built for the most part of wood, although during the preceding century and a half the city had several times been partly destroyed by fire.[5]

The streets of Vera Cruz were regularly laid out, their direction corresponding with that of the cardinal points of the compass. Their pavement was commenced in 1765 and completed in 1776. In April of the following year they were lighted for the first time by order of the municipality. In 1790 a cemetery was opened outside the walls of the city, and by order of the viceroy the burial of the dead in church vaults was forbidden. To this practice and to the scantiness and poor quality of the water[6] may be attributed in part the pestilences from which the inhabitants were seldom free. The rich obtained their supply from cisterns built on their own premises, the poor from an aqueduct[7] which was usually empty during two or three months in the year, when they were dependent on a single well sunk near the bastion of Santa Bárbara. Another cause of the prevalence of disease was the overcrowding of the houses, which were packed so closely together in the poorer quarters of the town as to impede the circulation of the air.

The rains set in at Vera Cruz about the 20th of March and lasted for six months, being followed by violent north-west winds which continued almost throughout the dry season, raising the sand in such clouds as often to obstruct the sight and render breathing difficult. September and October were the most unhealthy months, and it was then that the sickness

[5] The fire of 1618, spoken of on page 27 of this volume, is not even mentioned by Miron in *Noticia Instructiva*, although there is no doubt that it occurred; but he speaks of two others that happened in 1606 and 1608.

[6] As early as 1703 an attempt was made to bring water into the city from the river Jamapa. In 1795 a dam was built and an aqueduct constructed for some distance, but the work was abandoned. Though surveys have since been made and revenues assigned for the purpose, nothing has been accomplished. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 322–6.

[7] Constructed by Malibran in 1726.

known as the black-vomit was the most deadly. This scourge was supposed to have been introduced by an English slave-ship in the year 1699, but was more probably an endemic disease due to the causes already mentioned, and to the malaria generated by decaying animal and vegetable matter.[8] At the close of the last and the beginning of the present century so great was the havoc wrought by this malady that it was proposed to abandon the site of Vera Cruz and remove to Jalapa.

The port of Vera Cruz was neither safe nor commodious, being but a roadstead, sheltered on the east side by a few small and widely separated reefs and islands. On the north it was entirely exposed, and from September to March was swept by violent north winds, which made the anchorage unsafe. The island of San Juan de Ulúa is less than a mile distant from the city, only its south-west point on which the fort was built being above high-water mark. On the leeward side of this island, facing the city, vessels made fast by cable ropes to huge bolts and rings let into the walls of the fort. Here the depth of water was six or eight fathoms, and from this point passengers and freight were transferred to the mainland in boats. Opposite the city, and at about the same distance, was a small reef called Lavandera, near which was also an anchoring ground for merchant craft. Five or six miles to the south-east are the islands of Verde and Sacrificios, where were the quarantine ground and the station for ships of war. The harbor was entered by two channels, the best one being on the north side, between Ulúa and the mainland, with a depth of four to five fathoms and a width of four hundred varas. The other channel lay between the island of Sacrifi-

[8] *Humboldt, Essai*, i. 276–9. In 1803, the eminent Spanish physician Florencio Perez de Comoto declared that the disease had not been introduced from any foreign country. The presence of foreigners, of whom large numbers died of yellow fever, was, however, believed to aid the development of the germs of this disease, and such was the experience in all places subject to it. In 1825 the legislature offered a reward of 100,000 pesos to any one who should discover a remedy.

cios and the Pájaro reef, and was of the same depth and width.

A larger and more sheltered harbor, named Anton Lizardo, was situated a few leagues to the south-east of Vera Cruz,[9] and there appears to be no good reason why the latter was selected, except that the island of San Juan de Ulúa was a favorable spot for the construction of a fortress. No attempt was made to

San Juan de Ulúa.

improve it, and at the close of the eighteenth century it remained in the same condition as when first discovered by Grijalva in 1518.

[9] Anton Lizardo was the harbor in which the French fleet anchored in 1838 and the Americans in 1847–1848.

There are no reliable data as to the exact time when the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa was erected; but the works must have been commenced between the years 1582 and 1625. At the former date the island was occupied only by sailors and merchants; at the latter the fortress is mentioned by the traveller Gage, in connection with his visit to Vera Cruz, and appears to have been then well advanced. It was probably the strongest fort in the New World, and until the improvements made in modern warfare was considered almost impregnable, being often termed the San Juan de Acre of America. In 1746 it was mounted with one hundred and twenty guns and three mortars. In 1780 it contained one hundred brass cannon and about fifty pieces of ordnance made of iron, the latter being of heavy calibre.[10] The main building was in the shape of a parallelogram, with a bastion at each of its angles. The one at the south-west corner was named the bastion of San Pedro and was completed in 1633. It was surmounted by a high tower on which was a revolving light. On the south-east corner was the bastion of San Crispin, completed in 1710. Here was built a lookout tower whence vessels were sighted and communication maintained with the city by a system of signals. Others named Our Lady del Pilar and Santa Catalina were finished in 1778 and 1799 respectively. The curtain and the flanks of the bastions facing seaward were covered with stakes of hard wood sharpened at the end and rising a foot and a half out of the water, so that at high tide vessels could not approach within musket shot. Within the fort were seven large cisterns, containing nearly a hundred thousand cubic feet of water, and below it were damp, narrow dungeons, where notorious criminals were confined. Few who were once incarcerated there came forth alive.

At the middle of the eighteenth century the gar-

[10] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Teatro*, i. 274–5; *Informe del Comand. de Ulúa*, July 29, 1780, in *Col. Diario*, MS., 504–6.

rison appears to have been smaller than at the time of the sack of Vera Cruz by buccaneers in 1683, consisting of only 120 artillerymen, 150 troops drawn from the naval battalion of the city, the latter being relieved every month, and 30 sailors. A band of convicts was also stationed there and employed on the works. At this time there were quartered in the city a naval battalion of 600 men, an infantry regiment 1,000 strong, 300 dragoons, and 30 artillerymen. A militia regiment with ten companies, two of them being composed of mulattoes and two of negroes, added 1,000 additional troops to the defensive force, and the firing of a cannon would at any time summon 700 or 800 lancers from the adjacent towns and haciendas.[11] In 1741 a plan was drawn up by the engineer, Felix Próspero, for constructing a wall around the city, and the work was completed five years later. The wall was built of hewn stone brought from Campeche; it was six feet high, and was surmounted by a strong double stockade of the same height. It contained seven gates, one of them being for the accommodation of shipping and fishermen, and one for the special use of the viceroys. On the inner side was a banquette for infantry; on a tongue of land at the extreme north was afterward constructed the bastion of La Concepcion mounted with sixteen heavy guns, and commanding the north channel with the adjacent coast; on the extreme south was the bastion of Santiago, mounting twenty-six guns, and containing the arsenal and naval stores. Between these two bastions, and facing the land side, smaller ones protecting the main avenues of approach were erected at intervals.[12]

[11] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Teatro*, i. 273–4. According to this authority the military staff was composed of the governor, the king's lieutenant, an adjutant, a sargento mayor, and three engineers. In May 1727 the viceroy, Casa Fuerte, framed the first ordinance regulating the strength of the garrisons at Vera Cruz and Ulúa, in imitation of a similar one issued nine years previously for the city and fortress of Habana. At this date the garrison was somewhat smaller, and that of the city consisted mainly of cavalry.

[12] *Id.*, 271–2.

After the capture of Habana by the English in 1762 much apprehension was felt as to the safety of Vera Cruz.[13] The defences of the city and of San Juan de Ulúa were strengthened, and new ones erected on other portions of the coast. The island fortress was ordered to be repaired at a cost of over a million and a half, and the port of Anton Lizardo was to be fortified at an expense of a million and a quarter pesos. A fort was also begun at San Cárlos de Perote, this point being intended for an arsenal and as a storing place for treasure, Jalapa being now considered unsafe. Additional troops were despatched from Spain, and in December 1774 a military commission met at Vera Cruz to consider such further measures as might be necessary for defence. The result was very unfavorable. It was reported that the city was untenable, and that Ulúa, which was supposed to be impregnable, could only be held for a few days, and would require a garrison of 1,700 infantry and 300 artillerymen, together with a force of sailors sufficient to man a number of armed boats.[14] It was even recommended that on the approach of an enemy the bastions should be blown up and the inhabitants sent into the interior, taking with them their effects. The report of the commissioners does not appear to have been heeded, and at the close of the century, when Europe was at war and the Spanish American possessions were at any time liable to attack, the garrisons of the city and fortress were even smaller than those stationed there sixty years before.[15]

[13] When intelligence arrived of the capture, the viceroy ordered that munitions of war be at once forwarded to Vera Cruz, and that all available troops be immediately put in motion for that point. When it was known that there was no imminent danger of attack, he withdrew his forces to Jalapa and Perote where the climate was more healthy. The next year peace was declared.

[14] De Menonville says that at the time of his visit in 1777 the fortress was mounted with 300 guns of from 12 to 36 pound calibre, and that it was exposed to attack on the south-east corner, where was a landing-place much nearer the fort than the principal one, and where vessels might anchor under the curtain, the fire from which would be of no avail. *Pinkerton's Col. Voy.*, xiii. 779. In 1780 Viceroy Mayorga inspected the defences of the city and fortress, and changed the plan of defence adopted by his predecessor.

[15] At the beginning of the 19th century the combined garrisons of the city

Notwithstanding the enormous sums expended on coast defences, the fortress of Ulúa alone having cost nearly forty millions of pesos, the people of New Spain, besides being in constant fear of the armaments of hostile powers, were still in dread of corsairs. In November, 1788, a royal decree was issued in answer to the viceroy's petition ordering two brigantines to be constructed for coast-guard service against pirates and smugglers.[16] Of course the operations of the former were now confined to the more thinly populated portions of the coast; for such raids, except made by licensed freebooters under the name of privateersmen, were long since discountenanced by the nations of Europe.

After the beginning of the war between England and Spain, in 1796, it was believed that an expedition was being prepared for an attack on Vera Cruz, and during the following year eight thousand troops were cantoned at Jalapa, Córdoba, and Perote in readiness for action; but England had now sufficient occupation for all her forces on land and sea, in the long protracted struggle with the great Napoleon. A few months later all the encampments were broken up, excepting one of six hundred men who were stationed on the plain near Buena Vista in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, and so great was the mortality among this corps that it soon became necessary to remove the survivors into the city.

Until 1629 the offices of corregidor of Vera Cruz and governor of Ulúa were vested in the same person, but in that year they were separated, the commander of the fortress receiving a salary of one thousand one

and fortress consisted of the permanent battalion of Vera Cruz, organized in 1793, its strength being 1,000 men, a company of veteran artillery, and two of militia, 310 men, and the regiment of Vera Cruz lancers, enrolled in 1767, nominally 1,000 strong. *Lerdo de Tejada*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex., Apunt. Hist.*, 383–4. In 1784 the garrison of Vera Cruz was reënforced by two infantry regiments from Mexico, *Id.*, 309; but these appear to have been soon withdrawn, for in *Gac. Mex.*, ii. 290, it is stated that in 1786 the garrison of Vera Cruz mustered only 1,360 men.

[16] They arrived in Vera Cruz about two years afterward. Later a schooner was built for the same purpose.

hundred pesos a year. Later the former received the title of governor, but in 1730 his civil functions were the same, though he received from the viceroy the rank of lieutenant captain-general and military governor. Between 1730 and 1733 it was ordered that this official should also have authority over the garrison of Ulúa, a resident commander of the fortress being appointed as his subordinate.[17] After the establishment of intendencias in 1787 the powers of the former were greatly enlarged, the offices of governor and intendente being afterward combined.[18]

At the close of the eighteenth century the intendencia of Vera Cruz contained a population of about one hundred and fifty-four thousand.[19] The second town in importance was Córdoba, founded, it will be remembered, in 1618.[20] In 1746 it contained over seven hundred families.[21] About thirty years later its population was about the same. Most of the houses were of stone; the streets were wide and well paved, and a plentiful supply of water was obtained from the mountain streams in its neighborhood. In the center of the plaza was a large fountain, and on one side of it stood the cathedral, the three remaining sides being adorned with Gothic arches. The surrounding vegetation was rich and of many hues, and

[17] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 233–4. It is there stated that Antonio de Benavides was the first one vested with these powers. He was appointed about the year 1734.

[18] The intendente was also subdelegado of the city of Vera Cruz and its district. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, 164. The first intendente of Vera Cruz was Pedro Corvalan, appointed in 1788. [In *Id.*, i. 165, Cervalan.] In 1792 Pedro Gorostiza held that office. *Id.*, 164. In 1795 Diego García Panes received the appointment. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. vii. 436; and in 1798—*Plan de Defensa de San Juan de Ulúa*, in *Col. de Diario*, MS., 510.

[19] Distributed among 372 poblados. *Cancelada, Ruina de la Nueva España*, 73–5. Lerdo de Tejada states that there were 2 cities, 5 villas, 147 pueblos, 60 haciendas, and 157 ranchos. *Apunt. Hist.*, 365–6. It extended from the bay of Términos to Tampico, a distance of 210 leagues, with a varying width of 25 to 35 leagues. Its boundaries are defined in *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 150–1, and remained the same until 1824.

[20] See p. 27, this vol.

[21] Two hundred and sixty Spanish families, 126 of mestizos, 60 of mulattoes and negroes, and 263 of Indians. The town had now an alcalde mayor. *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Teatro*, i. 265.

on its deep soil of red clay[22] were produced most of the tropical and subtropical fruits. The raising of tobacco and sugar, of which plantations were first established early in the seventeenth century, was still the leading industry, but here, as elsewhere in New Spain, nature was so prodigal of her gifts that little effort was needed on the part of man, and many of the Spaniards grew wealthy almost without exertion.[23] Although in 1790 an earthquake demolished or dam-

Vera Cruz Province.

aged nearly all the buildings, the town appears to have steadily increased in prosperity, for in 1810 it contained at least eight thousand inhabitants.[24]

Among the most flourishing towns in the province was Jalapa, where, between 1720 and 1777, the annual fair was held, on the arrival of the fleet from Spain,

[22] The depth was at least ten feet.

[23] The principal industry was sugar-raising, and at this date there were more than 30 sugar-mills in Córdoba, worked mainly by Indians.

[24] Eight thousand to 10,000, of whom five eighths were Spaniards. *Diario Mex.*, xii. 233–4.

being transferred thence from Vera Cruz. Before the former date half a dozen commercial houses, established by merchants in the capital, had monopolized the entire trade of the surrounding district, but within a few years afterward goods to the value of thirty millions of pesos changed hands at each fair. This increased circulation of wealth caused people to abandon their simple habits, and to adopt the dress and amusements and most of the vices of the Spaniards in the Old World. In 1794 Jalapa was declared a city,[25] and together with Córdoba and Orizaba was a favorite summer resort for the merchants of Vera Cruz.

Orizaba stood on the high road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, being distant about thirty-eight leagues from the latter city and forty-six from the capital. It was situated in a beautiful valley and surrounded with forest-clad mountains, high above which towered the snow-capped volcano of Orizaba. So luxuriant was the surrounding vegetation that a square league of land sufficed for the pasturage of about seven thousand sheep.[26] Here was a halting-place for caravans laden with merchandise, and the point where goods in transit were appraised. In 1777 its population numbered about forty-five hundred, of whom it was estimated that nearly three thousand were of Spanish descent.[27]

Coat of Arms of Jalapa.

[25] In 1746 there were 786 resident families of Spaniards, mestizos, and Indians. *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. Later the population appears to have decreased, for Humboldt states that in 1803 its population was only 1,300.

[26] A traveller passing through the province of Vera Cruz in 1777 states that within the space of a Spanish league he counted 11 flocks of sheep, each numbering over 600. *Thiery*, ii. 71.

[27] In the town were several tanneries, and factories for the making of coarse cloth. A large quantity of tobacco was raised in its neighborhood. *Pinkerton's Mod. Geog.*, iii. 214.

CHAPTER XII.

FLOOD, FAMINE, AND ECLIPSE.

1688–1692.

LAGUNA'S ADMINISTRATION—HIS SUCCESSOR, THE CONDE DE GALVE—THE PIRATES DRIVEN FROM THE SOUTH SEA—WAR WITH FRANCE—PIRATES IN THE NORTH SEA—THE ARMADA DE BARLOVENTO—UNION OF SPANISH AND ENGLISH AGAINST THE FRENCH—DROUGHT AND FLOOD—LOSS OF CROPS—EXCESSES OF THE SOLDIERY—DEATH OF MARÍA LUISA—THE DRAINAGE SYSTEM—PORTENTOUS EVENTS—THE BAKERS REFUSE TO BAKE—EFFORTS OF THE VICEROY.

THE successor to the marqués de la Laguna was the conde de Monclova,[1] who made his public entry into the capital on the 30th of November 1686, and whose administration lasted for nearly two years, when he was appointed viceroy of Peru.[2] He is represented by the chroniclers of the period as an upright and vigilant ruler, and the charges brought against him at his residencia were even more frivolous than those preferred against his predecessor.[3] Little worthy of

[1] Don Melchor Portocarrero, Lasso de la Vega, conde de Monclova, comendador de la Sarza en la orden de Alcántara, of the royal council of war, and of the junta of war of the Indies. *Reales Cédulas*, ii. 3. He was commonly known as Brazo de la Plata on account of his false arm, his own having been lost in battle. *Lorenzana*, *Hist. Nueva España*, 27. His wife was the Doña Antonia de Urréa. *Ibid.* He had several children, of whom four accompanied him. *Vetancvrt*, *Trat. Mex.*, 16.

[2] October 15, 1688. *Ibid.* He embarked at Acapulco, May 11, 1689. *Rivera*, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 264.

[3] There were but six trifling charges. *Zamacois*, v. 445. Among other measures adopted by the viceroy was one compelling all the religious who were without license to return to Spain. He also enforced a law forbidding creoles to serve among the troops in Vera Cruz. During his administration the condition of the natives did not improve. They suffered most in the missions of Rio Verde and Tampico, and in Nuevo Leon. There the Spaniards robbed them of their wives and daughters, sold their young children as slaves, and deprived them of their best lands. The friars appealed to the king in their behalf, but to little purpose. *Id.*, 263–4.

note occurred during his administration, but the next seven years form an exciting epoch in the annals of the capital.

During this time New Spain was governed by Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, conde de Galve, a gentleman of the royal bed-chamber, and knight of the order of Alcántara.[4] He arrived at Vera Cruz, accompanied by his wife,[5] on the 18th of September 1688, and about two months later took formal possession of office.[6]

One of his first acts was to adopt measures for the extermination of the corsairs, whose increasing numbers and daring kept the coast settlements, both in the North and South seas, in constant alarm.[7] Soon after his arrival he applied to the church authorities for money to aid in making the necessary preparations, to which appeal the archbishop and several of the bishops responded with contributions amounting to nearly eighty-nine thousand pesos.[8] Hardly had he assumed office when news reached the capital of the capture by corsairs of Acaponeta, a small town on the coast of Nueva Galicia. Besides a quantity of silver the enemy carried off many prisoners, including forty women and two friars, an outrage which caused the viceroy at once to despatch an expedition in their pursuit. Troops were sent from Mexico City, and there being no other vessel available, a Peruvian frigate, recently arrived at Acapulco, was ordered to go in search of the enemy. The capture of Acapo-

[4] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 72; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 4; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 27; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 265. By some authorities his name is variously given as Gaspar de Silva Cerda; Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silva y Mendoza. *Robles, Diario*, i. 500; *Parian, Col. Doc.*, 16.

[5] Doña Elvira de Toledo, daughter of the marqués de Villafranca. *Robles, Diario*, i. 500.

[6] On November 20th. He made his public entry December 4th. *Robles, Diario*, i. 501–2, 505–6; or, according to *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 72, Sept. 17th; in this statement Cavo is followed by *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 27. See also *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 265; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 217.

[7] While en route to Vera Cruz he captured a corsair frigate in the gulf of Mexico. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 3.

[8] The archbishop and his clergy gave 80,000 pesos; the bishop of Puebla 5,700; of Guadalajara 1,700, and of Oajaca 1,500. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 268.

neta occurred on the 14th of November; twelve days later the news was received at the capital, and on the 17th of December following the frigate sailed. Notwithstanding this prompt action, however, nothing was accomplished, the frigate returning to Acapulco about the middle of February without even having sighted the enemy.

The corsairs still continued to hover off the coast, and a general council was held in the capital, on the 8th of May, to concert further measures for their pursuit.[9] Twelve days later it was ascertained that they had sailed for Peru, having released all their prisoners excepting three men, one of them a Franciscan friar. Nevertheless preparations were continued; troops were again sent from the capital, and a small fleet sailed about the middle of August from Acapulco to cruise along the coast. These expeditions continued until 1692, but without other apparent result than to cause the pirates, at least for the time being, to abandon the coast.[10]

At this time there was not a single craft of any kind for the defence of the long coast line from Tehuantepec to Sinaloa. Before the end of August, 1692, two well equipped vessels, built in Guatemala by order of the viceroy, and intended for coast-guard service, were anchored in the port of Acapulco. During the remainder of Galve's rule, there is no evidence that the corsairs again appeared on the coast of the South Sea.

In consequence of the renewal of war with France, in 1689, the Spanish crown ordered the viceroy to take all possible means to strengthen the defenses of New Spain; and to make reprisals on the French, by confiscating their property, and banishing from the country all subjects of that nation except those engaged in the mechanic arts. In accordance with these

[9] Partly in consequence of the receipt of intelligence by the viceroy that the corsairs had cut off the nose of one of the friars held as prisoners.

[10] *Robles, Diario*, i. 506, 510; ii. 8–9, 14–15, 18, 27–8, 34, 106–7; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 5.

instructions the oidores began on the 10th of September to imprison French subjects in the city of Mexico, and to seize their effects. Meanwhile Galve forwarded supplies to all military posts, on the seaboard as well as on the frontier, strengthening their garrisons, and providing for the prompt payment of the troops, this matter having heretofore been neglected. The feeble Spanish garrison of Campeche, constantly threatened by the wood-cutters of the bay of Términos, was reenforced, and received a supply of ammunition and vessels of war. Men, money, and arms were also forwarded to the governors of Yucatan and Tabasco, whose territory was constantly exposed to invasion by corsairs. After several unsuccessful expeditions they succeeded in expelling the wood-cutters before the end of 1692, but they returned a few years later.[11] About the same time the viceroy attempted, but in vain, to drive them from the gulf of Mexico, and although the armada de Barlovento and other Spanish cruisers frequently made prizes, sometimes of considerable value, they could not prevent the corsairs from capturing, at intervals, Spanish vessels of still greater value.[12]

Thus while the viceroy had been partially successful in his operations against the corsairs, all his efforts to drive them from the North Sea were of little avail. Nor could any other result be expected, while, in the islands of the West Indies, their numbers increased from year to year, and no attempt was made to strike at the root of the evil. The island of Santo Domingo was a favorable rendezvous of French pirates, and the crown having resolved to attempt their expulsion, intrusted the undertaking to Viceroy Galve. Extensive preparations were begun in 1689, and the following year the armada de Barlovento, then composed of six ships of the line and a frigate, sailed from Vera

[11] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 22, 49; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 3–5; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 266, 268, 272; *Carrillo, El orígen de Belice*, in *Boletin, Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 3a ep. iv. 260–1.

[12] For details see *Robles, Diario*, ii. 6, 15, 17–18, 46, 79, 144–6, 169.

Cruz, carrying two thousand six hundred troops. Landing at the northern end of Santo Domingo, near Cape Frances, they were joined by seven hundred men from the Spanish settlements. The French, apprised of their landing, though greatly inferior in numbers, rashly gave them battle, and were routed with a loss of five hundred men, the almost impenetrable woods alone saving their force from annihilation. Having destroyed several towns, including the city of Guarico, captured a number of vessels, and taken many prisoners, the expedition returned to Vera Cruz in March 1691, avoiding the more powerful French settlements on the east coast of the island. In honor of this success a thanksgiving service was celebrated in the capital, and a full account of the expedition was soon after written and published by the celebrated Mexican author, Cárlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.

In 1695 a combined expedition of Spaniards and English, the latter having now made common cause against a mutual foe, attacked the French settlements of Santo Domingo, destroyed their forts, captured eighty-one pieces of cannon, and laid waste two settlements.[13]

The French were, at this time, the most enterprising foe with whom the Spaniards had to contend, and several years before the events just described had attempted to establish settlements on the mainland, which might serve as a base for future operations. As early as 1684 the Spaniards, by the capture of a vessel off Santo Domingo, had learned of the expedition of La Salle, of which mention will be made in its place, but no attempt to thwart him appears to have been made until two years later, although in 1685 the report reached Mexico that a French colony had been founded on Espíritu Santo Bay. The earlier expeditions sent in search of this colony failed to find any traces of it or of the lost vessels, but in 1687 the

[13] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 73–8, 85–6; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 265, 271–3, 278; *Robles, Diario*, ii. 56; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 5–6.

wreck of one of La Salle's ships was discovered, though owing to its inland and secluded position the settlement escaped the search of the Spaniards. The following year, however, the arrival at Coahuila of a deserter from the colony removed all doubts as to its existence.

Accordingly in March 1689, by order of Viceroy Galve, an expedition under the command of Alonso de Leon, governor of Coahuila, set out with the Frenchman as guide, for the bay of Espíritu Santo. A month later they reached the fort, only to find it deserted. Of the twenty colonists left by La Salle more than half had succumbed to disease, or had been slain by the natives. The survivors were scattered among the neighboring tribes, and two of them having surrendered to the Spaniards the governor returned. Encouraged by his report as to the peaceable disposition of the natives, Galve despatched another expedition in 1690 under the same leader, for the purpose of establishing missions, three Franciscan friars being among the number. Two missions were founded near the river now known as the Neches, where the ecclesiastics met with a friendly reception.

In consequence of the reports of the viceroy, the crown determined on the permanent occupation of this territory, and ordered that steps be at once taken for that purpose. Early in 1691, a strong force was despatched by sea and land, and the country explored toward the north; but no settlements or missions were founded, although numerous settlers and friars accompanied the troops, and before the end of the year all returned to Vera Cruz except a few soldiers and a portion of the ecclesiastics.

The loss of crops by drought and flood; the disappearance of live-stock; the withdrawal of the native converts; the excesses of the soldiery, and the consequent hostility of the savages were among the causes which soon afterward compelled the evacuation of the country, and no further attempt to occupy this terri-

tory was made by either Spaniards or French during the next twenty years.[14]

About this time the occupation of Pensacola had been resolved upon, partly with a view to check the further encroachments of the French, and an expedition having been sent from Vera Cruz in 1693 to examine the bay and select a site, the following year troops, colonists, and supplies were landed, and the erection of a fort and town was immediately begun. In 1696 both town and fortifications were complete, and the name of Santa María was given to the bay and colony.[15]

Notwithstanding some drawbacks, the administration of Viceroy Galve up to 1691 had given general satisfaction, and the arrival in November of a decree extending his term of office was made the occasion for a public rejoicing. But this second term proved to be as disastrous as the previous one had been for the most part prosperous. Shortly before its commencement inundation and famine had visited the fair valley of Mexico.

Contrary to custom, on the death, in 1689, of the queen, Doña María Luisa, wife of Cárlos II., the usual funeral ceremonies and mourning were omitted,[16] but not so the festivities which, a year later, were celebrated with extraordinary splendor in honor of the marriage of the king with Mariana de Neoburgo.

These brilliant festivities were, however, interrupted on the 9th of June by a sudden freshet which swept down into the valley, carrying away houses and cattle, destroying in its course the wheat crops and the flour stored in the mills, and inundating for a time the western portion of the city. With the exception of a slight rain on the preceding day the weather in the city and its vicinity had for months

[14] A more detailed account is given in *Hist. North Mex. States*, this series.

[15] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 83–6; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 100–11; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 273, 276.

[16] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., vi. 80–1.

been fair, and although rain at this early period was unusual, the storm which raged on the morning of the 9th among the mountains to the west of the valley gave no cause for apprehension. In that region, however, the rains were so heavy that many natives and cattle were carried away by the flood, and the waters of the swollen streams were precipitated in torrents into the valley below. Fortunately precautions had been taken against such a catastrophe by the viceroy and by several of his predecessors, whose efforts have already been related, and the waters soon subsided.

A month later, however, a more serious flood occurred. On the 11th of July a heavy rain began, and continued without interruption until the 22d. The whole valley was now inundated, together with a large portion of the city, and communication with the surrounding country was for several days cut off, causing a scarcity of provisions in the capital. Upon the cessation of the rains the viceroy caused abundant supplies to be brought to the city in canoes, and the archbishop displayed his usual charity by ministering to the wants of the starving natives.

Galve now gave his attention to the improvement of the drainage system, causing the sewers of the city to be cleaned and extended, new ones to be opened, and repairs made on the canal of Huehuetoca. The natural channels of the streams were cleared of obstructions and widened, an outlet opened for the pent-up waters, and all this accomplished in an incredibly short time, the viceroy animating the laborers by his frequent presence, and even expending his private funds on some portions of the work.

But a more serious calamity now began to threaten the capital. Previous to the 23d of August the grain crop in its vicinity which had escaped destruction from flood gave promise of a bountiful harvest. But on this date a total eclipse of the sun occurred, accompanied by intense cold, and almost immediately the

rapidly ripening wheat was attacked by the *chiahuiztli*,[17] and the greater part destroyed.

The eclipse occurred about nine o'clock in the morning. For three quarters of an hour the city was shrouded in almost total darkness, during which the greatest confusion and consternation prevailed.[18] To the superstitious and already excited minds of the lower classes this phenomenon appeared as an evil omen, a belief which subsequent events only served to confirm.

With the loss of the wheat crop the consumption of corn increased, its price being further advanced by the partial failure of the crop, due to excessive moisture and cold. The situation was indeed critical. Maize was the food staple of the natives, and since the loss of the wheat crop the tortilla had taken the place of wheat bread, not only among all the lower and laboring classes of the capital, but also to some extent among the wealthy.[19] Such was now the increasing scarcity that by the beginning of September the price of wheat had more than doubled. The

[17] According to Sigüenza, *Carta al Almirante*, MS., 28, who submitted the wheat to a microscopic examination, this is a small insect, a mere speck to the naked eye, the size of a needle point, with legs like those of a flea, and wings resembling those of a weevil. Myriads of them were seen on each ear of wheat, and spread with astonishing rapidity. He states that pulgon, or aphis, is the meaning given this word in the Mexican vocabulary. Molina, in his *Vocabulario*, pt. ii. 19, to which Sigüenza probably refers, writes the word *chiauitl*, which he renders in Spanish, 'Otro biuoro, o pulgon q̄ roe las viñas'—worm or aphis which destroys vineyards. Robles, *Diario*, ii., writes it chahuistle, describing it as a worm which attacks the roots, and this term is also probably taken from Molina's definition. In modern times the usual form of the word is that given by Robles, and it is generally applied to rust in grain.

[18] Stars of the first, second, and third magnitude were visible; dogs howled; birds, with frightened cries, flew wildly about; cocks crew; women and children screamed; the native women in the plaza abandoned their stalls and fled in terror to the cathedral; and the excitement and dread were increased by the ringing of the church bells for prayers throughout the city. *Sigüenza y Góngora*, *Carta*, MS., 27–8; *Robles*, *Diario*, ii. 66.

[19] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 79, is not altogether to be relied on. Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, *MS.*, 31, whose statements are to be preferred, for reasons which will hereafter be shown, says, 'jamas le faltó á la republica el pan con la pension de caro, porque (ya que otra cossa no se podia), se acomodaron los pobres y plebeyos á comer tortillas (ya sabe vmd. que asi se nombra el pan de maiz por aquestas parttes) y a los criados de escalera auajo de casi todas las cassas de Mexico se les rasionaua con ellas.'

bakers in consequence refused any longer to make bread, for at the price at which they were compelled to sell it they found the business unprofitable, and a disturbance was averted only by the prompt measures taken by the viceroy to insure a sufficient supply.[20]

Murmurs began to be heard on all sides, and notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the viceroy to provide a supply of grain the suspicious and unreasoning populace would not credit the reported failure of the crops until a special commissioner was sent into the valley to verify the report. From the beginning Galve adopted every measure that experience and prudence could suggest to prevent or at least mitigate the suffering and dangers of a prolonged famine. Officials were sent among the farmers of the valley and interior districts to purchase all the surplus grain, and with orders to seize it if necessary. The sale of grain and flour in the city by private individuals was forbidden, all that could be found being collected by the government for distribution at the public granary.[21] The use and cultivation of the *trigo blanquillo* which was unwisely forbidden in 1677,[22] was also permitted, the viceroy having induced the church authorities to remove the interdict against it.

The public granary was now placed in charge of the municipal authorities, and grain could be purchased only there. In November of 1691, the daily allowance for each individual was one *quartilla*,[23] and the daily consumption from one thousand to thirteen hundred fanegas.[24] In the surrounding country the suffer-

[20] The difficulty with the bakers occurred on the 13th of Sept., and on the following day there was no bread to be had. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 67; *Carta de un Religioso*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 310–11.

[21] 'Sabado 15' (Sept.), 'embargó el corregidor toda la harina á Hurtado y á Guerto y la trajo á la alhóndiga.' *Robles, Diario*, ii. 67.

[22] The *trigo blanquillo* was a species of wheat, chiefly cultivated in the bishopric of puebla, of enormous yield, and superior in every respect to all other kinds produced in New Spain. For some reason not clearly explained it was denounced as unwholesome, and its use and cultivation prohibited under heavy penalties by both government and church. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 60–1; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 37–9; *Carta de un Religioso*, 312.

[23] Equal to about two quarts.

[24] A fanega is about equivalent to a bushel and a half.

ing was still greater than in the city, as the governor having seized most of their grain, many of the inhabitants were compelled to beg food in the capital.

Meanwhile the viceroy did not relax his efforts to maintain the supply. In April 1692, a meeting of the principal civil and ecclesiastical authorities was called for this purpose, and commissioners were kept constantly busy in the neighboring districts as well as in those more remote, collecting and forwarding corn. In May an abundant crop of wheat was harvested from the irrigated lands in the valley, and under the belief that the prevailing high price would induce the farmers to bring their grain to the capital permission for its free sale was given. Many, however, sold it elsewhere, and this, together with the partial failure in the remoter districts, owing to a snow storm early in April—a rare occurrence in the valley of Mexico—caused the stock in the capital to run low toward the end of May. Vigorous measures were now required, and fresh commissioners were despatched with orders to confiscate all grain wherever found. The daily allowance of corn in the city was also reduced, although a sufficient quantity of grain was obtained by the commissioners to insure a moderate supply until the next harvest.

By this time the price of grain had increased so enormously that a load of wheat which usually sold for three or five pesos could not now be purchased for less than twenty-four pesos.[25]

[25] The load of corn which was ordinarily sold at about two and a quarter pesos, was now worth seven. The loaf of wheaten bread usually weighed sixteen ounces, and was sold for half a real. Its price continued the same, but its weight was now reduced to seven ounces. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta,* MS., 29, 41–2; *Robles, Diario,* ii. 72–3; *Carta de un Religioso,* 312.

CHAPTER XIII.

CORN RIOT IN THE CAPITAL.

1692–1696.

INCREASED MURMURS—RUMORED GRAIN SPECULATIONS OF THE VICEROY—AN IMPRUDENT PREACHER—THE LÉPEROS—PULQUE SHOPS—INEFFICIENT FORCES AT COMMAND—AWAITING OPPORTUNITY—AFFAIR AT THE GRANARY—THE VICEROY THREATENED—OUTBREAK—DEATH TO THE OFFICIALS!—THE PALACE SET ON FIRE—THE PLAZA STALLS ALSO FIRED—ROBBERY AND MURDER—EXECUTIONS—REVOLT AT TLASCALA—SALE OF PULQUE PROHIBITED—REBUILDING OF THE PALACE—AFFAIRS IN NEW MEXICO.

THE suppressed murmurs of the populace previously heard against the government, now gave place to complaints in which the viceroy was openly accused of speculating in grain; and notwithstanding the publicity of all his measures and the character of the persons commissioned for the collection and distribution of supplies this unjust charge gained a ready credence among the natives and lower classes. This grave accusation and the hostile attitude toward the government to which it gave rise were encouraged by the imprudent language of a Franciscan friar, during a sermon preached in the cathedral at the beginning of Easter. Notwithstanding the presence of the viceroy, oidores, and the officials of the various tribunals, he alluded in such terms to the existing scarcity as to confirm the suspicions of his audience, who loudly applauded him.[1]

[1] Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 40, states that he preached 'no lo que se deuia para consolar al pueblo en la carestia sino lo que se dictó por la imprudencia para irritarlo.' Robles, *Diario*, ii. 122, who confirms the foregoing, states that the friar's name was Antonio de Escaray.

The populace, urged by the pangs of hunger and by their fancied grievances, were now in a mood which boded ill for the peace and safety of the capital. Yet, although previous outbreaks had shown their turbulent nature, no precaution whatever appears to have been taken to guard against a disturbance. Affairs were ripe for an outbreak. The city was divided into nine wards, six of which were inhabited wholly by natives having their own governors. The total population was over one hundred and forty thousand, of whom the Spaniards and mixed races formed but a small proportion. A large part of the lower classes were idle and dissolute, and among them were many criminals. The name *saramullos* was then applied to them and later they were called *léperos.*[2]

The usual resorts of this class were the shops where pulque was sold, and the *baratillo,*[3] where the natives also congregated, and where all plotted against and denounced the government at will, free from the interference of the officers of justice.[4]

The natives at this period, especially the men, were restless, indolent, and vicious, and so addicted to the use of pulque, the consumption of which had never been so great, that all contemporary writers concur in affirming that they were daily under its influence. They were the chief complainers against the government, and were constantly encouraged by the saramullos, who eagerly desired an outbreak because of the opportunity thus afforded them for plunder.

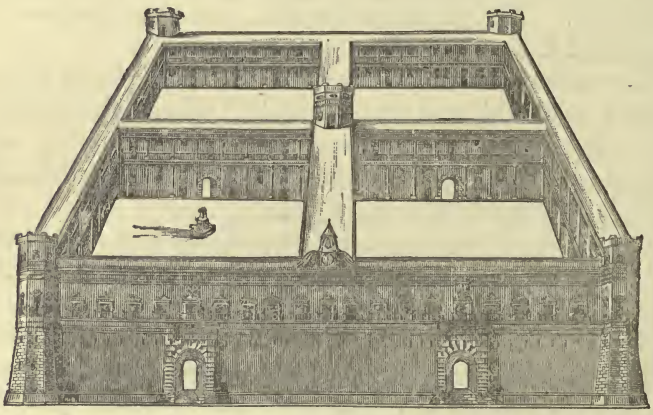
To oppose these dangerous elements there was in

[2] 'La poblacion...de las grandes ciudades interiores de la colonia, cuya mayoría inmensa se componia entónces, como se compone todavía hoy por desgracia, de esa plebe vagamunda y degradada por la ignorancia y la miseria, conocida con el infamante apodo de léperos.' *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 366. See also *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta,* MS., 37.

[3] A shop or collection of shops in the main plaza where cheap and second-class wares were sold, and where stolen articles were also disposed of. It was frequented by vagabonds and criminals, and several attempts had already been made by the authorities to abolish it. *Rivera, Diario,* 72; *Robles, Diario,* ii. 26. The baratillo was not abolished until several years later, although a cédula prohibiting it was published in November 1689.

[4] 'Las pulquerias donde por condision iníqua y contra Dios que se le concedió al Asentista no entra justicia.' *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta,* MS., 42.

the capital but a single company of infantry, of less than one hundred men, who did duty as palace guard, and even these were indifferently armed and equipped. There was no artillery, no store of small arms and ammunition, and no organized militia. The better class of Spaniards for the most part possessed weapons of their own, but as subsequent events showed, they would not act together in time of need. Without the city the nearest available troops were the distant garrisons of Acapulco and Vera Cruz. Not even an organized police force existed which could be made available in quelling an incipient outbreak.



Palace of Mexico.

The palace, as shown by the accompanying plan, was provided with loopholes for infantry and embrasures for cannon, but in the disturbance which followed there was nothing to indicate that artillery was placed there. In the construction of the other buildings of the capital there was no provision made for their defence save that afforded by the thick walls, heavy barred doors, and strong shutters and iron bars of the windows;[5] but these were common to most

[5] Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 49, summarizes this condition of affairs as the 'culpabilisimo descuido con que vivimos entre tanta pleue al mismo tiempo que presumimos de formidables.'

Spanish houses, and of course ineffectual against the attacks of a mob, unless a strong armed force were stationed within.

Although the greater portion of the dwellings with their massive walls of stone or adobe, their tiled roofs, and solid doors, afforded some protection for life and property in the event of a riot, the immense quantity of merchandise contained in the stalls situated in the main plaza had no such protection. Here were built without order two hundred and eighty light wooden structures, styled *cajones*, in which native and foreign wares of all descriptions were sold. Among them and scattered over other portions of the public square were numberless booths of canes and rushes, for the sale of fruit, vegetables, and provisions, giving to this plaza, which was one of the finest in the world, the appearance of an irregular village of huts.

In 1658 several of the stalls were destroyed by fire, and during the confusion which ensued many were plundered. In the following year orders were given for the plaza to be cleared of both stalls and booths,[6] but the danger from fire and thieves being quickly forgotten, they were soon restored to their former location. Later the attention of the authorities was called to the danger to which this collection of unguarded inflammable structures was exposed, but with their usual apathy they paid no heed to the matter until a second and greater disaster compelled the application of a permanent remedy.

Such was the condition of the capital in the beginning of June 1692. Though the scarcity of grain still continued, the careful distribution of the supply daily received at the public granary sufficed to keep starvation from the city. The natives, however, daily grew bolder and more insolent, and awaited but a pretext to revolt, encouraged, as they were, by the

[6] The stalls were removed to the Plazuela del Marqués which opens into the main plaza, and the booths to the Plazuela de la Universidad. *Dicc. Univ.*, v. 737.

inaction of the authorities which they construed into fear.[7]

The desired opportunity soon arrived. On Friday June 7th the corn at the public granary gave out at six o'clock in the evening, whereupon several native women who remained to be served, gave vent to their disappointment in shrill outcries and insulting epithets. On the following day they were still more disorderly, shouting, fighting, pushing, and crowding each other, so as to make it impossible for the officers to proceed with the distribution. Taking advantage of this confusion, several attempted to help themselves to corn, whereupon one of the officials, finding peaceful measures ineffectual, seized a whip, and by laying it on right and left succeeded in driving them back. In a few minutes, however, they surged forward again, headed by one more daring than the rest. The official again made use of his whip, and seizing a cane rained a shower of blows on the head and shoulders of the leader and her companions. Exasperated by this treatment, some of them seized their leader, and raising her on their shoulders rushed out of the granary, whence, followed by nearly two hundred of their companions, they hastened across the plaza to the palace of the archbishop and demanded to see him. The attendants refused, but listened to their complaints, consoled them as best they could, and dismissed them. Not content with this reception, the crowd, still carrying the injured woman, proceeded to the viceregal palace, filling its lower corridors and clamoring for an interview with the viceroy. On being told that he was absent, they tried to force their way into the viceregal apartments, but were pushed back by the guards. Thereupon they returned to the archiepiscopal palace, not a single man having joined them thus far, and were met by the primate.

[7] In the public granary the Indian women were sometimes served before a Spaniard, and this confirmed the natives in their belief that the authorities were afraid of them. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 42.

To him they repeated their complaints, adding that the injured woman had just died. Through an interpreter he sought to pacify them, and despatched a messenger to the granary officials, requesting that the Indians should in future be treated with more consideration. After another fruitless attempt to obtain an interview with the viceroy, the tumult ended for that day.[8]

On the return of the viceroy in the evening he gave orders that in future an oidor should be present during the distribution of corn, for to a lack of system in this matter the outbreak was attributed. Instructions were also issued to the captain of the palace guard to take every precaution to prevent any repetition of the disturbance. Pikes were to be made ready, ammunition to be distributed to the troops, and all fire-arms to be kept loaded.[9] No uproar occurred during the night, nor does any attempt appear to have been made by the authorities to ascertain the state of affairs in the native wards or among the saramullos. On the following day, the 8th of June,[10] the native women appeared as usual at the public granary, and with the exception of pushing and crowding in their attempt to gain the foremost place, the presence

[8] A somewhat different version of this affair is given in the *Carta de un Religioso*, 315. There it is stated that but one visit was made to the archbishop, who advised that one or two of them should go and lay the matter before the viceroy, but that his counsel was disregarded, and the women dispersed to their homes. This author, however, was a recluse friar, and, although a contemporaneous writer, derived his information from others, while Sigüenza y Góngora, whose version I have adopted, was a prominent man, on intimate terms with the viceroy and other government officials, and one of the most celebrated writers of the period.

[9] According to the *Carta de un Religioso*, 315-16, previously cited, the viceroy upon learning of the occurrence immediately sent for the corregidor, whom he ordered to investigate the complaints, and severely punish the distributors of corn. The corregidor, however, soon returned declaring that the charges of the Indian women against the officials at the granary were false, nothing unusual having occurred there during the day. Reassured by this statement and the opinion of several gentlemen that it was only a drunken affair of the natives, the viceroy contented himself with ordering that an official of his own selection should superintend the distribution on the following day.

[10] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 81, erroneously gives June 9th as the date, and Zamacois, *Hist. Mex.*, v. 458, x. 1362, that of June 18th. This latter, however, though occurring in two different places, is evidently a misprint.

of the oidor prevented a repetition of the previous disorder. During the early hours quiet reigned throughout the city, and the authorities, fearing no danger, neglected to take further precautions.

The viceroy, however, was ill at ease. Leaving his breakfast untouched, he repaired to the convent of Santo Domingo to hear mass, and his appearance was greeted with a murmur of disapproval by the assembled worshippers, who regarded him as the cause of their present sufferings. About four o'clock in the afternoon he attended service at the Augustine convent, and thence proceeded, as was his custom, to the convent of San Francisco. The usual procession ended, he entered the convent to converse with the friars, when suddenly the sound of tumult, accompanied by the report of fire-arms, was heard. The viceroy started up to go to the palace, but in this he was prevented by his few attendants, and by the friars, who, gathering about him, represented the danger of such an attempt, the streets being already filled with excited natives, who with loud cries were hurrying from all quarters toward the plaza.

But five hundred fanegas of corn were received at the public granary on this day, and by five o'clock in the afternoon the supply was exhausted, while there were still many to be served. This caused a great commotion among the native women, during which one of them fell to the ground, whether intentionally is not known, and was trampled upon and injured by her companions.

The rôle of the previous day is again performed, but with more fatal results. The injured woman is placed on the back of an Indian, who runs with her to the baratillo, and thence, having been joined by a number of the saramullas, to the palace of the archbishop, the crowd following with wild cries and shouts of rage. A demand to see the archbishop is again made, and is again denied by the attendants, whereupon they are

assailed with the vilest language. Growing impatient at the non-appearance of the archbishop the constantly increasing mob proceeds across the plaza to the viceregal palace, the women taking up a position at the corners of the streets.[11] Then they begin to abuse the viceroy in set terms, and to throw stones at the balcony of the viceregal apartments, which are soon destroyed. After some delay a dozen or more of the guard appear, and joined by an equal number of volunteers charge the rioters, now mustering about two hundred. The latter fly for refuge to the stalls and the cathedral cemetery, but being reënforced rally and drive back their assailants. A few of the guard ascend to the roof and fire blank catridges. This of course only emboldens the rioters, who answer with shouts of derision and volleys of stones.

As the first party return from their charge, driven back by overwhelming numbers, a squad of soldiers come forward, and are joined by the count of Santiago and a few other gentlemen; but the rioters are now assembled in such force that the troops are compelled again to retire. It is then resolved to close the palace doors, which is done with such haste that two or three of the guard are shut out, and are seized and torn in pieces.[12] A shout of triumph arises from the

[11] Robles, *Diario*, ii. 88, in his account of the events which led to the outbreak makes no mention of the disturbance of the 7th, and in regard to that of the 8th states that the attendants of the archbishop sent them to the viceregal palace, whence they were driven away by the guard. For the reasons already stated preference is given to the version of Sigüenza y Góngora, which is, with few exceptions, followed for this and all subsequent events relating to these troubles. According to the *Carta de un Religioso*, the archbishop appeared and denied that they had any cause to complain against the viceroy, whose every effort was directed to maintain the supply of grain.

[12] Robles, *Diario*, ii. 88–9, states that by the advice of the attendants at the archiepiscopal palace the Indians proceeded to the viceregal palace whence, having been refused admittance by the guard, they went to their homes, with the exception of some twenty who persisted on entering, and the guard continuing to oppose them they began to storm the palace doors and balconies. The ensign with nine soldiers charged and drove back the rioters, now reënforced by over two hundred, but was compelled to retreat with the loss of two men. The doors were then closed. According to the *Carta de un Religioso*, the captain of the guard led three charges, being severely wounded in the third by a blow from a stone. It is there stated that the Indians had bows and arrows, blunderbusses, pistols, and knives, and that their intention was to set fire to the palace, and rob the royal treasury.

crowd, now numbering ten thousand.[13] "Death to the viceroy and corregidor," they cry, "death to those who have all the corn and are killing us with hunger!" It is half past six; and though thirty minutes have scarcely elapsed since the beginning of hostilities, the plaza is filled with the populace. Eager for plunder they join in the cries against the government, shouting, "Death to the viceroy and all who defend him!" while the echo from hundreds swells the uproar, "Death to the Spaniards and gachupines who are eating our corn!"[14]

At this juncture the archbishop approaches on foot with uplifted cross, and surrounded by his attendants. Little regard is shown him, however, for his coachman, who was sent on before, is knocked from his seat by a stone, and missiles begin to fall so thickly that the primate and his companions are glad to make good their escape. The guards in the palace make no further attempt to disperse the rioters. After some thirty shots from the roof, firing ceases; for not only are many of the soldiers disabled, but their ammunition is exhausted.

The rioters continue to storm the palace, but finding that little harm is done they resolve to burn it down, no longer fearing those within. The booths in the plaza afford an abundance of combustible material, and dry rushes and reeds are soon heaped against the wooden doors and set ablaze. The city hall is also fired; and while some are thus engaged, others seize the coach of the corregidor, whose residence forms a portion of that building, set fire to it, and with the mules attached drive it in triumph around the plaza, finally killing the wildly affrighted animals. The corregidor and his wife are fortunately absent; else their

[13] This sudden increase in the numbers of the mob, from 200 to 10,000, is accounted for by the fact that the plaza could be reached within less than half an hour from all parts of the city.

[14] According to Robles, at the first alarm most of the Spaniards shut themselves up in their houses, whence but few issued till the riot was over. *Diario*, ii. 90. Sigüenza y Góngora fails to account for this lack of courage on the part of his countrymen.

lives were lost. The opportunity for plunder sought for by the saramullos has arrived. With the exception of the burning of the gallows, also situated in the plaza, none of the lower classes appear to have taken part with the natives in the work of destruction, but there is little doubt that they were the chief instigators in the matter. Almost simultaneously with the burning of the palace the adjacent stalls are set on fire.

And now follows a scene which no pen can fully describe. It is between seven and eight o'clock, and the spacious plaza is made as light as day by the conflagration. Filling the plaza and adjoining streets, the maddened populace may be seen surging to and fro in dense masses like an angry sea, and above the roar of the flames rise hoarse shouts of exultation as the work of destruction goes on. Few Spaniards are visible. From the palace corridors, with despairing form and features, the archbishop and his attendants gaze in silence, while on the outskirts of the plaza groups of citizens watch in speechless terror the progress of the conflagration. Suddenly the cry is raised, "To the stalls!" "To the stalls!" and the human sea surges in that direction. The places where hardware was sold are first attacked, and knives, machetes, and iron bars secured, the last named for defense as well as for breaking open doors. And now let chaos come; innocent and guilty, friend and foe, are one; robbery and rape, fire and blood; the people have become raving maniacs! As fast as the houses are broken open and robbed the torch is applied. Gradually the infuriated yells sink to a low murderous hum of voices, interrupted only by the crash of falling buildings. Rapidly the flames spread, and by the lurid light may be seen the dusky forms of the rioters flitting in and out and among the buildings, or disappearing in the darkness laden with plunder.

A singular phase of riot and robbery now presents itself. Among the rabble are many owners of stalls

who dare not openly protect their property, yet are unable to witness its loss with indifference. Merchants yesterday they are robbers now, and may as well rob themselves as be robbed by their comrades. So they join in the attack on their own stalls, being sometimes the first to enter, and if possible to seize and carry to a place of safety some of their own effects. Others, affecting an air of resignation, encourage the pillage of their stalls, and then stealthily follow the plunderer and relieve him of his load by a sudden blow or deadly thrust. Many of the rioters are run through at the entrance to the streets by the groups of exasperated Spaniards, as they are tauntingly defied by the passing rabble, and not a few perish in the flames.

While the many are thus engaged, a few hasten to the palace of the marqués del Valle, to fire it. The flames have reached the balconies, when the treasurer of the cathedral, Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza, arrives accompanied by a few ecclesiastics, and bearing the uncovered host. All other means proving unavailing, this pious proceeding is adopted, in the hope of saving the city. Exhortations accompany the act of elevating; and finally a number of the more religious rascals temporarily extinguish the flames in the palace of the marqués. Here, however, their forbearance ceases, for they at once hurry away to join their companions in the work of plunder elsewhere. To add to the solemn terror of the occasion all the bells begin to ring, but it is the call to prayers, and not to arms. Following the example of the cathedral treasurer, the religious orders next appear marching in procession, with uplifted crosses and solemn chants. Their efforts, however, avail but little; they are greeted with a shower of stones, and dispersed; and although singly or in groups they continue their exhortations in different parts of the plaza, the rioters disregard them, or reply with jeers.

These exciting events have occupied but a short

time, for it is yet hardly nine, and the plaza, which for the last three hours has been thronged with the canaille of the capital, is fast becoming deserted. The rioters have for the most part retired with their plunder, and among the few that remain the religious still continue their fruitless exhortations. Despite the efforts of the guard and those of the few citizens who have ventured to show themselves, the fire in the viceregal palace and city hall still burns, and the stalls and booths are one mass of flames.

At this juncture the count of Santiago with a number of armed citizens, collected by order of the viceroy, appear in the plaza and open fire on the crowd, but are induced to stop by the religious, who declare that many innocent persons will thus be slain. As there is nothing further to be feared from the people remaining in the plaza, the citizens direct their efforts to subduing the flames. With the aid of the prisoners from the palace jail,[15] who have barely escaped with their own lives, and of the inmates of the viceregal palace who are forgotten by the mob while intent on plundering the stalls, everything of value in the viceregal apartments is saved, and the females of the household are conveyed in safety through the plaza to the palace of the archbishop. Prominent among those to whose energy and presence of mind the saving of many valuable papers is due, is Cárlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. Entering the plaza before the flames are kindled, he remains throughout the disturbance, accompanying the bishop on his mission of peace, and later the cathedral treasurer; then helping to fight the fire in the viceregal palace, where he personally rescues important archives, and finally repairing to the city hall in time to snatch from the flames a portion of the cabildo records.

The riot was now virtually at an end, and additional

[15] In consideration of their services the prisoners were all pardoned. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 70–1; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 81–2. Robles, *Diario*, ii. 93–4, says simply that prisoners escaped.

assistance arriving, the further progress of the fire was checked, although it continued to burn fiercely until the following Tuesday. Meanwhile the viceroy was still at the Franciscan convent. At the first alarm the doors of the building were closed, and nothing could induce the terrified inmates to open them, except for the admission of the countess, whose absence had been an additional cause of anxiety. Early in the day she had set out on a visit to the gardens of San Cosme, and was already returning when the outbreak occurred. Upon nearing the plaza the coachman seeing the disturbance turned back and drove hurriedly to the convent, where the countess arrived without mishap. As the riot progressed several persons knocked at the doors for admission, but the friars fearing for the safety of the viceroy and countess refused all admission. Later in the evening several prominent persons came to offer their services to Galve and were admitted.

Informed of the condition of affairs he immediately issued such orders as seemed necessary under the circumstances. As we have seen, the count of Santiago with another official was ordered to summon the citizens and disperse the rioters; the regidor Juan Aguirre de Espinosa received instructions to proceed without delay to the province of Chalco, seize all the corn he could find, and forward it to the city, so that it should arrive by morning; another commissioner was sent to meet the mule train with corn from Celaya, and bring it with all possible speed into the city; all the bakers were notified to make three times the usual quantity of bread, and the butchers and fruit and vegetable dealers were enjoined to provide full supplies for the following day. Next the viceroy despatched couriers to Puebla and other principal towns to warn the authorities, lest the example of the natives in the capital should be followed elsewhere.

Armed citizens patrolled the streets in the Spanish quarters during the remainder of the night, but no

further disturbance occurred. The sun rose upon a mass of smouldering ruins in the plaza, while the bodies of the dead lay scattered here and there among the various articles of plunder dropped by the rioters in their hasty flight. The greater portion of the viceregal palace was destroyed, as were the halls of the audiencia, the jail, and several government offices, containing many valuable documents. The city hall was almost in ruins, and with it perished the greater part of its archives. The public granary and the adjoining buildings also suffered; and but for the timely efforts of the cathedral treasurer the fire would have extended not only to the residence of the marqués del Valle, but also to the archiepiscopal palace and cathedral. The loss of property caused by this outbreak was estimated at three million pesos. The number of lives lost did not exceed fifty, and was possibly not so great; nor is there any evidence to show that excepting the two or three victims among the palace guard, a single Spaniard was seriously injured.[16]

On Monday morning the viceroy and countess, accompanied by the chief authorities, over two hundred mounted gentlemen, and an immense number of the populace, set forth from the Franciscan convent for the plaza, being joined on the way by the archbishop. Having reached the spot the procession marched around it in order that the viceroy and countess might view the ruins, and then proceeded to the palace of the marqués del Valle, where Galve temporarily took up his residence.

There was still much apprehension lest the Indians should return, and this was increased by the discovery

[16] Some contemporary authorities have affirmed that the Indians were provided with all kinds of weapons, but the surprisingly small number of victims among the Spaniards, and the statements of other authorities, one an eyewitness of these events, refute these assertions. Other writers have also sought to give to this outbreak of the natives a more serious character, that of a premeditated attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke, but it is only too evident from their own accounts of the riot, which agree essentially with the facts here given, that they seek to draw attention from the culpable negligence of the authorities. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 41–4, 48–9; *Carta de un Religioso*, 317, 320, 331–3; *Robles, Diario*, ii. 97.

that the native ward of Santiago Tlaltelulco was deserted. The most active measures were therefore taken to prevent another uprising, and for the arrest and punishment of the rioters, and the recovery of the stolen property. Orders were issued for the immediate enrolment of all citizens. Several companies of infantry and cavalry were organized, two of the latter at the expense of the royal treasury.[17] For several days the troops patrolled the streets; and, although save a few false alarms everything remained quiet, the stores and schools continued closed, and for three days no church bells were rung nor service held.[18] The saramullos were to be feared, however, no less than the natives, and their contempt for the authorities was expressed by posting, during the night, in conspicuous places, pasquinades ridiculing them for their want of courage and energy.[19]

Great care was now taken that the supply of grain should not fail; and although for a time there was occasional evidence of scarcity, within two months the weight of bread, which a short time before the beginning of the riot had been reduced to seven ounces, was increased first to ten and finally to fourteen ounces.[20]

[17] Robles, *Diario*, ii. 95–6, 99, says eight companies of cavalry, besides two of mulattoes and two of negroes. A commercial battalion and a company of negroes are mentioned in *Carta de un Religioso*, 329–30, and Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 76, mentions two companies of cavalry only.

[18] On June 9th, and again two days later, considerable fright was caused by the report that a body of armed Indians were entering the city. A reconoissance, however, showed that there was no cause for alarm. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 98–9.

[19] On the morning of the 9th two pasquinades were found, one fastened to the walls of the palace, one of which read, 'Este corral se alquila para gallos de la tierra y gallinas de Castilla;' the other, 'Représentase la comedia famosa de Peor está que estabá.' *Robles, Diario*, ii. 96–7.

[20] During July the retailing of grain was forbidden by both government and church. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 103. According to Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 76–7, on the 9th the viceroy ordered that the whole supply of grain should be distributed gratis among the populace. Meanwhile a vigorous search had been made for the plunder, and resulted in the recovery of a large portion of it, and the arrest of many natives in whose possession it was found. Most of the clothing, dry goods, and other articles stolen from the stalls was, however, found during subsequent days lying on the streets, where it had been thrown during the night, in all probability by the saramullos, for few of them appear to have been arrested. By Tuesday, goods to the value of 70,000 pesos had been recovered and returned to the owners. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 98–9.

Although the saramullos took part in the pillage of the stalls, if not in setting fire to the viceroy's palace, they for the most part escaped punishment, the principal victims being natives. The first execution took place on the 11th of June. Three Indians, taken in the act of setting fire to the palace,[21] were shot in the plaza under the gallows, erected in place of the one destroyed; and in the afternoon their hands were cut off, and some nailed to the gallows, and others to the door-posts of the palace. Between this date and the twenty-first of the following August thirty-six Indians of both sexes and a few mestizos were publicly whipped, and eleven natives and one mestizo were hanged. A Spaniard who took part in the riot, and died of his wounds in hospital, was exposed on the gibbet. The last one put to death was a lame Indian, who was believed to have been the captain of the rioters.[22]

A few days later news was received in the capital of an Indian revolt at Tlascala.[23] The outbreak had taken place on the previous Saturday, that being the usual market-day, on which the inhabitants of the surrounding country repaired to the city to purchase

[21] Four were captured, but one had died on the night of the 10th, either from poison self-administered or from ill-treatment. Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 78, says he committed suicide, but Robles, *Diario*, ii. 98, states 'pero uno se mató antes con veneno, segun se dijo entonces, y parece que del maltrato que le dieron.'

[22] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 98–106. Sigüenza y Góngora, *Carta*, MS., 78, writing August 30th of this year, says that besides the three who were shot, five or six were hanged and one burned; and that a few days afterward many were whipped, while others were detained in prison awaiting trial. In the *Carta de un Religioso*, it is stated that the four Indians captured at the palace were executed on Monday the 9th, and mention is made of the other executions. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 82, says that eight of the populace who were found to have been implicated in the outbreak were executed, and many others condemned to be whipped. He is indorsed by Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 275. The statements of Robles are to be preferred in this instance, as he gives from day to day the more important events of this period. Various decrees were issued relating to the conduct of the natives. On June 10th they were forbidden under penalty of death to collect on the streets in groups of more than five; two days later all those residing in the Spanish quarter were ordered to remove to the native wards, but this ordinance does not appear to have been obeyed until the 15th, when it was repeated.

[23] On the 16th of June, during the absence of the governor and principal lords of Tlascala, who had repaired to the capital to tender their services.

provisions. The load of maize was then worth five pesos, but the natives from two adjoining towns demanded that it should be sold for less, whereupon the alcalde mayor, Fernando de Bustamante, finally consented to make a reduction of one peso. This, however, did not pacify them, and they immediately seized upon the maize lying in the plaza. Without a sufficient force to support his authority, the alcalde mayor knew that it would be vain to oppose them, and they were allowed to carry off the maize unmolested. About midday, however, noting an increasing excitement among the natives, and fearing an outbreak similar to the one in the capital, he caused a drum to be beaten in the streets as a signal for the Spaniards to muster at the city hall. It was now two o'clock, and but six Spaniards had answered the summons, when a large body of natives gathered around the building, and meeting with no opposition, set fire to it. The alcalde and his companions stood to their post until a reënforcement of twenty citizens enabled them to attack and disperse the rioters. Assistance soon arrived from different points, including a company of cavalry from the capital. Order was restored, and the principal rioters punished; but during the disturbance the greater part of the city hall was destroyed, and one hundred natives and three Spaniards killed.[24]

Quiet was now restored[25] in the capital and throughout the kingdom. On the 16th the cabildo met for

[24] Sixty of the rioters were executed. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 80; *Robles, Diario*, ii. 98–104. The *Carta de un Religioso*, 237, gives a somewhat different account. The scene of the riot is placed at Santa Cruz, a native town of some 7,000 inhabitants, in the vicinity of Tlascala. The rioters sought to kill the alcalde mayor, who, however, escaped; the religious appeared with the host, but were stoned and compelled to take refuge in the church; a force of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry was ordered from Vera Cruz; and the Tlascalan Indians sent a message to the viceroy protesting their innocence, and offering to furnish 400 warriors. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, makes no mention of this affair. Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i., gives an erroneous account.

[25] Robles, *Diario*, ii. 103, states that on July 10th intelligence was received at the capital of a riot in Guadalajara, in which two oidores had been stoned. This, however, was no doubt a false rumor, as no further reference is made to it, nor is it mentioned by any other authority.

the first time since the riot, but the sessions of the audiencia were not resumed until the 30th.[26] On this latter date the viceroy made a full report to the crown of the riot and of his subsequent measures, which were approved.[27]

Habitual intoxication among the natives was justly regarded as one of the chief causes of the late outbreak, and the use or sale of pulque in the city was strictly forbidden, though the order was little regarded, and to deprive the natives of a beverage to the use of which they had been accustomed from childhood was a measure of doubtful policy.[28] On the 19th of July, the day on which the manufacture and sale of the liquor was prohibited throughout New Spain under heavy penalties,[29] a mestizo was whipped in the capital for having in his possession a pitcher of pulque.[30] In a few years, however, its use and sale were again permitted.[31]

Neither stalls nor booths were again allowed to be erected in the plaza, and in their place a spacious

[26] The cabildo had selected as temporary council rooms the new hall of the public granary, and the audiencia occupied a portion of the palace. *Parian, Col. Doc.*, 11–13, in *Varios Impresos*, i.; *Robles, Diario*, ii. 102.

[27] *Parian, Col. Doc.*, 14; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.* i. 275. Galve suspended the captain of the palace guard and sent him to the fortress of Ulúa, pending the investigation of his conduct. This act caused no little surprise and comment, as his conduct on the evening of the riot was generally applauded. *Carta de un Religioso*, 388–9. Moreover it was remarked that during the riot the viceroy had remained securely guarded within the walls of a convent. The captain was reinstated. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 96, 100.

[28] The viceroy had previously written to the king in regard to its evil effects, but nothing appears to have been done. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 78. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 82–3, believes that a book written about this time on the evils caused by the excessive use of pulque was due to the influence of Viceroy Galve. See also *Robles, Diario*, ii. 96–7.

[29] The penalty for Spaniards was 200 pesos, and for Indians, whipping and hard labor. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 103–4.

[30] During August the use of mattings in the plaza was prohibited, and on the 15th of this month all roofs composed of shingles were ordered to be removed within 24 hours. All natives were forbidden to appear in the streets of the capital after dark; and a few days later they were forbidden to wear shoes or cloaks. Mestizos were compelled to present themselves, and were not allowed to carry swords. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 103–4. According to Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 82, the Indians were compelled to cut off their forelock, and thereafter to conform to the native custom in the manner of wearing their hair and dress.

[31] The baratillo was not finally abolished until 1696. *Cédulas Reales*, MS., ii. 173.

stone building was begun in 1695, and, with the exception of certain parts of its interior, finished in 1703. It was first called the Alcaicería de la Plaza Mayor, because built after the manner of the raw silk market in Manila. Its name was soon afterward changed to the Parian.[32]

During the next year nothing worthy of note occurred in the capital.[33] In 1693 the rebuilding of the palace was begun, and in course of time this structure assumed magnificent proportions. Although occupied in 1697 by Viceroy Montezuma, it was not completed until nearly a hundred years later.[34]

About the end of the eighteenth century the palace is described as a magnificent building, covering four squares, and exceeding in extent the largest building in Madrid. It had a handsome façade, and within were three courtyards, each communicating with the other. Facing the largest of the three were situated the halls of the audiencia, with all its offices, and those of the other tribunals. This was called the palace court to distinguish it from the others, and a fountain, whose central figure was a bronze horse, occupied its center. Here also was the principal entrance to the palace. Adjoining this court was that on which the viceregal apartments faced, a series of spacious rooms occupying the upper portion of the building and

[32] So called because its interior resembled that of the oriental bazaar. In 1703 the building, with 98 stalls, was completed, at a cost of 97,652 pesos; between 1757 and 1794 83 more were added, making in all 181 stalls, and the total cost of the building 141,570 pesos. *Parian, Col. Doc.*, 1–2, 22, 49; *Dicc. Univ.*, v. 738–9.

[33] The maintenance of order in the city was henceforth assured by the organization of two regiments of militia. Notwithstanding the frequent orders of the crown, the two cavalry companies formed on the 9th of June and supported by the royal treasury were not abolished until the end of 1696. *Parian, Col. Doc.*, 13–16. The final decree abolishing them was dated Oct. 9, 1696.

[34] Work on the palace was begun about the middle of February under the direction of Fray Diego de Valverde, an Augustine friar. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 125–6. During the administration of Viceroy Galve the sum of 195,544 pesos was expended in the work. In future administrations appropriations of a greater or less amount were made, that during the rule of Viceroy Flores, 1787–9, being the last. According to an official report made in 1792 by order of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, the total amount expended in its reconstruction was 781,607 pesos. *Alaman, Disert. Hist. Mex.*, iii. app. 100–2.

fronting on the main plaza. In the rear of this was situated the third court, occupied by the quarters of the palace guard. A series of spacious apartments also fronted on the plazuela del Volador; and besides the mint, a separate building within the palace walls, there was an extensive garden for the recreation of the viceroys.[35]

Though the scarcity of grain continued during the three following years, it was only in a slight degree and for brief periods; but in 1696 the danger of famine was so great that another outbreak was threatened, and was prevented only by the most energetic measures.[36]

During Galve's rule the province of New Mexico was reconquered after a series of attempts extending over a period of nearly fourteen years. In August 1680 this territory was the scene of the most serious revolt that had occurred since the conquest of Mexico. All was arranged for a given day throughout the territory. Four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-five Franciscan friars, were slaughtered by the natives, and the survivors compelled to abandon the province. During subsequent years numerous expeditions were sent out by the successive governors to reoccupy it, but notwithstanding the quarrels among themselves the natives successfully resisted all attempts to subjugate them until 1694.

In 1692 an expedition recaptured without blood-

[35] *Estrella*, xxvi. 264–7, 278–9.

[36] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 130–71. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 84–5, states that in 1694, owing to the great scarcity, an epidemic appeared which carried off thousands of the people. Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Spain*, 28, and Pancs, *Vireyes*, MS., also speak of a pestilence in this year, which they imply was a divine punishment visited on the rioters. I am disposed to reject these statements; for Robles, whose *Diario* is a diary of the important events of this period, makes no mention of any pestilence between 1692 and 1696, excepting an epidemic in a convent of the capital which in April 1695 carried off six nuns. An epidemic of measles appeared in the city of Puebla in September 1692, and in one parish alone carried off 3,000 children. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 110; *Rivera, Diario*, 75. This latter authority calls this event 'a horrible pestilence, ...attributed to the prohibition of pulque.' Carlos María Bustamante was the editor of this work, as also that of Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, both of which contain many interpolations, and the connection between the above absurd

shed the capital of New Mexico, and received the submission of several other towns. In 1696 another revolt occurred, in which five missionaries and twenty colonists lost their lives and many towns were abandoned, but before the end of the year quiet was restored. Henceforth the natives continued submissive to Spanish rule.[37]

Owing to ill-health the viceroy had several times asked to be relieved, and his petition was finally granted in July of 1695. He left Mexico City on the 10th of May of the following year, and died soon after his arrival in Spain. His justice, moderation, zeal, and ability won for him the esteem of the people and the approval of the crown. At his residencia the oidor Charcon brought thirty charges against him, but failing to prove them was banished from the city.[38]

Prominent among noted Mexicans of colonial times stands Cárlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a man of learning and varied attainments. A native of the capital, where he was born in 1645, he inherited his taste for study from his father, Cárlos de Sigüenza, a man of superior intelligence who had in his native country been instructor to the prince Don Baltazar Cárlos. At an early age he gave indications of possessing talents of a high order, and at seventeen such was the proficiency which he had attained in literature, mathematics, physics, and astronomy, that in Mexico, a country then almost void of educational facilities, he was regarded as a prodigy. This drew upon him the attention of the Jesuits, in whose order at that time centred the learning of New Spain. Seduced by the wiles of these crafty fathers, as some authors assert, Sigüenza, after a novitiate of less than two years at the college of Tepotzotlan, took his first vows on the fifteenth of August 1662. Under the instruction of the Jesuits, which at this period produced a Clavigero and an Alegre, Sigüenza continued his studies, perfecting himself in the classics, and acquiring the superior literary judgment and taste for archæological studies which in later times added to his fame. After a few years' stay among the Jesuits, in his twentieth year he abandoned them and retired to the hospital of Amor de Dios in Mexico City, of which he had been appointed chaplain. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 93, is the only author who gives any motive

statement and that of Cavo, already cited, disproving the prohibition of pulque, is only too apparent. Besides, Robles, who derived his information from the same source as the so-called *Rivera, Diario*, makes no allusion to this fact.

[37] *Hist. N. Mex. States*, i. 374–5, this series.

[38] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 193–8, 214; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 68; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 278.

for this act. He states that it was done at the instance of Sigüenza's father. Though his fame was now daily increasing and honors began to be showered upon him, nothing could induce him to leave his retirement. Cárlos II. appointed him royal cosmographer, and confirmed his appointment to the chair of mathematics in the University of Mexico. His fame even reached the court of Louis the Great, who vainly offered him appointments and pensions. When not engaged in attending to his duties at the hospital, or in acts of charity, his time was devoted to study.

Associated with the celebrated writer on ancient Mexican history, Ixtlilxochitl, Sigüenza perfected his knowledge of the language and history of the Aztecs. Ixtlilxochitl, at his death, left all his papers to Sigüenza, as the person best fitted to write the history of his ancestors, and of whom he spoke as his 'friend in the sciences and teacher in virtue.' In 1693 he was commissioned by Viceroy Galve to assist in the exploration of the gulf coast. He examined the coast as far as Mobile Bay, which he explored, as also that of Pensacola, and the mouth of the Mississippi River. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, p. x; *Granados, Tardes Amer.*, 414; *Museo Mex.*, ii. 471–3. His report of this expedition was written upon his return, under the title of *Descripcion de la Bahía de Santa María de Galve, de la Mobila y rio de la Palizada ó Mississíppi, en la costa septentrional del Seno Mexicano.* A manuscript signed by Sigüenza, entitled *Reconocimiento de la Bahia de Panzacola en Florida*, probably the same as the foregoing, has been preserved in the collection of the late Don José Fernando Ramirez. His first published work was the *Primavera Indiana*, a sacred poem describing the apparition of our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico. Beristain states that it appeared in 1662, and subsequently in 1668 and 1683, but Vetancurt, *Teatro Mex.*, p. x, mentions the edition of 1668 only. Between 1667 and 1682, two more poems of a sacred character were published, and in 1681 his celebrated *Manifiesto filosofico contra los cometas* appeared. His theory was immediately attacked by three prominent scholars, among whom was the subsequently famous Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Kino, recently arrived in Mexico. To this latter Sigüenza successfully replied with a pamphlet entitled *Libra Astronómica*, published in 1690. To another, Martin de la Torre, a Flemish gentleman, he replied with his *El Belorofonte Matemático, contra la quimera astrológica de D. Martin de la Torre*, which according to Beristain was never issued. In 1684 the *Parayso Occidental*, was published. From 1690 to 1693, several works were printed treating of special historical subjects, and in 1693, the *Mercurio Volante* appeared, which was extended to four volumes, and was probably the first newspaper published in New Spain. His last work was *El Oriental Planeta Evangelico*, which appeared in 1700, shortly after his death. The most valuable as well as the most numerous of his writings, however, were those he left in manuscript. Besides the papers of Ixtlilxochitl, he possessed those of Chimalpain Pomar, Gutierrez de Santa Clara, and Zurita, all writers on antiquities excepting the last named. With the aid of these he pursued his researches in the language, origin, and history of the Aztecs, and the results of his labors were embodied in several volumes, among which were the *Año Mexicano*, *Imperio Chichimeco*, *Fenix del Occidente*, and *Genealogia de los Emperadores Mexicanos.* Nicolás Antonio, *Bib.-Hisp.-Nova*, i.

232, cites the *Imperio Chichimeco*, as *Del Origin de los Indios Mexicanos;* the *Fenix del Occidente*, as *De la predicacion de Santo Tomas Apostol*, these and the *Ciclografia Mexicana* and *Mitologia Mexicana* being the only works of Sigüenza mentioned. The most definite information we have of these works is from his friends and companions, Sebastian de Guzman y Córdoba, and Vetancurt.

Guzman, in the preface to Sigüenza's *Libra Astronomica*, which he published, says of the *Año Mexicano*, 'this book, though not large in body, has a gigantic soul, and Don Cárlos only could have given it being.' It is a treatise on the Mexican system of chronology. Beginning with the deluge, by comparing the occurrences of eclipses and other events as recorded by both Aztecs and the nations of the old world, the historical epochs of the former were adjusted to the chronology of the latter. The *Ciclografia Mexicana*, also a manuscript, and devoted to the same subject, is cited by Nicolás Antonio, Pinelo, and other bibliographers as a distinct work, but I am disposed to regard it with Beristain as another title of the same work. The *Imperio Chichimeco*, according to Guzman, was a history of the different nations composing the Chichimec empire, their customs, religion, and political and military institutions; the knowledge of their system of chronology enabling the author to correct the errors of previous writers. The *Fenix del Occidente*, to which in modern times has also been given the title of *Fenix de la America*, was an attempt to prove that the apostle Saint Thomas had preached in New Spain, by identifying him with *Quetzalcoatl*. Vetancurt, writing between 1692 and 1698, mentions the Geneologia de los Emperadores Mexicanos. *Del Origen de los Indios Mexicanos*, an account of the origin of the Toltecs, is mentioned by Vetancurt and Nicolás Antonio among Sigüenza's manuscripts, and the latter also cites the *Mitologia Mexicana*, or the Mexican gods compared with those of the ancient Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians, whose existence some authors are inclined to doubt, believing that the mythology of Torquemada is confounded with the *Anotaciones críticas, á las obras de Bernal Diaz del Castillo y de Fr. Juan de Torquemada*, another manuscript by Sigüenza. Several other manuscripts on religion, politics, science, and biography are mentioned by the various bibliographers, the most complete list being given by Beristain, in his *Bib. Hisp. Amer.*, 160 et seq. Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 581 et seq., gives the extensive list of Sigüenza's printed and manuscript works, but it is far from complete, and the list of manuscripts is taken wholly from Vetancurt and Nicolás Antonio. Among the other authorities who give lists more or less complete, chiefly compilations or copies of the foregoing, are *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. y Libre*, 192–7; *Museo Mex.*, ii. 471–9; *Gallo, Hombres Ilus.*, ii. 351–52; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 490–1. Of all these valuable manuscripts but few now remain, and those are exceedingly rare. In the preface to his *Parayso Occidental*, p. xiv, Sigüenza laments the want of means to publish his works, and fears that they will die with him, a fear which was in part realized. At his death, which occurred at Mexico City August 22, 1700, he left to the Jesuits, besides his library, twenty-eight volumes of manuscripts. At the expulsion of this order in 1767 they were transferred to the university of Mexico, where but some eight or nine volumes existed about the beginning of the present century. Among the manuscripts which have survived the inexcusable neglect

of his countrymen, I have had the good fortune to acquire the rare and valuable *Feniz del Occidente*, *Anotaciones Criticas*, and *Aboroto y Motin de los Indios de Mexico*. This last is a full and detailed account of the memorable riot in Mexico City of the 8th of June 1692, written in the form of a letter to the Spanish admiral, Andrés de Pez, with permission for its publication. It consists of eighty closely written folio pages, in the author's graceful style, and with what appears to be his autograph signature. This was never published, and is now quoted for the first time. No mention of it is to be found in any of the existing works on bibliography.

Sigüenza counted among his friends all the prominent persons of his time who were attracted to him no less by his modesty and other qualities of heart than by those of his superior mind. One of these was the celebrated Mexican poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; and on her death, in 1695, he wrote her eulogy. Gemelli Careri sought his friendship, and in his *Giro del Mvndo* has acknowledged the assistance generously given him, and paid a just tribute to the genius of Sigüenza. His countrymen showed their appreciation of his services and their sorrow for his death by a magnificent funeral and general mourning, but no fitting tribute has otherwise been paid to the memory of this benefactor of his race.

CHAPTER XIV.

VICEROYS MONTAÑEZ AND MONTEZUMA.

1696–1701.

More Insurrections in the Capital—The Baratillo Suppressed—Narrow Escape of the Treasure Fleet—Another Famine—Montezuma Succeeds Montañez—Fair at Acapulco—Obsequies on the Death of Cárlos II.—Rejoicings at the Accession of Felipe V.—Montezuma Suspected of Disloyalty—A Worthy Ruler Deposed—Jesuit Expeditions to Lower California.

On the 27th of February 1696 Juan de Ortega Montañez, bishop of Michoacan, succeeded Galve as viceroy of New Spain, his rule lasting only until the 18th of December following.[1] Between 1662 and 1673 he was inquisitor of Mexico, and in the latter year was appointed bishop of Guadiana, but did not take possession of that see, since in 1675 he was promoted to the bishopric of Guatemala, and being consecrated the same year left Mexico in December. In 1682 he was again transferred, and assumed the prelacy of Michoacan two years later. A rigid disciplinarian in church government, he was no less exact in the performance of his political duties; and though zealous in maintaining the dignity of his rank, he was generous withal and kind-hearted.

Exactly one month after the instalment of Montañez a serious riot occurred, headed by the students

[1] In 1695 the conde de Cañete was appointed viceroy, but did not arrive, owing to his inability to pay 300,000 pesos which he had promised for the office. On the 21st of January 1696 a despatch was received appointing Dr Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, the bishop of Puebla, viceroy, but he refused to accept the administration. A second despatch named Ortega as viceroy. *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., iii. 140–1, 181, 186, 189–91.

of the university, during which the pillory in the public square was burned. On the following day the authorities, having taken the necessary precautions to prevent disturbance, proceeded to erect another pillory. The collection of stalls and traders' tables, which had been replaced after the fire of 1692, and more especially the *baratillo*, where second-hand and stolen goods were bought and sold, were still resorted to by idlers and vagabonds, thieves and assassins. Thither congregated the vicious of all classes, including also the students of the university, and the suppression of such haunts of vice and crime was necessary. The new viceroy accordingly issued a decree ordering the removal of all trading stalls, especially the baratillo, the reërection of which in any part of the city he prohibited under pain of death. Ortega's measures met with opposition, but were nevertheless carried out, though it was necessary that for some time troops should constantly patrol the streets.[2]

In spite of all precautions, however, a serious plot for a general insurrection was discovered at the end of April, which was the more dangerous from the fact that the Indians of the wards of San Juan and Santa Clara possessed fire-arms. The intention of the conspirators was to rise on the departure of the flota, by which a large number of Spaniards would leave Mexico. But the watchful care of the viceroy detected the plot; troops were mustered, the palace guard doubled, and all necessary measures taken to secure peace.[3]

[2] The viceroy enjoined the religious orders not to appear frequently in the streets or alone. The students of the university were ordered to wear their hair after the fashion of those of Salamanca, and also to adopt similar collars. *Id.*, 195. Shortly after the erection of the new pillory, a pasquinade was found attached to it beginning with the words: 'Nos los inquisidores.' *Id.*, 195.

[3] The crown highly approved of Montañez' action at this crisis, and sent instructions to him and the criminal judges to make every effort to keep order and suppress assemblages of the idle and vicious. At the same time the viceroy was made to understand that any negligence or want of activity on his part would meet with severe displeasure and punishment. Refractory and turbulent persons of the lowest class were to be punished by the infliction of 200 lashes; others in proportion to their rank. Criminal Spaniards were to be

The flota was richly laden this year, and its departure was postponed until long after the usual date. Although the fault of the officials, it was a fortunate circumstance, for soon it was known that a French squadron had been cruising for many weeks off Habana in the hope of capturing the treasure ships. So long was the fleet detained, however, that the enemy supposed their plans discovered, and on the same day the Spanish vessels sailed from Vera Cruz they turned their prows toward Europe.[4]

The famine which had occurred during the reign of Galve was not yet at an end. From all parts of the country natives thronged to the capital, begging for help to save their families from starving. The mule load of corn which usually sold for six reales had now risen to ten pesos; and other provisions were proportionately high. Cattle perished in large numbers for want of water, and even poultry dropped dead at the homestead door.[5] Every exertion was made by the viceroy and clergy to relieve the prevailing distress. Ecclesiastics of the city even sold their books in order to supply food to those in need, but in the country thousands were left to starve. The rural clergy seem to have acquired the passion for wealth which marked the encomenderos, and during this period of suffering they withheld the corn which had been sown, reaped, and gathered into their garners by the natives.[6]

sent to work under guard in the Philippine Islands, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and elsewhere, 'con lo cual no solamente se lograria castigar sino evacuar las cárceles.' *Rivera, Hist. Gob. Mex.*, i. 281–2.

[4] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 86–7; *Rivera, Hist. Gob. Mex.*, i. 280–1. Shortly after the departure of the fleet news reached Mexico of the threatened danger. Prayers were offered, and a religious procession, attended by the viceroy and the archbishop, marched solemnly through the streets of Mexico in honor of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

[5] The common articles of food rose to prices beyond the reach of the Indians. Flour was sold at prices varying from 25 to 30 pesos the carga; beans at the same price; sugar at 10 pesos. During the month of August flour fell to 16 and 14 pesos, owing to a large crop having been gathered from irrigated lands. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 197, 203.

[6] The archbishop of Mexico in July of 1696 informed the king that ecclesiastics who had farms neglected to carry out his orders to supply grain. On

The last days of Montañez' administration were days of mourning caused by news of the death of the queen of Spain. For three weeks the city was draped with funeral emblems, and religious observances were held in honor of the dead.[7]

In October intelligence reached New Spain that José Sarmiento Valladares, conde de Montezuma, had been appointed viceroy. Connected with the dukes of Lessa, this ruler obtained his title by marriage with Gerónima María, a lineal descendant of the Mexican emperor, and third countess of Montezuma.[8] Accompanied by his wife he took possession of the government on the 18th of December, and on the 2d of February following made his public entry into the city.[9]

During January and February the attendance at the annual fair at Acapulco was unusually large. The galleon from the Philippines arrived safely with so large and valuable a cargo that eighty thousand pesos were paid in custom duties. Merchants from all parts of New Spain hastened to the fair; but what caused the assembly to be so numerous this year, and trading so brisk, was the arrival of a forty-two gun frigate, with a number of Peruvian merchants, who brought with them two million pesos for the purchase of Chinese goods.[10]

While wealth was thus flowing into the country the

November 4, 1697, a royal cédula was issued ordering that in future they should be compelled if necessary to produce all surplus grain. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 79–80; *Cédulas Reales*, MS., 161.

[7] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 205–8.

[8] The viceroy's wife was descended from Pedro Johualicahuatzin, whose son accompanied Martin Cortés, the second marqués del Valle, to Spain, where he married Francisco de la Cueva. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. ii. 51–2.

[9] While passing under the triumphal arch erected near the church of Santo Domingo, the viceroy's horse shied and threw him. 'Y se le cayó la cabellera.' *Robles, Diario*, ii. 211. This occurrence augured, it was said, that his administration would be far from prosperous.

[10] Many of the visitors died as usual from the effects of the climate. The fair closed on February the 25th, on which day and the following severe shocks of earthquake caused much damage in Acapulco and the city of Mexico. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 89.

unfortunate inhabitants of the capital were again threatened with famine, the crops having failed from the usual causes. Provisions became scarce and dear, and on the 8th of March a famished multitude rushed into the square in front of the viceregal palace, and with fierce cries demanded bread. Decisive measures had to be adopted to prevent an outbreak. The viceroy caused cannon to be planted at the entrances to the principal streets, and with the assistance of influential persons succeeded in restoring quiet. Orders also were issued to the farmers to forward at once to the city all the grain on hand. A supply sufficient for two months was thus obtained, and by the beginning of May corn and wheat began to arrive from the tierra caliente, where the second crop of the year had been plentiful.[11]

This serious trouble being ended, the viceroy, on the 25th of May, took possession of the new palace, which, as the reader is aware, had been for some time in course of construction. The occasion was celebrated with befitting ceremonies. The floors were sprinkled with holy water, and the archbishop in sacerdotal robes, with uplifted hands, implored a blessing upon the future residence of the viceroys of New Spain. The benediction availed little however, for in less than two short months the conde de Montezuma's daughter lay dead within the palace walls.[12]

Intelligence having been received of the arrival in Spain of the fleet which had sailed from Vera Cruz in the previous year, the safety of which had caused much apprehension, a solemn thanksgiving was offered in the cathedral, at which service the viceroy and members of the different tribunals attended. The value of the prize which had thus escaped the French

[11] Two crops were annually raised in the tierra caliente districts. *Id.*, 90. The excitement was allayed in part by the arrival of the royal decree permitting the use of pulque. *Id.*, 91–2; *Rivera, Hist. Gob. Mex.*, i. 284.

[12] Doña Fausta Domínica—called by Rivera and Zamacois, Dominga—died of small-pox on the 16th of July 1697. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 214.

may be recognized from the fact that the duties paid on the treasure and merchandise amounted to four hundred and twelve thousand pesos.[13]

The command of the seas by the French, English, and Dutch had not only a depressing effect on commerce, but on all the industries of the country, and especially that of mining. Quicksilver was so scarce this year that the quintal rose from eighty-four pesos to three hundred, and the viceroy addressed the governor of the Philippines on the matter, requesting him to procure a quantity of the metal in China and ship it to Acapulco. News, however, arrived in 1698 that a treaty of peace had been concluded. Great was the joy at this intelligence; and for a time commerce and industries revived. The rejoicing was short-lived however, for in May 1701 despatches were received from Spain ordering the authorities to put their ports in a state of defence against invasion by the English and Dutch; and though in the following month these instructions were countermanded, in August two sloops arrived from the Habana with intelligence that war had not been averted.[14]

Meanwhile the death of a Spanish monarch had caused the celebration of royal obsequies to be held in the city of Mexico, and in all the principal towns of New Spain, with the solemnity observed on such occasions. Cárlos II. died on the 1st of November 1700, and intelligence reached the capital the 7th of March of the following year. A courier clad in black, and bearing a banner of the same color, brought the tidings. Each half hour of his journey he fired off his piece as a salute in honor of the dead king. The de-

[13] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 90.

[14] *Robles, Diario*, ii. 313–15, 326–7. In June an English vessel was driven into Vera Cruz by stress of weather, and its crew of 17 men were detained as prisoners until an opportunity occurred of sending them to Spain. Two reales a day were allowed each man for his maintenance. *Id.*, 320. War broke out again in 1700, and in 1702 the whole Spanish flota was captured by the combined English and Dutch fleets. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 292–3.

spatches he bore conveyed the instructions of the queen regent Mariana de Neoburgo relative to the ceremonials to be observed, and were opened with the usual formalities.

In accordance with her commands the viceroy proceeded to arrange the obsequies. Two ministers, conversant with the prescribed etiquette, were promptly appointed, and orders despatched to the authorities of the different towns instructing them how to conduct the ceremonies. The ayuntamiento of the capital was notified to proclaim that the 16th of March was appointed for the public demonstration. Accordingly on that day a cavalcade with trumpets and muffled drums, draped in the insignia of mourning, left the cabildo between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon. These were followed by the mace-bearers dressed in black, and after them came the members of the audiencia, the alcaldes, alguacil mayor, and other authorities with their rods of office. The funeral cortege in dismal drapery slowly marched to the residence of the viceroy, where the king's death was publicly proclaimed; then at a given signal the great bell of the cathedral was tolled three hundred times.[15] With the same ceremonies similar proclamations were made at the archiepiscopal palace, and at the buildings of the inquisition and the cabildo.

March the 22d was appointed by Montezuma as the day on which he would receive visits of condolence from the different tribunals, royal officials, ecclesiastics, and gentry. The obsequies were celebrated on the 26th and 27th of April, on the first of which days in the afternoon all the bells of the city tolled the vespers for the dead, and the ceremonies were concluded by the delivery of a Latin oration in eulogy of the late king. On the following sunrise the service for the dead was chanted in the churches, the viceroy, archbishop, and nobility attending at the

[15] 'Á que correspondieron las campanas de setenta y una iglesias, que habia en México, y en sus arrabales.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 96–9.

cathedral. A funeral sermon terminated the observances.[16]

But previous to the performance of the latter ceremonies, others of a different character were celebrated on the 4th and 5th of April on account of the accession of Felipe V. to the throne of Spain. Appointed sovereign by the will of Cárlos II., his reign was a turbulent one for many years; since the transfer of the regal power from the house of Austria to that of the Bourbons involved both Spain and France in a war with the combined nations of Europe; nor can Felipe be considered to have been securely seated on the throne until the treaty of Utrecht in January 1712. During the first years of the struggle the power of Spain was weakened by civil factions,[17] and much opposition was shown to the change of dynasty; yet Mexico at once espoused the cause of Felipe's party. Thus it was that on the first named day the church bells were pealed, the royal standard unfurled, and the viceroy, audiencia, and all authorities and officials took the oath of allegiance on a beautifully ornamented platform erected in front of the palace. This being done, numbers of caged rabbits, pigeons, and other birds were set free, while a royal salute was fired by the musketeers. On the following day thanksgivings were offered in the cathedral, the mass of the most holy trinity chanted, and a procession formed. In the afternoon a parade of infantry was held before the palace,[18] and during the night pyrotechnic displays enlivened the scene.

Although the viceroy took the customary oath of allegiance to Felipe an opinion seems to have prevailed that before the death of Cárlos he was opposed

[16] Mourning was ordered to be worn for six months. *Robles, Diario,* ii. 307, 312–13. The viceroy, in order to prevent the exactions of merchants who had bought all the mourning material, fixed the price of it. *Cavo, Tres Siglos,* ii. 97.

[17] As late as June 1707 the inquisition issued an edict ordering all subjects secular or ecclesiastic to obey the king, under pain of excommunication. *Ordenes de la Corona,* MS., vi. 135.

[18] Three hundred and seventy men mustered on the occasion. *Robles, Diario.*

to the prospect of a Bourbon successor to the throne of Spain; but more than this, it was whispered that in the event of the monarch's decease, he might be inclined to favor the independence of New Spain, and establish himself as its king.[19]. Whether Felipe apprehended any such possible defection or not, it is certain that he recalled Montezuma shortly after his accession, for in November 1701 a cédula arrived from Spain appointing the oidor, Juan de Escalante, as the juez de residencia of the outgoing viceroy,[20] Montañez, having been reappointed to the viceregal chair six months previously.

On the 13th of May following, the conde de Montezuma left for Spain, the countess having preceded him, accompanied by the wives of the oidores. Most writers concur in regarding his administration as a wise and prudent one. He certainly exerted himself in improving the social condition of the capital, and was especially active in the suppression of robbers and criminals. With this object he organized an efficient police force, and enacted severe regulations for the punishment of evil-doers.[21] The riots in 1692

[19] Mr Vernon, English secretary of state, in letters addressed at the period to the duke of Shrewsbury, makes the following statement: 'It is said that Montezuma, viceroy of Mexico, would not suffer their plate to come into the hands of the French, and the orders from Spain would not be obeyed while they were looked upon to be under the influence of France.' A more remarkable passage written in June 1699 reads thus: 'The Indians there are very earnest with the countess of Montezuma, who is descended of their race, that she would take upon her the title of queen, which she seems willing to accept; but the conde, her husband, refuses it as yet, though it is thought if the king of Spain dies he will set up for himself.' *Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1841*, 131. Completely at variance with the above is Bustamante's statement that he caused the destruction of all Aztec relics in order to obliterate all traces of his ancestors 'por congraciarse con la corte de Madrid.' *Leon y Gama, Dos Piedras*, 81–2, note. As I cannot discover that Montezuma was connected with the royal family of the Aztec monarch otherwise than by marriage and the assumption of the name, Bustamante's deduction seems groundless, and I prefer to attribute the viceroy's action to religious bigotry.

[20] The auto de residencia was proclaimed on the 19th of the same month, both in the Castilian and Mexican languages. *Robles, Diario*, 339; consult also 331, 333.

[21] On the 15th of June there were 200 prisoners confined in the principal jail of the city. On the 28th of August the miscreants attempted to escape. They made a large hole in the outer wall, and severely wounded the jailer and porter before they were overpowered. On the following day seven of the ringleaders were publicly flogged through the streets. *Id.*, 326–8.

indicated to him the necessity of a more generous treatment of the Indians, and the measures which he adopted for their relief during times of scarcity were energetic and effective. He caused, moreover, the fortifications of the city, which were in a wretched condition, to be put in a better state of defence, while measures were also taken for the protection of the coast during war time.

During his administration physical phenomena from time to time caused distress and damage. Earthquakes destroyed houses and occasioned loss of life; and an eruption of the volcano Popocatepetl in 1697 caused much destruction in the surrounding country. The same year the capital was again inundated, owing to the unusually heavy rains, whereupon the viceroy, aided by contributions, caused the drainage and sewers to be put in order and improved. Indeed, in all cases of calamity he was ever prompt in devising means of relief. Though for political reasons the king may have deemed it prudent to recall him, it cannot be denied that he did his utmost for the welfare of New Spain.[22]

It was during the administration of Montezuma that the pacification of Lower California was begun by the Jesuits. The settlement of this country had been frequently attempted during the last century, but no success had attended previous efforts. Expedition after expedition under different leaders, most notable among whom were Ortega, Casanate, and Otondo, had successively failed,[23] and in 1686 the audiencia

[22] In 1699 Cárlos II., by cédula of the 27th of February, granted to Montezuma and his heirs a pension of 4,000 ducados, with the title of duke of Atlixco. This grant was ratified by Felipe V. in 1704, and again by Fernando VI. in 1752. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 10–11, 30–42. In *Certif. de las Mercedes*, MS., 181–2, the amount is given as 4,000 pesos, and the date of the cédula as February 17, 1699. The income was payable from Indian tributes in Peru, Guatemala, and Campeche. Later orders made it payable from tributes collected in Yucatan. The duquesa de Atlixco was the last heir to whom it was paid, probably in 1758.

[23] For full particulars of these expeditions see *Hist. N. Mex. States*, i. 153 et seq., this series.

abandoned the idea of conquest by force of arms. The oidores, however, considered that the subjugation of the Indians could be accomplished by the Jesuits and proposed that they should make the attempt, the expenses incurred being paid by the crown. The provincial of the order saw fit to decline the offer, alleging that the civil and temporal duties which their missionaries would be obliged to undertake would be inconsistent with the constitution of the society.

Urged by renewed instructions from Cárlos II. to omit no means of accomplishing the settlement of Lower California, the viceroy in 1690 consulted with Otondo relative to the annual cost of the maintenance of a presidio on the Peninsula. Otondo was of opinion that thirty thousand pesos a year would be sufficient, and the viceroy gave orders for an appropriation to that amount, but the demand from the court for a large sum of money prevented immediate action, and the meditated expedition was indefinitely postponed. And now notwithstanding their former action the Jesuits came forward, and in 1696 proposed to undertake the reduction of the natives, and commenced collecting alms for that purpose. Viceroy Ortega warmly approved the plan, but deemed it proper to consult the audiencia as to the advisability of extending the necessary license. The oidores displayed an inconsistency almost equal to that of the Jesuits, and long debated whether it would be right to intrust such a matter to a religious order.

This hesitation caused much astonishment, but it was finally arranged that the commission should be granted on condition that the society should not make any demand upon the royal treasury, and that they should take possession of the country in the name of Cárlos II. The audiencia, however, conceded to fathers Salvatierra and Kino, the promoters of the enterprise, and to their successors, the right to select the troops and officers which might be required, and to discharge them when they deemed it necessary, after

first advising the viceroy. The particulars of the operations of the Jesuits belong properly to the history of Lower California, in which an account of their proceedings will be given; suffice it to say that their efforts were successful, and permanent settlements were established in the country.[24]

[24] Consult *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 63–4, 69–70, 75–6, 87–8, and *Hist. North Mex. States*, i. passim, this series.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW SPAIN AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1700–1722.

MONTAÑEZ VICEROY FOR A SECOND TERM—HIS FORMAL ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL—LOSS OF TREASURE SHIPS—THE HERMANDAD AND ACORDADA—MONTAÑEZ APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF MEXICO—ALBURQUERQUE'S REIGN—HIS CHARACTER ILLUSTRATED—CAPTAIN DAMPIER ONCE MORE IN THE SOUTH SEA—A PRIVATEERING EXPEDITION FITTED OUT BY BRISTOL MERCHANTS—A MOTLEY CROWD ON BOARD THE SHIPS—THEIR VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD—ENORMOUS PROFITS OF THE ENTERPRISE—LINARES' ADMINISTRATION—EARTHQUAKE, FAMINE, AND FLOOD—CONTRABAND TRADING—VALERO'S RULE—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION—CORSAIRS IN YUCATAN.

ON the 4th of November 1701 Montañez for the second time took office as viceroy,[1] though his formal entry into the city was delayed until the 29th of January in the following year. On that day the dignitaries of the church were ordered to assist at the ceremony, arrayed in their surplices, and the religious orders to appear in fitting garb, carrying uplifted crosses.[2] The cathedral was handsomely decorated; the pillars were hung with tapestry; and on the grand altar innumerable tapers stood ready to light up the building, should the viceroy make his entry by night. Stages were erected in suitable places, and arches of

[1] On the day of his assuming office he received the papal bulls and the pallium. *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 332.

[2] All obeyed except the Cármen and San Hipólito orders. The former refused under the plea that, according to their constitution, and the privileges granted them by the apostolic see, they were not required to appear in processions except at public prayers. Nevertheless, out of compliment to his Excellency, they allowed six of their number to attend. The latter declined on the ground that they were not allowed to take precedence over the Bethlehemites. *Id.*, 365–6.

tule extended from the cathedral to the street of San Francisco, where stood the profesa. The church of Vera Cruz, whence the procession was to set forth, was decked with costly draperies; those in the hall of knights, where seats were provided for his Excellency and the members of the chapter, excelling all others in taste and beauty of design.

When all was in readiness the archbishop, escorted by his body guard of cavalry and a company of halberdiers, proceeded to the church of Vera Cruz, and half an hour later the members of the chapter left the principal door of the cathedral to pay their respects. In front rode the verger in his white robe of office. Then came the prebendaries in carriages, in the order of their seniority, followed by the precentor, the dean, and the secretary of the cabildo. As soon as the ecclesiastics had withdrawn, the city cavalry, preceded by trumpeters and drummers, escorted to the church the ministers of state, the alguaciles, regidores, alcaldes, and the corregidor, who in the order mentioned saluted the viceroy. The procession was then formed, and Montañez was conducted to the presbytery, where he took his seat on the viceregal throne; and his mantle being removed, he was robed in the vestments and regalia of office. Incense was then burned; the te deum chanted; the viceroy returned to his palace, and the procession was dismissed.

The first administration of Montañez lasted, as will be remembered, but ten months; the second continued for less than thirteen months; and during his latter term of office the events which occurred in Europe boded evil to the Spanish provinces. After the complications that followed the decease of Cárlos II. had culminated in the war which commenced in Austria, in May 1702, the shores of New Spain were liable to invasion from the armaments of the two greatest naval powers in Europe. Moreover the oceans were still scoured by cruisers ever on the alert to pounce on the Spanish treasure ships, and no vessel contain-

ing treasure was now despatched without the escort of several men of war. At Vera Cruz a vast amount of gold and silver was stored, awaiting convoy, and on the arrival of a French squadron under the count de Chateau Renaud, was placed on board the fleet. Eluding an English squadron that lay in wait in Tortuguilla Sound, the flota arrived in safety off Cádiz; but finding that harbor closely blockaded by the enemy, sailed for the port of Vigo. There they were attacked by a powerful squadron; several vessels were captured; the remainder were sunk, and treasure amounting to at least seventeen million pesos lies buried to this day on that portion of the coast of Galicia, all efforts to recover it having as yet proved unsuccessful.[3]

At the close of 1701 Montañez received orders to garrison Vera Cruz with a force of six thousand men; for during that year it became evident that war could not be averted, and the Spanish provinces in America offered no more tempting prize to a hostile armament. The viceroy lost no time in placing this and other ports in New Spain in a thorough state of defense. On the 4th of February 1702 he issued a proclamation warning his subjects of the impending danger, and inviting all single men to proceed to Vera Cruz in the service of his Majesty, promising them liberal pay and kind treatment. He also caused the arrest of all idlers, thus inducing many to enlist as volunteers. It is related that on one occasion, after visiting the jail, he repaired to the criminal court, and finding there a number of men listening to the pleadings of the lawyers, marched them off to prison, declaring that persons who had nothing better to do were not earning an honest livelihood, and must be treated as vagrants.

But New Spain had within her own borders ene-

[3] *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 46–7; confirmed by *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 106. Zamacois states that the amount shipped on board the treasure fleet was 38,500,000 pesos, of which sum the Spaniards landed 12,000,000 at Vigo, leaving 26,500,000 pesos unaccounted for. *Hist. Méj.*, v. 513–14.

mies no less dreaded than were the English and the Dutch. The Chichimecs, Otomís, and other native tribes, who, though often defeated, had never been brought under subjection, infested the provinces, plundering the settlements and rendering travel unsafe. To add to this evil the community was kept in constant alarm by organized bands of brigands, who almost held possession of many of the public highways, and neither treasure, merchandise, nor traveller could pass along them without a strong escort.

All efforts to remedy this evil had proved unavailing. The courts of justice were corrupt, especially the criminal court. In Viceroy Linares' instructions to his successor we have a startling description of the irregularities which prevailed during his administration and long previously. The despatch of business, no matter how important, was continually left to the clerks, and perjury and false testimony constantly admitted without any attempt to punish the false witnesses. Rich criminals laughed at the idea of meeting with their deserts, but the poor were treated with the utmost rigor, the wives and children of any who escaped from justice being reduced to slavery. The members of this tribunal paid no heed to the orders of the audiencia, and the alcaldes mayores perjured themselves, violated their obligations, and both gave and received bribes. A portion of the gains of brigandage sufficed to procure immunity for the robber, and even the judges sent by the audiencia to investigate cases of appeal gave their decision in favor of the richer contestants.[4]

In view of this state of affairs the viceroy determined to invest the court of the santa hermandad with greater and more unrestricted powers, and the dreaded tribunal known as the acordada was finally established. I will now give some account of the functions and previous operations of the santa hermandad from which the acordada was developed, to-

[4] *Instruc. Vireyes*, MS., 6–10, 13–14, 68–71.

gether with a brief description of the operations of the latter until it was abolished early in the nineteenth century.

As early as 1553 highwaymen had become so troublesome that for the security of the public roads the santa hermandad was established in New Spain.[5] This force originated in Spain at an early date, and was composed of bands of associated citizens or brothers—as the name implies—who, unassisted by the government, patrolled the highways as a protection against bandits and robbers, and as a check against the lawlessness of the aristocracy. The utility of such armed bodies, and the benefits which peaceful persons and communities derived from their vigilance, gained for them various privileges from the kings of Spain, as well as the distinguishing title of holy brotherhood. In time they became a recognized power in the land, and laws were promulgated conferring on them a certain jurisdiction, and defining their duties. In 1498 the original system of confederated associations was abolished, owing to the establishment of better order in the kingdom, and the santa hermandad was converted into a police force and tribunal. An organized court of the santa hermandad was presided over by two alcaldes, and was composed of a proportionate number of alguaciles and the officers of the patrol parties. It had the power to arrest malefactors and try them. In 1631 a royal cédula was issued ordering the appointment of alcaldes de la hermandad in all cities and towns of the Indies. These officers were distinguished by the name of provinciales.[6]

But little is known of the operations of the santa hermandad in New Spain down to the end of the

[5] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 162.

[6] The provinciales received a salary of 100,000 maravedís payable out of the fines of the tribunal court. As a matter of course these positions were made salable to the highest bidder. They were 'renunciables perpetuamente, en la forma, y con el gravámen, que los demas oficios vendibles de las Indias.' *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 133–4. Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 119, has this note: 'Escriuano publico del juzgado del Prouincial de la Hermandad, es oficio nueuo, vendido en 700. tostones en el año de 1645.'

seventeenth century; but to judge from the continually increasing numbers and depredations of robbers, it could not have been an efficient force.[7]

In 1710, at the urgent request of the inhabitants of Querétaro, Miguel Velazquez de Lorea, a native of that city, was appointed as provincial alcalde of the santa hermandad in that district.[8] The energy of this officer and his success in the suppression of brigandage were so great that later his powers were greatly increased. Hitherto the tribunal of the santa hermandad had been subordinate and responsible to the criminal court at Mexico; in 1719 it was ordered that the sentences pronounced by Velazquez should be final, and he was exempted from the obligation of reporting his decisions to that tribunal.[9] By royal cédula dated May 22, 1722, his conduct was approved and he was confirmed in office. From this time the acordada may be considered as established as an independent tribunal. Velazquez, retaining his position of provincial alcalde, was appointed judge of the new court, and rigorously did he perform the judicial duties of his calling. Scouring the country with his men, he assailed the brigands wherever he could find them, and none escaped who fell into his hands. A hurried trial over, the inexorable judgment was passed, and in a few minutes the culprit, having been shrived by the court chaplain, was dangling from the nearest tree, or was shot through with arrows.[10]

[7] Viceroy Alburquerque, whose rule will be mentioned later, exerted himself with great energy to suppress brigandage. A number of highwaymen were captured and several executed on a single day. *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 15. In May 1655 a highwayman was taken from a church, whither he had fled, and notwithstanding his claim of privilege of sanctuary, and despite the excommunication fulminated by the bishop, he was tried and put to death. *Guijo, Diario*, 307–8.

[8] *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 115–16.

[9] The proclamation was published 'con acuerdo de la audiencia,' from which act the future tribunal received its name of acordada. See *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 107.

[10] Sigüenza y Góngora supplies us with the number of criminals whom he punished during the period from 1719 to 1732: 'Hizo justicia en quarenta y tres reos que ahorcó, en ciento y cincuenta y uno que asaeteó, y en setecientos treinta y tres que mandó desterrados á varios Presidios de este Reyno.' *Glorias de Querétaro*, 30.

This severity was commended, and Velazquez was enjoined to exterminate the banditti whose augmenting numbers had placed the safety of the kingdom in jeopardy. His energy and his integrity, which placed him above purchase by bribery, won for him alike the thanks of the king,[11] viceroys, and people. He died at Mexico on the 7th of September 1732, at the age of sixty-two, and was buried in the Jesuit church de la Profesa.[12]

José Velazquez succeeded to his father's position, and made himself equally conspicuous as a suppressor of brigandage.[13] On his death, which occurred in 1756, the former implored his son not to accept the succession to the office which had been conferred in perpetuity,[14] and it was therefore bestowed on Jacinto Martinez de la Concha, who proved a no less formidable foe to highway robbers than were his predecessors. To the end of the century competent chiefs in turn presided over the tribunal, among whom may be mentioned Manuel Antonio de Santa María, who held the office from 1782 to 1808, and made himself celebrated by the capture and capital punishment of two notorious robbers named Piedra y Paredes and Pillo Madera.[15]

However beneficial such a tribunal was by the pro-

[11] Felipe V. in the cédula of May 22, 1722, conveyed his especial thanks to Velazquez for the zeal he had displayed.

[12] Velazquez was deeply lamented; obsequies were paid him, and the '*Gazeta de Mexico* hizo su digno elogio.' *Id.*, 30–1.

[13] For particulars of the numerous bands of robbers which he destroyed consult *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS. 118. From an official report dated 1811 giving the number of evil-doers captured and punished by the acordada down to 1809, it appears that during José Velazquez' term of office, from 1732 to 1736, 3,384 malefactors were made prisonors. Of these 320 suffered capital punishment; 1955 were distributed among the presidios; 79 were flogged, and 432 discharged after punishment or proof of innocence. *Columna's Report* in *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. app. 3.

[14] *Galvez, Instruc.*, in *Museo Mex.*, i. 306.

[15] Santa María captured Piedra y Paredes sometime previous to his seizure of Madera. This gave rise to the following popular quartette which was sung at that period:

'El Señor Santa María
Tiene que hacer una casa,
Ya Piedra y Paredes tiene
Madera solo le falta.'

Alaman, Hist. Méj., iii. app. 73–4.

tection which it afforded to the royal treasures during transportation, and to the community at large, it did not give unqualified satisfaction. Its absolute power, and the precipitancy with which it hurried through the trials of captives, led to the commission of abuses and injustice. Though collisions with other judicial authorities occurred, and complaints from private individuals were frequently preferred against the action of lieutenants and comisarios of the acordada, it was firmly supported by viceroys and kings during a long period.[16] Both the civil and territorial jurisdiction of the tribunal was greatly extended, and robbers in the distant provinces of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya learned to dread the name of the acordada, which employed nearly two thousand five hundred men in its services, while smugglers, vagabonds, and petty thieves avoided its servants as they would the revenue guards or the city police.[17]

Finally, such representations were made to his Majesty with regard to the easy indifference with which the lives of his vassals were disposed of, that a royal cédula was issued ordering the sentences of the acordada not to be carried out without the approval of the viceroy, who was invested with the power to revoke or modify every form of punishment.[18] The result was that within a few years the list of cases tried by this tribunal was reduced to one eighth of its former number, and the viceroy was of opinion that if the ordinary courts of justice were properly administered there would be no further need for the former.

[16] The arbitrary form of trial was, however, somewhat modified by royal cédula of 21st December 1765, by which it was ordered that the judge should be assisted by two asesores, or legal advisers, and that the sentences passed after hearing the defender of the accused should be signed by all three. But there was no appeal.

[17] The jurisdiction in matters connected with prohibited liquors was also conferred upon the acordada. The titles of the chief were also multiplied. They were alcalde provincial de la hermandad, juez de la acordada, guarda mayor de los caminos, and juez de bebidos prohibidos. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 113–29; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 24.

[18] 'Con el dictámen de una junta, compuesta de un alcalde de corte, el asesor del virreynato, y un abogado de toda su confianza.' *Id.*, 25. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 25.

This change of system did not fail to meet with opposition, and occasional disagreements arose between the acordada and the superior junta;[19] but these were overcome by the persistence of the viceroys. The junta could not at first keep pace with the number of cases which required its cognizance. When Azanza commenced his administration in 1798, there were fifteen hundred prisoners awaiting trial, and his compassion induced him to add temporarily two additional counsellors to the junta in order that the decisions might be rendered with more despatch.[20] The measures which were successively adopted from this time reduced the terror-inspiring acordada to a mere shadow of its former power.

The prison in which offenders were confined by this tribunal was built close to the court-room of the acordada. In 1776 it was destroyed by an earthquake, but was rebuilt on an enlarged scale. By order of the cortes of Cádiz this building was demolished in 1812, and the frowning walls and loathsome dungeons of the acordada passed from the sight though not from the memory of the people of Mexico.[21]

On the conclusion of Montañez' first term as viceroy he had returned to his diocese of Michoacan, where for two years and a half he remained in the active discharge of his duties. In 1698 the archbishopric of Mexico became vacant by the death of Francisco de Aguiar y Seixas[22] on the 14th of August,

[19] During Azanza's administration from 1798 to 1800 the juez de la acordada claimed that he could try cases with only one asesor present. The viceroy compelled the judge to conform strictly to the terms of the royal cédula, 'pronunciando siempre sus sentencias despues de haber oido la relacion del proceso que debia hacer el Escribano y el dictamen de los dos Asesores y Defensor de la Casa.' *Id.*, 30–31.

[20] *Id.*, 23–32.

[21] According to the official report of Columna, in *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. app. 3, during the period from 1703 to 1809, 62,900 persons were imprisoned by the tribunal.

[22] Francisco de Aguiar was born in Betanzos, Galicia. He successively occupied the episcopal chairs of Guadalajara and Michoacan; he was appointed archbishop of Mexico in 1681, Rivera having declined to accept the honor. Aguiar was the principal founder of the college at Niñas de Belen; built the

and in October 1699 the appointment of Montañez as his successor arrived in Mexico. In March 1700 he took formal possession of his see, and on the 2d of January 1702 was invested with the pallium which had been received with the pope's bull confirming his appointment in the previous November. On the 15th of January the new archbishop gave the customary banquet in celebration of the ceremony. The guests, who were members of the chapter and the audiencia, were regaled with every luxury that the country could produce, no less than thirty dishes of different kinds of fish, meats, game, poultry, and confectionery being placed in succession upon the table.[23] Public pageantry succeeded religious ceremonies and private feasting. On the 29th of the same month the archbishop made his public entry into the capital with a solemnity and splendor rarely witnessed.[24]

The ecclesiastical administration of Montañez was marked by severity; and his measures of reform were carried out. His integrity was unimpeachable, and it was on this account that the king appointed him a second time viceroy. The zeal which he displayed in furthering the completion of the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe prompted him personally to solicit alms in the streets of Mexico for that purpose. His advanced age—for he was seventy years old when he assumed the archbishopric—prevented him from visiting his diocese, but his duties were faithfully performed to the last. The date of his decease is uncertain,[25] but

asylum for insane females, and laid the first stone of the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe on March 26, 1695. *Concil. Prov.*, 1, 2, 222–3, 329–30; *Rivera, Diario*, 19; *Dávila, Mem. Hist.*, pt. i. 28. In 1721 his remains were removed from the place where they had been interred and deposited in a sepulchre on the right side of the chapel of San Felipe de Jesus. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2ª serie iv. 268.

[23] 'Otros dicen que hubo cincuenta de diversas viandas, así de pezcados esquisitos, como de carnes y aves diferentes.' *Robles, Diario*, ii. 361–2. The banquet lasted from 12 M. till 2:30 P. M.

[24] A full account of the ceremonial will be found in *Id.*, 365–72.

[25] In *Concil. Prov.*, 1, 2, 292, it is stated that he died in 1704; Juarros says in 1710. Sosa, *Episcop. Mex.*, 168, makes this remark: 'no hay la menor contradiccion en los autores que señalan el año de 1708 como el de la muerte del Sr Ortega y Montañés.' *Cabrera, Escudo de Armas*, 367 et seq.

as his successor was not appointed till 1711, it is probable that his death occurred during the preceding year.

The next archbishop, Fray José Lanciego y Eguilaz, did not take possession until the beginning of 1713, and his consecration took place in November of the following year. He administered the affairs of the church until 1728, and was conspicuous for his piety and charity. Numerous institutions received his support, and the most remote districts of his diocese were visited. Lanciego was an especial friend of the Indians, and every month his palace was crowded with beggars to whom he distributed alms. He died on the 25th of January 1728, and was interred in the cathedral, a funeral oration being delivered by the canónigo magistral Doctor Bartolomé Felipe de Ita y Parra.[26]

In October 1702, the duke of Alburquerque, the newly appointed viceroy, arrived at Vera Cruz.[27] A few weeks later Montañez, having first despatched his nephew, the captain of the guard, to welcome the duke, set forth in person to meet him, accompanied by a splendid cortege. Alburquerque was a man of many titles, and somewhat given to display; nevertheless his career, which lasted for more than eight years, fully justified the enthusiasm with which all classes greeted his entrance into the capital.[28] He was

[26] *Ita y Parra, Sermon Funeral del Sr Lanciego*, passim.

[27] In the same month cédulas were received in which Montañez was reproved for alleged malefeasance, deprived of his office and title of viceroy, and forbidden to ride, as was his custom, in a carriage drawn by six horses. He was also censured for refusing to give precedence to the monks of the order of San Diego, and for want of respect to the vicereine. In August 1703, further cédulas arrived threatening him with the inquisition. *Robles, Diario*, 403–6, 463–4.

[28] The titles of the new viceroy were duque de Alburquerque, marqués de Cuéllar, conde de Ledesma y Huelma, senor de las villas de Monbeltran, Codosera, Lanzaita, Mijares, Pedro Bernardo, Aldea Dávila, S. Estévan, Villarejo y Cuevas, comendador de Guadalcanal, y Bensayan of the orders of Santiago and Alcántara; chamberlain to the king, general, and viceroy of New Spain. His wife was Juana de la Cerda y Aragon, duchess of Alburquerque, etc. *San Miguel (A. de), Sermon de la Samaritana*, title-page, no. 10; *Pap. Var.*, ii. His daughter, who was confirmed in 1703, received no less than fifty-

a shrewd, fair-dealing, and energetic ruler; one well fitted to be at the head of affairs during the eventful years of the war of the Spanish succession.

An incident which is related of the duke a short time after his arrival may serve to throw some light upon his character. A certain widow obtained audience of his Excellency, and produced certain documents whereby it appeared that a resident of the city was indebted to her in the sum of four thousand pesos; "but," said the applicant, "he is unwilling to pay." The viceroy examined her papers, and after asking a few questions bade her return on a day which he appointed. He then sent for the debtor, whom he received cordially, and after a pleasant chat inquired whether he were in easy circumstances. The man replied that he was in the receipt of an ample income; whereupon the duke requested that he would favor him with a loan of four thousand pesos. "Not only four thousand pesos, but my entire estate is at your Excellency's service;" exclaimed the debtor. He was requested to bring the amount on the next morning, and then took his departure. Though loath to part with his gold, he was loud in his praise of the viceroy's affability and condescension, and spared no pains to publish the interview among his comrades. On making his appearance the following day, however, he was confronted with the documents and with the

three names on the register. *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, i. 284. On the 21st of October the viceregal party reached Jalapa, and on the 25th a committee from Mexico, consisting of the maestre de campo and others, went forth to welcome him. On the 15th of November it is recorded that a special miracle was wrought in Puebla for his benefit, and that both he and the vicereine carried away some divine ichor from the body of the beato Aparicio. *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 408–14. On the 27th of November he took possession of the government and on the 8th of December (conception day) made his public entry into the city. He was met at the gates by the audiencia, city officials, university authorities, and the members of the different tribunals. Behind him came the vicereine and her ladies of honor, and then followed 24 sumpter mules with silver bits and headstalls, royally caparisoned. At the cemetery he was met by the archbishop, and then proceeded to his palace. A royal salute was fired, several persons being injured through the carelessness of the gunners. *Robles, Diario*, 418–20. Even the tribunal of the inquisition joined the procession, an honor which had never before been shown even to a viceroy. *Mex., Not. Ciud. Mex.*, 295-7.

widow, whose claim he was compelled to satisfy, though the loss of the money was as nothing compared with the mortification which sunk deep into the soul of the crestfallen man as he slunk from the duke's presence chamber.

The dispute between the grand monarch and the emperor Leopold, which cost Europe ten years of war, and divided even the Spaniards into rival factions, concerned not the people of New Spain. The emperor's son was acknowledged by all as the rightful heir, and the brilliant campaigns of Marlborough caused no more excitement in the Spanish provinces than the bloodless revolution which a few years before placed William III. on the throne of England aroused among the colonies of British America. The new viceroy regulated the internal affairs of his province without difficulty, and at once made preparations to repel the attacks of foreign powers, and of corsairs who still hovered on the coast. He increased the navy, strengthened the fortifications, reënforced the garrisons with two thousand veteran troops from Spain, and appointed officers of known valor and ability to the command of the fortresses. If a less capable man than the duke of Alburquerque had now been at the head of affairs, it is probable that some serious disaster might have befallen the provinces, for evil tidings were constantly being received in the capital.

In May 1703 a despatch was forwarded to the authorities in Mexico, stating that the people of Vera Cruz were leaving that city with their effects, through dread of foreign invasion. In June of the same year the governor of Tabasco defeated the crew of a British man-of-war, many of the English being killed, and a hundred and fifty prisoners captured. In the autumn of 1704 Captain William Dampier, whose raids in Central America have already been described,[29] ap-

[29] *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 541 et seq., this series.

peared once more in the waters of the South Sea, in command of the ship *Saint George*, intent on capturing the treasure galleon from Acapulco. After taking two vessels whose cargoes were of little value he sighted the treasure ship. Hoisting the Spanish colors he sailed close up to her and opened fire. A prisoner on board the pirates' vessel counselled them to board at once, during the confusion caused by the first volley; but there was a difference of opinion among the officers, and while the matter was yet under discussion the galleon's heavy guns were brought to bear on the craft of the corsairs with such effect that they were glad to escape in their sinking vessel. During the same year one Captain Clipperton, who accompanied that famous adventurer, separated from him when off the eastern coast of Mexico, and with a vessel of ten tons, mounting only two pieces of cannon, defied the town of Realejo, and captured two Spanish ships which lay there at anchor, one of which contained treasure to the value of four thousand pesos.

Five years later certain wealthy merchants of Bristol fitted out two vessels for a "voyage of discovery and profit," the explorations to be extended to the oceans on either side of the American continent, and the profit to be derived from the pillage of Spanish settlements and Spanish treasure ships. Two vessels were chartered, the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, well armed and equipped, having on board a complement of about three hundred and thirty men, and carrying commissions from the king's consort and lord high admiral of England to attack and plunder the Spaniards and French on the coasts of Peru and Mexico. Captain Woodes Rogers was placed in command, and among other officers was William Dampier, though now in a subordinate position. It was a motley crew that sailed from Cork harbor on the 27th of August 1708 to undertake the circumnavigation of the world. There were on board tailors, pedlers, tinkers, fiddlers,

ploughmen, haymakers, laborers, and men representing nearly all the occupations by which the poor earn a livelihood, except that of seaman.

Rounding Cape Horn in safety the vessels arrived off the island of Juan Fernandez on the 1st of February 1709, and the same afternoon a pinnace was sent on shore for water. At dusk a light was observed on the island, and the commander, supposing that it was kindled by the crew of a Spanish or French man-of-war, fired guns from the quarter-deck to recall the pinnace, and prepared his ships for action. No sail was in sight on the following morning, and it was concluded that the enemy had been frightened away by the sound of the firing. The cause of the strange light was soon explained, however, for the pinnace being again sent ashore returned with a man clad in goat-skins, and as wild of aspect as the animals from which he had procured his apparel. His name was Alexander Selkirk.

The expedition then sailed for Peru, and after taking a number of prizes and capturing the town of Guayaquil, for which a moderate ransom was received, proceeded to the island of Gorgona, whence some of the prisoners, being sent to Panamá for the purpose, returned with money to redeem a portion of the prize cargoes, the bargain being honorably fulfilled on both sides. Rogers soon afterward sailed for Mexico, and sighted land near the spot where Dampier was defeated by the treasure galleon. Thence a few days later he shaped his course for the coast of Lower California, made Cape San Lúcas on the 1st of November, and cruising southward a few weeks later captured a large and well manned twenty-gun ship bound from Manila to Acapulco.

The prisoners gave information that a still larger vessel had left Manila in company with them, but being a better sailer had long since parted company, and was now probably lying at Acapulco. Within a few days this ship came in sight, but now the priva-

teers found more than their match. She proved to be the *Vigonia* mounting sixty guns and with a complement of four hundred and fifty men. After a seven hours' fight the English were driven off with heavy loss, and with numbers greatly reduced the expedition sailed homeward a fortnight later by way of the Cape of Good Hope, anchoring in the Downs on the 1st of October 1610. The cost of the voyage did not exceed 75,000 pesos, and the proceeds amounted, as a chronicler of that period affirms,[30] to 850,000 pesos, of which the promoters received two thirds,[31] or a clear profit of more than 750 per cent on their outlay. Thus did the worthy merchants of Bristol grow rich by licensed piracy, and learn to despise the slow gains of legitimate commerce.

About the year 1712 the buccaneers mustered in force for a raid on Vera Cruz, and once more taught the Spaniards how defenceless were their forts and garrisons when assailed by a band of resolute men. The pirates anchored out of sight of the city, and six hundred of them, landing by night, arrived undiscovered at the sandhills in the neighborhood of the town. Here they lay hidden till after midnight of the following day, timing their advance on Vera Cruz for the hour of dawn when the gates were opened. A few of the party who could converse in Spanish were sent forward disguised as peasants, and as soon as the nearest gate was opened, one of them mounted by a ladder to a neighboring bastion and begged the sentinel to give him a light for his pipe. The sentry approached with a lighted brand, and as he drew near the buccaneer shot him dead with his pistol. The remainder of the party then secured the gate, and the main body instantly marched into the town and took up a position in the parade ground. The Spaniards, roused from their slumbers, quickly collected their forces, and marched with horse and foot through one

[30] *Harris, Col. Voy.*, i. 198.
[31] One half according to Harris.

of the widest streets to attack the invaders. The pirates were drawn up in three lines, each of which, after firing a volley, withdrew to reload and allow those in the rear to deliver their fire. The Spanish troops began to waver; their horses taking fright plunged through their ranks, and soon the garrison were routed and fled through the city, hotly pursued by the buccaneers, until they reached one of the gates and scattered over the adjacent country.

Meanwhile the alarm had been given at the castle of San Juan de Ulúa, and a brisk fire was opened on the town. The pirates then held a council, and it was resolved to seize the padres, and after cutting off the heads of several, to send others to the castle with instructions to present them to the governor and tell him that unless the firing ceased the remainder would be treated in the same way. The governor answered by redoubling his fire; whereupon the buccaneers closed all the gates and drove the inhabitants in a body to the part of the city which was most exposed to the shot from the fort. Orders were now given to cease firing, and the freebooters were left undisturbed to plunder the town; but finding no great booty, they carried off to their ships a number of the principal citizens, and demanded a large sum for their ransom. Soon after their departure the Spaniards erected watch-towers and posted sentinels along the coast to guard against surprise for the future.

No other incidents worthy of note occurred during the reign of Alburquerque. Toward the close of his administration[32] he was invested with the order of the golden fleece, the honor being conferred on him by the senior inquisitor, Francisco de Deza. During his long term of office he lived in royal state, giving magnificent banquets, and freely distributing

[32] In 1709, according to *Lorenzana, Hist. Nueva España*, 29–30, copied in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, and *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa;* in *Alaman*, and others, 1708.

his vast wealth. His rule was long remembered in the capital, for it was said that no monarch could live in more princely style than did this viceroy of New Spain.

On the 15th of January 1711 the successor of Alburquerque, Don Fernando de Alancastre, Marona y Silva, duque de Linares, marqués de Valdafuentes, made his public entry into Mexico. He is described by the chroniclers of his age as a faithful, energetic, and benevolent man. For five years and a half he held the reins of power, and during that time justice was promptly and impartially administered; public officials were not allowed to neglect their duties; education, art, and science found in him a willing patron, and the affairs of the crown a zealous guardian. Nevertheless the new viceroy had fallen upon evil times, and the first portion of his administration is in marked contrast with the prosperity which, with some drawbacks, seems to have prevailed during the rule of his predecessor. The scourges of earthquake, famine, and pestilence, following in close succession, fell on many portions of New Spain, but nowhere more heavily than on the capital.

On the 16th of August in this year a severe earthquake occurred lasting for half an hour. The strongest buildings could not withstand the shocks; and though we have few records of this disaster, except in Mexico and Puebla, it is probable that other cities suffered no less severely. A short time before there had been an almost total eclipse of the sun; and now the panic-stricken inhabitants, thinking that the world was surely at an end, thronged to the churches to confess their sins and receive the sacrament. For a time there was no more religious community on earth than that which was gathered in the valley of Mexico. The thief brought back his stolen goods; the gambler restored his gains; the rich man gave to him that had not; and many a long-standing feud was

reconciled in anticipation of the great day of reckoning which all believed to be imminent.[33]

But the threatened judgment was postponed for a while, and soon men gambled and quarrelled and cheated each other as in the good old days of Cortés and Alvarado. As for the poor, those who were left houseless and penniless by the disaster, they begged, and generally in vain, for assistance in repairing their shattered dwellings. Fortunately, however, they met with a good friend in Linares, who spared neither income nor private fortune in relieving their wants; supplied funds for rebuilding, and kept the public granaries filled with maize, which he distributed to the destitute at his own expense, and to the less needy at the lowest possible price.

Disastrous as was the year 1711, it was but the precursor of yet more calamitous days. In 1713 premature frosts completely destroyed the crops, not only in the valley of Mexico, but in all the table lands of New Spain. The viceroy bestirred himself with his usual energy, and at great personal sacrifice succeeded in filling the granaries of the capital. But during the following year the supply became exhausted, or at least the supply available for the poor. Soon pestilence followed; and through the fair streets of the metropolis wandered gaunt and plague-stricken figures, begging with feeble voice and vainly stretching out their hands for bread.[34]

The wants of the sick and destitute were to some extent relieved by the viceroy, the archbishop, and the charitable institutions of Mexico; but elsewhere even greater sufferings were experienced, and fresh catastrophes added to the prevailing distress. On the night of the 15th of May, 1714, the province of

[33] *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 525–6; *Alegre, Hist. Compend.*, iii. 158. During 1711, a snow storm occurred in the valley of Mexico, the only one mentioned from that date until 1767.

[34] The gloom now pervading the city was increased by the news that the wife of Felipe V. was dead; the people being ordered to wear mourning in her memory. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 109.

Vera Cruz was visited by a severe earthquake. In the town of Córdoba the shocks came in so rapid succession and with so increasing intensity that the entire population rushed forth into the streets. Women forgot their modesty and hurried almost naked from their dwellings; men forgot their manhood and left their little ones to perish amidst the wreck of falling houses; while man, matron, and maid knelt side by side, bare-kneed on the pavement, and offered fervent supplications to the virgin for deliverance.[35]

Before the people of Córdoba had time to recover from their fright another calamity befell them and one far more disastrous. On the 23d of June in the same year, dense black clouds rolled in from the ocean, and torrents of rain fell, almost without intermission for fifteen days. The houses were flooded; and those who lived on the mountain side were in danger of destruction from the huge bowlders and trunks of trees swept down by the swollen torrents. All communication with the neighboring haciendas was cut off; cattle perished by the thousand, and their owners barely escaped with their lives. When the storm cleared away it was found that the surface of the country was greatly changed. Enormous barrancas were formed and the streams diverted from their former channels.

During all these calamities the people of New Spain found some consolation in the relief which they now enjoyed from the raids of freebooters and privateers; but this immunity was secured under conditions which, ere long, caused Spain the loss of her New World commerce. By the treaty which was signed at Utrecht on the 11th of April, 1713, England obtained the privilege of shipping negro slaves to the islands and mainland of America, and of maintaining

[35] By this earthquake the church of San Antonio was so much shattered that it became necessary to rebuild it. *Rodriguez, Cart. Hist.*, 41.

depots and trading factories in the Spanish American possessions;[36] this being a part of the price at which France and Spain secured the withdrawal of Great Britain from the grand alliance.

His Catholic Majesty Felipe V. and her Britannic Majesty Queen Anne were to receive each one fourth share in the profits obtained from the sale of these human chattels, the former agreeing to advance one million pesos for carrying on the trade, or in case he could not raise such an amount to pay interest thereupon at the rate of eight per cent a year.[37] Before her decease, which occurred in the following year, the English sovereign, finding her share unprofitable, transferred it to the South Sea Company, though it does not appear that the latter reaped much benefit therefrom.[38]

"Commercial houses," as they were termed, were at once established at Vera Cruz and elsewhere on the coast of the North Sea; but their owners, not content with the enormous profits of the slave-trade, violated the terms of the treaty by introducing cargoes of foreign merchandise. England was now permitted, as we have seen, to send yearly to Portobello a five hundred ton vessel freighted with merchandise;[39] but each slaver that landed its living cargo on the shores of New Spain brought also a quantity of contraband goods. In vain the custom-house officers attempted to stay this traffic; and in vain the penalty of death and confiscation of property was threatened against

[36] An asiento for the sale of slaves, with power to regulate their price, was also granted to the French about the year 1702.

[37] Some of the clauses of this asiento are given in *Moro, Informe* (Mexico, 1724), 1–4, and all of them in an abridged form in *Salmon's Modern Hist.* (3d ed., London, 1746), iii. 220–2. The asiento had been previously granted (in 1702) to the French Guinea Company and was transferred to the crown of England at the treaty of Utrecht.

[38] In a speech delivered before the company in 1731, Sir John Eyles in giving an account of this branch of their business during the previous ten years, states that, though the report of their having lost £2,000,000 by the trade was untrue, they had incurred such losses through the seizure of their effects by the Spaniards during the wars with Spain that their gains were very small. They were not, however, out of pocket. *Id.*, 222.

[39] *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 586–7, this series.

all Spaniards who engaged in it. It was an easy matter to bribe the not over-conscientious or over-vigilant officials, and thus to procure goods at cheap rates instead of paying tribute to the merchants of Seville. For twenty-eight years the South Sea Company and private adventurers carried on a contraband trade, almost to the exclusion of Spanish commerce, until, at the convention of Madrid in 1750, the former agreed to annul the asiento, receiving in return certain commercial privileges, and a money compensation of 500,000 pesos. During this period the commerce between the Spanish provinces and Europe was estimated at 286,000,000 pesos, of which amount English smugglers and slavers absorbed no less than 224,000,000 pesos, and only 62,000,000 pesos, or less than 22 per cent of the entire sum, fell to the share of the Spanish galleons.[40]

During the last years of his administration the viceroy was constantly engaged in petty warfare with the contraband traders; but to no purpose. All that man could do he did. The troops were kept on the alert; the armada de Barlovento also rendered good service, in consideration of which they received their pay[41] at no very long intervals, and sometimes even with regularity, the latter a rare incident in those days. But on the thinly peopled coast of New Spain were many excellent and secluded anchorage grounds, and the population being for the most part in league

[40] *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 531.

[41] In his instructions to his successor the viceroy says that the armada de Barlovento had received assistance from himself and his predecessors, as the troops were in arrears of pay, but that if a trustworthy person were sent to examine the accounts of the different garrisons, it might be found that the king was a creditor rather than a debtor. The instructions relate to other matters, and are remarkable for their terseness and vigor of expression. *Linares, Instruccion á su sucesor*, in *Vireyes de Mex. Instruc.*, MS., fol. i. 49, ii. 23. In June 1687 the seamen and troops belonging to the armada mutinied at Vera Cruz on account of not having received their pay, which was at the rate of about eleven pesos a month, and because they were not satisfied with this amount. On receiving a portion of their back pay and a full pardon they returned to their duty. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 262–3. Robles, 476, states that a force of mulattoes was sent against them and that three of the mutineers were killed.

with the English, little could be done to check their unlawful traffic.

On the 15th of August 1716, Linares' term of office expired, and his decease occurred during the following year.[42] He had proved himself a humane and benevolent man; but it was not until after his death that the full extent of his charities was known. It then appeared that besides devoting large sums to the relief of the poor, he had established free dispensaries at the different barriers of the city, and in his will he bequeathed a further amount for similar purposes. All his bequests were faithfully carried out by his executors, and among them was one of five thousand pesos in aid of the Jesuit missions in California.[43]

Linares' successor was Baltasar de Zúñiga, marqués de Valero and duque de Arion.[44] The salary of the new viceroy was fixed at twenty-seven thousand pesos a year, a larger stipend than was usually paid, and its amount excited unfavorable comment from his predecessor.[45] The condition of affairs in New Spain was not in keeping with such extravagance. The country had not yet recovered from the disasters of 1714, and two years after Valero had assumed office, tidings arrived of a severe famine in Texas. So great was the scarcity of grain that the troops stationed there threatened to desert. Provisions were at once forwarded to the governor of Coahuila, and in the hope of making that territory self-sustaining persons

[42] He died in Mexico on the 3d of June, and his death was much regretted. He was buried in the Cármen convent, which was afterward known as the church of San Sebastian. His portrait was preserved in the nunnery of Santa Teresa la Nueva.

[43] Linares was the first secular of the congregation of the Buena Muerte, and the spacious edifice belonging to the society was erected mainly at his expense. It exists at the present day. *Alegre, Hist. Compend.*, iii. 177.

[44] He took office August 16, 1716.

[45] Linares remarked: 'Habré vivido seis años en opulencia; y aunque ahora no me hallo en abundancia volveré á los piés del Rey, gustoso, á hacerle ver que con veintisiete mil pesos de sueldo, sin abusar de sus caudales, ni vender la justicia, me restituyo satisfecho á ellos.' *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 536.

were sent to instruct the natives in the science of agriculture.

On the 16th of June 1718, while returning from the procession of corpus christi in company with the oidores, an attempt was made on the viceroy's life. When about to ascend the stairs of his palace, a man named Nicolás Camacho grasped at Valero's sword, drew it half way from the scabbard, and would probably have plunged it into his body had he not been seized by the attendant halberdiers. On being questioned as to his motives it was found that the would-be assassin was a lunatic, and after a brief trial he was sent to the hospital of San Hipólito.[46]

During the remainder of the viceroy's administration, which lasted until the 15th of October, 1722, the provinces of New Spain were in a prosperous condition. The mines were unusually productive, the yield of quicksilver being especially large; the crops were abundant; and the volume of trade was greatly increased.[47]

The sole drawback to this flourishing condition of affairs was the outbreak of hostilities between France and Spain, occasioned by a dispute between the duke of Orleans, who was appointed regent during the

[46] The trial lasted only two days. A report of it is given in *Dic. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, app. i. 470–1. It is the opinion of the writer that Camacho was not insane, but the victim of an intrigue on the part of the viceroy who purposed to deprive him of his wife. The same view is taken in *Registro Trimestre*, i. 385–407. The editor makes the following comment on the trial: 'Esta causa forma una especie de contraste con la que dimos en le número antérior, y aunque los jueces aparecen mas equitativos, queda siempre una sospecha de que el desgraciado Camacho, fué victima de una intriga para quitarle á su muger. Por lo demás se advierten cosas dignas de notarse en esta causa. Tal es por ejemplo, el que en un hecho sucedido à mediodia y á muy poca distancia de os testigos presenciales, solo Muelas asegure que Camacho arremetió con el espadin al virey, diciendo unicamente los demás que se lo estrajo de la vaina. Es tambien notable el dictámen fiscál, que fundado en la idea equivocada de que no puede haber un completo trastorno mental sin furor, pide la pena correspondiente al delito de Lesa Magestad in primo capite. Creemos que tambien es de notar el parecer del protomedicato, pues que su dictámen nada tiene de médico y cualquiera pudiera decir lo mismo sin haber saludado los principios del arte. Sin embargo, esta es una causa formada con esmero, pues per lo singular del caso se mandó al rey copia de ella.'

[47] In 1721 the fleet from New Spain reached Cádiz with treasure and merchandise to the value of 11,000,000 pesos. *Mayer's Mex. Azt.*, i. 228.

minority of Louis XV., and Cardinal Alberoni, the minister of Felipe V. On the 19th of May 1719 the garrison of Pensacola surrendered to the French, and the colonists and missionaries of Florida and Texas were compelled to take refuge in Coahuila. But the French could not maintain their foothold in the country. When the news of their invasion reached Mexico, Valero quickly despatched against them a force of five hundred men under command of the marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, governor of Texas and Coahuila. The French retired from Texas; the missions were reëstablished; and the peace which was concluded in 1721 put an end to further aggressions.[48]

Mention has already been made of the buccaneer settlements in Yucatan, where, as we have seen, the freebooters, when not engaged in making raids on the Spanish settlements or cruising in quest of Spanish treasure ships, occupied themselves with cutting dyewoods and mahogany.[49] A favorite rendezvous of these adventurers was the Isla Triste, or as it is now known the Isla del Cármen, at the entrance of the bay of Términos. During the war of the Spanish succession they frequently attacked Spanish vessels trading between Campeche and Vera Cruz. In 1708 Fernando Meneses Bravo de Saravia, when on his way accompanied by his family to the province of Yucatan, of which he had been appointed governor, was taken from his vessel in the bay of Campeche by the pirate Barbillas. Saravia was set on shore and

[48] On the 31st of March in the same year, the *Sacra Familia*, a vessel of 300 tons, with 6 guns and 70 men, was captured by Captain Shelvocke in the port of Sonsonate (the modern Acajutla) at the mouth of the river of the same name. The prize contained only small arms, hand grenades, and ammunition, and, as the captain remarks, was hardly worth the risk and trouble of capture. *Voy. de Shelvocke*, in *Beranger, Coll. Voy.*, iii. 3–4, 89–125; and *Kerr's Coll. Voy.*, x. 500–1. In the latter a detailed account of the voyage is given, compiled from the narratives of Shelvocke and Captain William Betagh, the commander of the marines. They sailed from Plymouth on board the *Speedwell* on the 13th of February 1719, bound on a privateering expedition on the coasts of Chile, Peru, and New Spain, but met with little success.

[49] *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 623 et seq., this series.

his wife and children detained as captives until a ransom of 14,000 pesos should be received. As the ayuntamiento refused to pay the money, the pirate made his demand in person at the town-hall; whereupon the governor, feeling that his family might come to harm, ordered the amount to be paid.

Nine years later an expedition was despatched from Mexico by way of Vera Cruz to Campeche, and being reënforced by the troops stationed there, drove the intruders from all their settlements on the bay of Términos. The attack was made on the 16th of July 1717, the feast of the virgin of Cármen, and hence the island received its name. A large amount of booty was wrested from the buccaneers, many of whom were slain, those who escaped harboring in Belize, where, being joined by others of their craft, they organized a force of three hundred and thirty-five men and returned to the bay of Términos. Landing on the Isla del Cármen they sent a message to Alonso Felipe de Andrade, the commander of the Spanish fort which had been erected during their absence, ordering him to withdraw his garrison. The reply was that the Spaniards had plenty of powder and ball with which to defend themselves.

The freebooters made their attack during the same night and captured the stronghold without difficulty, taking three of the four field pieces with which it was defended. But Andrade was a brave and capable officer, and his men were no dandy warriors. Placing himself at the head of his command he led them against the enemy, forced his way into the fort, recaptured one of the field pieces, and turned it against the foe. During the fight a building filled with straw was set on fire by a hand grenade. This incident favored the Spaniards, who now made a furious charge on the invaders. Their commander was shot dead while leading on his men; but exasperated by the loss of their gallant leader, they sprang at the buccaneers with so fierce a rush that the latter were driven back

to the shore, whence they reëmbarked for Belize and thenceforth returned no more to the bay of Términos.[50]

[50] *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. ep. i. 220–2; ep. iii. 442; *Nouv. Annales, Voy.*, c. 52. The account given in the former work is absurdly exaggerated; but it is the only one that pretends to give a detailed narrative of the expulsion of the buccaneers from the isla del Cármen. It there stated that, after being driven from the fort, the Spaniards mustered but 42 men, while the buccaneers according to this version must have numbered more than 200, allowing for their losses during the assault and for those who were left to guard their vessels. That this force, now in possession of three pieces of artillery, should have been defeated by a handful of Spaniards, seems ridiculous to all who are acquainted with the records of buccaneer warfare.

Herewith I give more complete references to the authorities consulted for the preceding chapters: *Cedulario*, MS., i. 132; iii. 63–4, 115–16; iv. 23; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 5 et seq.; ii., passim; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 79–101, 222–3, 266–8; *Robles, Diario*, i. ii., passim; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 25, 31–2; iii. 60–1, 166–7; iv. 30 et seq.; vi. 113–16, 135–7, 153; vii. 8–45; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., série i. tom. i. 268–74, 314–21, 411, 478, 507; ii. 154, 178–200, 321–6; *Rivera, Diario*, vi. 15–96; *Linares, Instrucciones*, MS., 6–88; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 13–21, 182; *Disposiciones Varias*, MS., vi. 3–13; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., passim; *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, MS., i. 1–32; ii. 2–6, 25, 47–52, 74; *Vireyes de Mex., Instruc.*, MS., série i. 49; série ii. 8, 23; *Maltratamiento de Ind.*, 1–15; *Lazcano, Vida del P. Oviedo*, 70–101, 140–57; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 12, 74, 78, 123; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 192–9, 211–49, 291–659; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 41–3; ii. 223–4; iii. 31–40, 109–215; *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., 5; *Espinosa, Chron. Apost.*, 465–6, 488–534; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 70; *Davila, Mem. Hist.*, pt. i. 19–28; iii. 252–96; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 104–9, 132, 152–5; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 122 et seq.; *Vetancvrt, Cron. San. Evang.*, 75–9, 135; *Id., Teatro*, 51–2; *Id., Trat. Mex.*, 16–17; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 26–30; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 94–7, 169–70, 241–312, 583–5; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, 116; *Guatemala, Col. Cédulas Reales*, passim; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 133–49, 150–79; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. ii., passim; série ii. iv. 56 et seq.; vi. 17–96; *Arlegui, Prov. de Zac.*, 81–2, 92–123, 201–6, 250–2; *Escamilla, Noticias*, 4; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 599; *N. Mex. Cédulas*, MS., 80–2, 149–64, 281–4, 322–9; *Derrotero para Naveg.*, MS., 13–22, 88–90; *Egidos de Méx.*, MS., 61; *Jaillandier, Extraite*, MS., passim; *America Descrip.*, MS., 155–8, 166, 177–9, 196–8, 207–39; *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Mex.*, iv. 14–21; *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 455–9; *Morfi, Doc. Mex.*, iv. 442–4; *Escobar, Breve Trat. Ord.*, MS., passim; *Berrotaran, Doc. Mex.*, i. 171–7; *Panes, Extension*, MS., passim; *Reales Ordenes*, iii. 56–72, 308–12; iv. 416–19; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 505–10; *Mayer MSS.*, passim; *Laet, Amer. Descript.*, 256–9; *Alaman, Disert*, iii. 38–53, 211, 390; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. 5, 289–94, 366, 380–92; *Arevalo, Compend.*, 29–30; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 276–81; *Id., New Spain*, ii. 203–22; *Id., Tablas Estad.*, MS., 7–40; *Id., Versuch*, ii. 178–86; *Gonzales, Col. N. Leon*, 39–58; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 122–39; *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 17–18; *Nayaritas, Relac. Conquist.*, 6; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 59–119; *Verona, Paromologia*, MS., 1–93; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, no. xxxv., 503–9; *Rodriguez, Cuadro Hist.*, 41–2; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 29; iii. 239–42; iv. 19; v. 312; ix. 54; xi. 504; *Id.*, 2da ép. i. 218–22; ii. 337; iii. 175–6; 3a ép. iv. 258; *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., 141–222; *Instrucciones á los Vireyes*, 302–17; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, x. 263–72, 337–40; *Correal, Voy.*, i. 44–5; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Libre*, 425–33; *Zerecero, Rev. Mex.*, 4–5, 508, 525–7; *Mofras, L'Exploration*, ii. 104; *Zamora, Bib. Leg.*, ii. 253–5; iv. 442–4; *Ortega, Alegacion*, 1–50; *Rivera, Gobernantes de*

Mex., i. 252–68; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 152–73; *Nouv. Annales des Voy.*, c. 52; cliii. 8; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 98–110, 181–3; *Varios Impresos*, iii., passim; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hac.*, i. 28–35, 324–5; *Orizaba, Ocurrencias en*, 1 et seq.; *Registro Yucateco*, ii. 5–10; *Mexico, Not. Cuidad Mex.*, 22, 295–8; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 439–553, 723–6; x. 1362–3; *Pap. Var.*, ii., passim; clxvii. 3–9; cxcvi. 11 et seq.; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 263–4; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch*, xii. 386–403, 534–52; xiii. 484–9; *Monroy, Oraciones Paneg.*, passim; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 316; *Museo Mex.*, i. 51–3, 99–102; iv. 73–80; *Alzate, Gacetas*, iii. 441–2, 464; *Cartas Edificantes*, vii. 258–9; *Gaceta, Mex.*, i. ii. iii., passim; iv. 9 et seq.; v. 18–370; vi. 30–70; viii. 277–309; x. 98, 185–6; *Robinson's Mex., Rev.*, ii. 299–302; *Lussan's Journal*, 143–5, 348–84; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 213–34; *Stephen's Yuc.*, ii. 195–8; *Mexico, Notes on*, 236; *Wilson's Mex.*, 24–5; *World Displayed*, vi. 49–65, 178–85; *West. Indies Geog.*, 124–55; *Id., Descript.*, 62–5; *Heylin's Cosmog.*, 1069–80; *Douglas' Summary*, 72, 88; *Chappe, Voy.*, 17–25; *Fossey, Mex.*, 9; *Macpherson's Annals*, iii. 57; *Archenholtz's Hist. Pirates*, 78–84; *Berenger's Col. Voy.*, i. 377–9, 402–3; iii. 3–4, 89–128, 309–10, 355–72; *Spanish Empire in Am.*, 124–5; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 919, 1024; *Mesa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 487–91, 572–5; *Laharpe, Abrege*, x. 86–93, 102–7, 124–31; *Oexmelin, Hist. de Flib.*, i. 261–76; ii. 285–301; iii. 273–300; *Müller, Reisen*, iii. 195; *Hassel, Mex. et Guat.*, 229–43; *Mosaico Mex.*, i. 399–407; iv. 56–7; vi. 162–3; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat., Vallejo, Vida*, passim; *Drake, Cavendish and Dampier, Lives*, 201–2, 270–1; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, iv. 127–8, 227–36; *Ilustracion Mex.*, iii. 146–51; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 277–85, 292–316; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 80, 410, 470, 525, 667; ii. 64–6, 301–2; iv. 800; v. 53; vi. 156 et seq.; vii. 341, 517–18; viii. 142, passim; ix. 287–432; x. 96 et seq.; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 264, 278–9; xxvii. 58–70, 82–4; *Pinkerton's Modern Geog.*, 210–14; *Gage's Survey*, 48–53; *Id., Voyage*, i. 56–68; *Voyages, A New Col.*, iii. 183–206; *Id., Historical*, i. 332–60; ii. 45–66; *Id., New Univ. Col.*, i. 141–8, 219–24; *Zúñiga y O., Calend.*, 109–200; *Sharp's Voy.*, 115–20; *Payne's Hist.*, 67; *Dunbar's Mex.*, 197–8; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 69, 183–6; *Veracruzano*, i. 34; *Dampier's Voy.*, i. 254–71; *Castellanos, Derecho*, passim; *Sartorius, Mex.*, 33; *Castorena, Racones*, 1–40; *Salesii, De Confessionibus*, passim; *Dillon, Hist. Mex.*, 76–9.

CHAPTER XVI.

NUEVA GALICIA.

1601–1803.

BOUNDARIES OF THE TERRITORY—ITS GOVERNORS—THE AUDIENCIA OF GUADALAJARA—ITS JURISDICTION AND POWERS—LOCAL GOVERNMENT—CORREGIMIENTOS AND ALCALDIAS MAYORES—CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND MINING DISTRICTS—THE CAPITAL—A CITY OF OFFICE-HOLDERS—TREASURY DEPARTMENT—INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS—MINES—QUICKSILVER MONOPOLY AND ITS EFFECTS—AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-RAISING—LABOR, COMMERCE, AND SHIP-BUILDING—POPULATION AND LOCAL STATISTICS.

DURING the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Nueva Galicia almost coincided with the territory which now forms the states of Jalisco, Aguas Calientes, and Zacatecas. On the south, however, those parts of the Ávalos provinces that lay south of Autlan and Zayula, now forming part of Jalisco, appear to have then belonged to New Spain, and were subject to the viceroy, while in the north-east Nueva Galicia included the western portion of what is now San Luis Potosí, the boundary line running near Charcas and Matehuala. The territory was under the political rule of a governor, who was also president of the audiencia of Guadalajara, and was appointed by the king, though nominally subject to the viceroy.[1] In case of his death or inability to perform his duties the senior oidor of the audiencia ruled ad interim until a new appointment could be made.

In the seventeenth century the governors were

[1] During the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century their titles were gobernador, presidente de la real audiencia, comandante general, and intendente. See *Cedulario*, MS., i. 114, 209; iii. 176, 238; *Real Orden*, in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 2; *Ugarte y Loyola, Rel.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep., iii. 307.

usually lawyers, and their duties in connection with the civil administration of the country were by no means arduous. Later, military men were more frequently appointed, and held under the viceroy the rank of captain-general; but their responsibilities were light, for peace prevailed throughout the land except in Nayarit, where a comandante was stationed, subject in military matters to viceregal orders, and in political and judicial affairs to the governor and audiencia. The election of subordinate local officials seems to have belonged originally to the audiencia; but after long disputes between that body and its president, during which both parties several times appealed to the crown, the latter received the right of making appointments—a license which he had gradually usurped.[2]

The governor subsequently named the alcaldes mayores and corregidores of the different districts, with the exception of Zacatecas and perhaps one or two others, where the king, for some special reason, retained the privilege. He also appointed, down to 1646, many of the officials of Nueva Vizcaya. All this power would seem, however, to have been vested in him as president of the audiencia, for the revenues were administered by special treasury officials appointed by the king, the governor receiving a regular stipend.[3]

There are few incidents worthy of record concerning the governors of Nueva Galicia, and these relate for the most part to trivial matters, as the quarrel of one with a bishop about some petty formality; the unusual brilliancy of the bull-fights at the installation of another, while the building of a church or even the

[2] Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 508, is the authority for this usurpation, and he gives the number of appointments in 1742 as above 32; but Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 92, states that a century earlier the governor had the appointment of 54 officials in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya.

[3] The revenue collected in Guadalajara from all sources from 1730 to 1740 was 2,332,335 pesos. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 318. The same author boasts of the promptness with which Nueva Galica always paid her quota of taxation.

transfer of a sacred image during a ruler's administration was considered by the chroniclers of this period an event sufficiently remarkable to place his name side by side with that of a viceroy. Many of them were able men, as was the case with Juan de Villela, whose rule lasted from 1607 to 1613.[4] The administration of Diego Nuñez de Morquecho, who held office from 1629 to 1632,[5] is noteworthy from the fact that he enforced the laws which forbade the ill-treatment of Indians. The custom had become prevalent of practically evading the royal decrees against slavery by advancing to native workmen sums of money which they could never pay, and which thus became a life-lien upon their labor. The governor accomplished his purpose by limiting the amount of a native's credit to five pesos.[6] Antonio de Abarca, who was appointed in 1702, was the last of the legal profession who held office as governor,[7] and Toribio Rodriguez de Solis, whose administration lasted until 1716, the first who bore the title of captain-general.[8]

The audiencia of Guadalajara held jurisdiction over

[4] His predecessor was Santiago Vera, who was in office from 1600 to 1606, and it is said that he interested himself in the conversion of the Indians in the north-western sierra, but it is not recorded that he accomplished much. On March 6, 1610, Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra was appointed adelantado of Nueva Galicia, but his name does not appear as one of the governors. In 1612 his wife and his son obtained a rental on the Mexican treasury of 1,312,500 maravedís and in the following year his daughter received an encomienda of Indians in New Spain. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 90.

[5] His predecessors were Alonso Perez Merchan, who was in power from 1613 to 1617, and Pedro de Otarola, who held office from the latter date to 1629. During the rule of the former, earthquakes and floods occurred in the province. Otarola was a religious enthusiast, and is said to have committed a kind of pious suicide, since he died of fasting.

[6] His successor was Juan Canseco y Quiñones, who was governor from 1636 to 1643. It is said that he squandered the revenues of the state on bull-fights, and festivities for the populace, although he spent large sums on public improvements.

[7] It is said that he died of melancholy, caused in part by the impression made on his mind by a tragedy styled 'Life is a Dream,' which was performed at his reception. The partial destruction of the governor's palace by fire may have increased his malady. On state occasions he made his appearance so shabbily apparelled as to cause the audiencia to make complaints at court.

[8] He was appointed in 1708. His successor, Tomás Teran de los Rios, who undertook the task of bridging the Rio Grande, or Tololotlan, was in office from 1716 to 1724. Governor Nicolás de Ribera y Santa Cruz, who ruled from 1724 to 1727, was constantly involved in difficulties with subordinates, equals, and superiors. He escaped removal at the hands of the India Coun-

all the regions occupied by the Spaniards north-west of Nueva Galicia, including also the Ávalos provinces, and at times Colima.[9] It claimed jurisdiction as well over the north-western region of Coahuila and Texas, but the king's decision in 1679 was adverse to this pretension.[10] It does not appear that the authority of the audiencia in Nueva Galicia differed in any respect from that in Nueva Vizcaya, although on account of distance and consequent expense, only cases of considerable importance came as a rule from the latter territory.[11] The oidores of the audiencia were alcaldes in criminal proceedings, but had no voice in matters pertaining to war and exchequer; and after the time of Governor Ceballos, who ruled during the latter part of the seventeenth century, they lost the power of making higher appointments which originally they seem to have held. The president, who, as we have seen, was also political governor of Nueva Galicia, simply held the right of presiding over the

cil only by death, and was succeeded by his son. The few and meagre records that have been handed down to us concerning these officials are taken from Mota-Padilla, the original historian of Nueva Galicia.

[9] In 1790 Colima was subject in civil affairs to Nueva Galicia. In matters ecclesiastic it was entirely under the bishop of Michoacan till August 8, 1790, when it was finally decided that it belonged to the diocese of Guadalajara; and thus Colima continued belonging in all branches of administration to Nueva Galicia. *Colima, Representacion*, MS., 4. During the 17th and 18th centuries the province of Colima made little progress owing to its isolated position. The Villa de Colima continued to hold its rank as the chief town and capital of the province and was the residence of the principal part of the Spanish population. Some dozen or more smaller towns composed the remaining settlements, whose inhabitants, for the most part natives, were employed in farming. Besides the usual agricultural products, a limited amount of sugar and cotton was produced; a few natives were employed in the manufacture of matting; considerable salt was made, and a variety of fruits, among which were the cocoanut and plantain, grew in abundance. Upon the establishment in 1787 of the system of intendencias this province became a part of the intendencia of Guadalajara. *Humboldt, Essai. Pol.*, i. 259; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 78; *Gac. de Mex.*, i. 273; ii. 282, 342; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Am.*, ii. 83–8.

[10] According to royal cédula of October 15, 1778, the audiencia of Guadalajara then had jurisdiction to a certain degree over six provinces: Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, New Mexico, and the Californias. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 9–10.

[11] The audiencia was composed of four oidores, or judges, and a fiscal, or attorney, each with a salary of 2,000 ducats. There was also quite a number of minor officials of whom a few were appointed and received a salary, but most of them bought their offices at auction, paying from 1,000 to 10,000 pesos, according to the privileges and emoluments connected with each.

court, and of taking the place of honor on occasions of state, but had no vote in judicial matters.[12]

In Nueva Galicia there were in the middle of the eighteenth century thirty-two districts under corregidores and alcaldes mayores, although a century earlier, according to Calle's list, they numbered forty-one. There were three cities, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Compostela; eight towns, Lagos, Aguas Calientes, Jerez, Fresnillo, Purificacion, Villagutierre de Águila or Villanueva, Sombrerete, and San José de Montezuma, near Tepatitlan; and twenty-one reales de minas, or mining towns.[13] So-called pueblos and other small settlements scattered over the territory numbered upward of two hundred. The officers who ruled the large towns with their districts annexed, known as alcaldías or corregimientos, were with few exceptions appointed by the president of the audiencia, and received salaries. Under these officials in each city and town were one or more ordinary alcaldes, an alguacil mayor, four regidores, and a notary, forming virtually an ayuntamiento, though not often called by that name. There seem to have been no salaries attached to these minor positions, and that of alguacil, or constable, was nearly always sold at auction, at different times and places. Ordinarily alcaldes in some, and perhaps all the towns, were elected yearly, requiring, in the larger places at least, confirmation by the president.

Guadalajara, the capital of Nueva Galicia, the cathedral city, the seat of the audiencia, and the place where the royal treasury was kept, swarmed with

[12] About 1670 there was a quarrel between the president and the audiencia as to the right to appoint a governor ad interim of Nueva Vizcaya. The king at first decided in favor of the president, but later reversed his decision; and later still, gave the president and fiscal a vote on the subject. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 400–1. See also on audiencia *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 326; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 91–2.

[13] In Calle's time, 1646, there was yet a villa de Espíritu Santo at Tepic; Fresnillo was only a real de mina; and neither Villagutierre nor San José had been founded. This author names 13 reales de minas.

officials, and he was a humble Spaniard indeed, who filled no public position. It is not necessary to enter more fully into the details of the municipal machinery or the somewhat intricate relations of the different branches of power in this much governed city.[14] The treasury department was under a staff of officers whose chief duty it was to receive, tax, and stamp silver bullion, and to deliver quicksilver for use in the mines. At one time the administration of the exchequer seems to have been intrusted to the governor and audiencia, but they did not long retain control, for the king always took care that the precious metals in transit between the mines and the royal coffers in Spain should pass through as few hands as possible. A branch treasury was also established at Zacatecas, where the revenue for a single decade, commencing in 1730, amounted to nearly four million pesos.

Before 1600, as we have seen, rich mines were discovered, and during the next two centuries many were developed, often with rich returns in spite of great disadvantages. They were nearly all of silver-bearing ore, though according to Mota-Padilla, very fine gold was taken out at Mezquital, and in such abundance as to be used secretly in trade throughout the country. This yield ceased however toward the middle of the eighteenth century. Respecting methods of mining and of reduction we have little or no contemporaneous information, while of the yield we have for statistics only a few meagre, disconnected, and doubtless in most instances inaccurate statements bearing upon different localities at different periods.

Bullion was presented at the treasury at Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and in later years at Llerena, and was there properly stamped after the royal dues had been

[14] Villa-Señor, *Teatro*, ii. 204–6, names the secular cabildo of Guadalajara in 1745 as consisting of twelve regidores, alférez real, alguacil mayor, two alcaldes, contador, procurador, and notary. He also speaks of a custom-house staff.

paid. Thence it must be transported to Mexico for sale as there was no nearer mint.[15] The labor was mainly performed by Indians, under Spanish overseers, nominally working for wages of from two to five pesos a month, yet practically held in bondage during much of the time and in many sections.[16] The severest toil, however, fell to the lot of negro slaves.

Notwithstanding the richness of the ores, the mining industry was well nigh paralyzed by the government monopoly of quicksilver, which restricted the production of that metal to the mines of Almaden in Spain. Rich deposits are said to have been discovered in Nueva Galicia, especially in the Sierra de Pinos, but its extraction was prohibited by cédula of 1730. The immediate effect was of course to make the price of quicksilver so excessive that only the most productive mines could be profitably worked, to say nothing of the occasional failure of the supply on account of interrupted communication with Mexico. But these were not the only disadvantages of the monopoly; for not only must the quicksilver be brought directly from the government officials, but must be bought only in large quantities. No subsequent transactions were allowed, nor any retail trade in this commodity. It was not enough, however, that quicksilver must be bought in large quantities and at exorbitant rates; the purchaser must at the same time become responsible for the payment of the tax on the amount of silver bullion which the supply purchased would enable him to produce! This was intended to prevent frauds in evading the payment of taxes and tithes; but the practical effect was that if the discoverer of a mine happened to be a man without means he was compelled to take others into partnership; and when the

[15] In 1607 a royal order was obtained ordering a mint to be established at Zacatecas, but nothing was done in the matter. *Bernardez, Zac.*, 38; *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, ii. 223.

[16] Dampier, *Voyage*, i. 269, speaks of some hundreds of Indian slaves who worked in the silver mines near Centizpac in 1686, carrying ore to Compostela and supplies back to the mines.

mine proved valuable, litigations would follow, and the discoverer would too often lose his interest.[17]

At this period the industries of agriculture and stock-raising were fairly prosperous. There was no lack in Nueva Galicia of fertile land, which produced an abundant food-supply, while in ocean and river there were excellent fisheries. Several small vessels were built on the coast for expeditions to California, the workmen being sent from Mexico and encamping at some suitable spot near the mouth of a river, where they felled the timber, built the craft, and then abandoned their camp. Of manufactures there were none, except the rude articles made by the natives for their own use, and the commerce of the country was carried on by native carriers, pack-mules, and wagon-trains, by means of which agricultural products were carried to the nearest market, ore and bullion forwarded from the mines, and tools, machinery, quicksilver, and clothing brought overland from the city of Mexico. To the capital were also sent the few articles of produce which would pay the cost of freight, together with herds of live-stock. At times the privilege of killing and exporting cattle was restricted by the governor on complaint of the ecclesiastical authorities that the amount of tithes was thereby diminished.

The city of Mexico derived much greater benefit from the resources of Nueva Galicia than did the province itself. In the capital alone could any products except those of mine or field be exchanged for money.[18] Men were not wanting who understood these disadvantages, and foremost among them was Mota-Padilla, who never ceased his efforts to separate the country from New Spain, to obtain for her ports a trade with China and with Central and South America; to establish a mint, and make Guadalajara a centre of trade;

[17] 'Ya se tiene por cierto que cuando se litiga sobre mina se pierden las leyes.' *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 321.

[18] 'México se ha hecho garganta precisa por donde haya de pasar todo.' *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 263-4.

but the pressure brought to bear on the king from the New World metropolis was always too strong, and the interests of the province were disregarded.[19]

The total population of Nueva Galicia in the middle of the eighteenth century was estimated at not less than two hundred thousand, of which number sixty thousand were Indians and the remainder of Spanish and mixed blood. Though this seems a comparatively high figure, Mota-Padilla certainly had excellent apportunities for obtaining correct statistics.[20] During the second half of the century the population seems to have increased more rapidly; for we find that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Guadalajara was variously estimated at from nineteen to thirty-five thousand, and that under the jurisdiction of the audiencia as high as six hundred and thirty thousand.[21]

It will be remembered that at the close of the sixteenth century Zacatecas was the new El Dorado which attracted settlers and adventurers from all parts; the population rapidly increased; mines were being discovered and developed, and a great future seemed to be in store for the new colony. At that time the site of the city of Zacatecas seemed anything but pleasant

[19] From 1748–53, according to the *Noticias Biog.* of Icazbalceta, the historian made efforts to have the four jurisdictions of the coast, Purificacion, Tepic, Acaponeta, and Centizpac, formed into a new government, to be placed under himself as ruler.

[20] Mota-Padilla's actual basis is the number of Indian tributaries, which was 8,000, representing 16,000 persons, not including chiefs, the aged, or children. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 509. Gil, *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 493, says the population in about 1750 was estimated at about 115,000.

[21] Gil, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 493, insists however that in 1807, on taking tribute, the population was found to be only 130,000, having increased but 15,000 since 1750. There is no doubt that there was a misunderstanding as to the territory included. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, 155, and *New Spain*, ii. 180–3, gives for the intendencia of Guadalajara 630,500, and for the city 19,500; 6,381 square leagues with 623,572 inhabitants are mentioned in *Tribunal del Consulado*, 1805. Ortiz, *Mex. Indep.*, 79, gives 630,000 for 1803. According to *Navarro*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., i. 291, in 1810 the intendencia of Guadalajara comprised 9,612 square leagues; 28 partidos, 100 curacies, 9 missions, 2 cities, 7 towns, 326 villages, 33 mining districts, 370 haciendas, 1,511 ranchos, and 118 stock ranches. There were 29 convents and 7 nunneries; 441 clérigos, 192 friars, and 225 nuns; there were 164,420 Spaniards, 172,676 Indians, and 179,720 of mixed blood, making a total population, including the religious, of 517,674.

to the Spaniards. The soil was little adapted to the cultivation of wheat, maize, or even fruit, excepting the Indian fig, the *cactus apuntia* covering the neighborhood in every direction. Nevertheless its location had many advantages. The climate, though changeable, was healthy, being never excessively hot or cold. In the vicinity variety of temperature favored the cultivation of different agricultural products. Cattle-raising became an important feature at an early day, and besides silver, copper lead and other metals were found in abundance.[22]

CITY OF ZACATECAS.

The three or four persons in charge of the treasury, and the corregidor, appointed directly by the king, were the only officials who were paid a salary at Zaca-

[22] The veins around Zacatecas city yielded in 1608 an average of more than two ounces per cental. There were 20 *haciendas de minas*, whose owners were worth from 30,000 to 100,000 pesos each, and employed about 100 Spaniards, the same number of negroes, and 1,500 Indians. Each hacienda worked about 80 centals a day. No smelting was done, and only mule power was used. *Zacatecas, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 182–7. At San Andrés General Mendiola tore down his stone buildings, the material yielding three marks per cental. The product of the mines at Zacatecas had declined considerably in 1732; there were only 24 reduction works; the expenses 1,300,000 pesos per year; and the king received 257,350 pesos. *Bernardez*,

tecas, and the salable offices brought at auction from six to eight thousand pesos.[23] The province had also a lieutenant captain-general, and a force of troops for protection in case of outbreaks among the natives.[24] In wealth and probably in population the city was superior to the capital of Nueva Galicia.[25]

The mining districts of Fresnillo, Sombrerete, Pinos, Nieves, Mazapil, and Zacatecas were all alcaldías mayores, subject to a corregimiento, to which grade, in 1736, the so-called province of Zacatecas was raised, the districts of Aguas Calientes and Juchipila being added three years later. When the alcaldías mayores and corregimientos were abolished by the ordinance establishing intendencias, these latter districts were made a part of the intendencia of Guadalajara, until joined to that of Zacatecas by royal decree of December 30, 1791.

The town of Aguas Calientes derived its name from the thermal springs in its immediate vicinity.[26] In

Zac., 42–50. In 1750 the mines did not yield more than 500,000 pesos; but the output increased in a few years to ten times as much through the efforts of one Laborde. *Jacobs' Hist. Inq.*, ii. 153. The wealthiest inhabitant of Zacatecas was Agustin de Zavala, who in 20 years had paid in silver king's fifths to the amount of 800,000 pesos, which shows that during that time he had sent to be marked 4,000,000. *Salgado, Vida*, 23. This is the same Zavala who was governor of Nuevo Leon.

[23] *Zacatecas, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 184–6. *Mier y Campo*, in *Revista Lien.*, ii. 111, says the royal treasury was established in 1767.

[24] In 1608 Cristóbal de Cardivar is named as holding the position of 'teniente de capitan general.' *Ibid.* The same writer speaks of a governor of Zacatecas appointed every six years by the council of the Indies. A 'capitan á guerra' is also mentioned about 1745 in *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, ii. 223.

[25] The population of the province of Zacatecas for 1793 as given by Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 57, 155, was 118,027; that of the capital, 25,495, and in 1803, 153,300 including city and province. For description of principal places see *Id.*, 260–61; also *Viagero, Univ.*, xxvii. 105–6. For the latter year the tribunal del consulado, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 6, gives 1681 square leagues and 151,749 inhabitants. Murillo, *Geog. Hist.*, 814, gives 40,000 for the city in 1778–9, and Cancelada, *Ruina*, 73–5, the same figures as the consulado. Navarro, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep., i. 291, has in 1810 for the intendencia of Zacatecas 2,355 square leagues, with 22,296 Spaniards, 40,872 Indians, and 77,555 other races; 6 partidos, 17 curates, a city, 2 villas, 28 pueblos, 19 reales de minas, 108 haciendas, 438 ranchos, and 16 cattle ranchos. See also *Flint's Geog.*, ii. 132; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 275; *Berghes, Zac.*, 4; *Zuñiga y O., Calend.*, 116–17; *N. Esp., Brev. Res.*, ii. 319–20.

[26] The town used the royal arms, having no coat of arms of its own. *Aguirre, Doc. Antig.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep. iii. 19. For other

1794 it had a parish church and three convents with about thirty friars, and as many other clergymen. There was also a public school supported by funds bequeathed by a resident of that town. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the population was rapidly increasing,[27] and mining, commerce, agriculture, and stock-raising had made great progress.

Fresnillo had at this period about five thousand inhabitants and was governed by a lieutenant under the

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alcalde of Jerez; there was a large parochial church and a Dominican hospice. The site was little better than that of Zacatecas. The mines in the hills of Proaño, south-west of the town, belonged for the most part to the marquis of Apartado.[28]

Most of the settlements in the province of San

details concerning it see *Id.*, ii. 18; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 77–8; *S. Miguel, Rep. Mex.*, i. 7.

[27] In 1794 the town had 8,376 inhabitants. *Aguirre, Doc. Antig.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep. iii. 21–5. See for other details *Dias, Mex.*, v. 322; *Gazeta Mex.*, i.–xv., passim.

[28] The curacy of Fresnillo was said to be the most lucrative in Nueva Galicia, paying $12,000 per year. *Morfi*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser. iv. 333–5.

Luis Potosí were founded toward the close of the sixteenth and during the early part of the seventeenth century, and there is nothing that requires record concerning their progress. The capital of the same name is situated on the eastern declivity of the great plateau of Anáhuac, in a fertile and extensive valley, bounded on the west by the mountains of San Luis. The oldest records of the town council date back to 1612, the title of city being awarded by the king in 1656.[29] The population in 1604 consisted of eight hundred Spaniards and some three thousand Indians; and about the middle of the eighteenth century, Villa-Señor states it at sixteen hundred families. Most of the natives were distributed among the mines of San Pedro and the neighboring haciendas, and from this time forward the population seems to have increased rapidly.[30]

San Pedro, Charcas, Villa del Valle, Guadalcázar, Pánuco, and other towns were also in a flourishing condition.[31] The mining town of Catorce, so named on account of the murder of fourteen soldiers by savages in ancient times, appears to have been founded in 1772,[32] though some place the date as early as 1738.

[29] *Iturribarria*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vii. 300. According to Arlegui, 57, in 1666.

[30] Statistics concerning the population of San Luis Potosí run widely apart. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 57, gives for 1793 in the city 8,571, and in the province 242,280; for 1803, 12,000 and 334,900 respectively. Castillo, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3d ep. v. 497, gives 22,000 for the city in 1787—an absurd statement. Taladez, *Not.*, in *Id.*, 58, 61, in 1794 for the province 168,002. *Not. de Esp.*, in *Id.*, ii. 19, for 1805, 186,503; so *Trib. Consul*, in *Id.*, 16; see for population at different periods *Id.*, *Id.*, ix. 272; for 1808. Cancelada, *Ruina*, 73–5, gives 311,503. Navarro, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep. i. 291, gives for the intendencia of San Luis in 1810: 2,357 square leagues, with 22,609 Spaniards, 88,949 Indians, 62,007 of mixed race, a total of 173,651. There were 10 partidos, 23 curacies, and 19 missions; one city, 2 villas, 49 pueblos, 15 reales de minas, 124 haciendas, 431 ranchos, and 18 cattle ranchos. Properly there were 14 partidos, 10 under the viceroy, and four under the commander-general of the provincias orientales. See also *Hassel, Handbuch, Mex. and Guat.*, 224–9.

[31] In 1740 San Pedro had 100 families of Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes, with some 2,000 Indians in the vicinity; Charcas, 40 or 50, and Villa del Valle 240 Spanish families. *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i. 54–9.

[32] See *Campo, Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2d ep. iv. 374. Five thousand inhabitants are given for the year 1776, in *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 132–3, which seems exaggerated. According to Hassel, *Handbuch*, the mines were discovered in 1770.

Cedral was established in 1780, and became a doctrina in 1790.[33]

The alcalde mayor of San Luis Potosí held the title of lieutenant captain-general, the appointment being made on account of the proximity of that province to the Chichimec frontier, where, however, the friars were actively engaged in the work of conversion. The ayuntamiento of the capital consisted of twelve regidores, alcaldes, alguaciles, and other necessary officials.[34] The title of city was granted by viceroy Alburquerque in 1656, and was confirmed by Felipe III. August 17, 1658. On the 25th of October 1787 the province was made an intendencia.[35]

Of the mining and other industries I shall have occasion to speak later. The only disturbances which seem to have occurred in San Luis Potosí are those on the occasion of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. When these were suppressed, the province made extraordinary progress, remaining free from political convulsions until in 1810 the country was aroused by the revolution of Dolores.[36]

[33] See article on San Luis Potosí, in *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 321, and *Iturribarria*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vii. 304.

[34] At an early date the city had five convents and a Jesuit college. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 77; *Santos, Chron.*, 467.

[35] The first intendente was Bruno Diaz Salcedo, who took possession on the same day. *Castillo*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3d ep. v. 497. See also in *Id.*, ii. 19–20, 96–110; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 282–5; *Zuñiga y O., Calend.*, 117; *Gazeta Mex.*, i.–xvi., passim.

[36] Besides Mota-Padilla the following authorities have been consulted for matters treated in this chapter: *Torquemada*, iii. 333–4, 342, 384; *Apostolicos Afanes*, passim; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 204–26; *Zacatecas, Rel.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix., 179–91; *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, i. 205–29, 440; ii. 24–5, 52–3, 81–2, 156–9, 241, 416 et seq.; iii. 20–1, 64–9, 91–2, 191–2; *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, passim; *Bernardez, Zac.*, 26–90; *Michoacan, Prov.*, 95, 115–16; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 92, 590; *Espinosa, Crón. Apost.*, 415, 499–507; *Ayeta, Defensa Verdad*, passim; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 729; *Margil de Jesús, Notizie*, passim; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 515–16; *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 375–9; ix. 860–2; x. 168, 1032–88; *Instruccion Vireyes*, 3, 12, 126; *Iglesias, Rel.*, 289–316; *Jalisco, Not.*, 16–23, 66, 141; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 266; *Lazcano, Vida de Oviedo*, 149–56; *Alfaro y Piña, Cat. de Guad.*, 5–14; *Castilla, Espejo*, 1–297; *Revista, Scien.*, ii. 110–11; *Morfi, Diario*, 329; *Jacob's Hist. Ing.*, ii. 153; *Dampier's Voy.*, i. 257–72; *Salvador*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d series, iv. 653; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 163–4; *Museo Mex.*, 2d ep. i. 2; *Funnell's Voy.*, 91; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 493.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONQUEST OF NAYARIT.

1701–1722.

THE LAST REFUGE OF IDOLATRY IN NUEVA GALICIA—GEOGRAPHY OF NAYARIT—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATIVES—PARTIAL SUCCESS OF ARISBABA IN 1618—TROUBLE AT ACAPONETA—MASSACRE OF BRACAMONTE AND HIS PARTY IN 1701—REVOLT AT COLOTLAN—THE BAREFOOT FRIARS—MENDIOLA'S EXPEDITION AND THE FIRST JESUIT ATTEMPT—THE TONATI VISITS MEXICO—HIS TREATY AND HIS FLIGHT—PREPARATIONS AND OBSTACLES AT ZACATECAS—CAMP AT PEYOTLAN—FLORES IN COMMAND—ASSAULT ON THE MESA—THE NAYARITS SUBDUED AND CONQUEST ACHIEVED—PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS.

AFTER the conclusion of the Mixton war[1] it was believed that the powerful blow administered by Viceroy Mendoza to the revolted savages of Nueva Galicia had been final. The utter defeat and rout of the Chichimecs, who then made a last heroic effort to throw off the Spanish yoke, had been decisive. The Spaniards enjoyed the peaceful possession of the territory in the firm belief that no further attempts would ever be made by the scattered natives to assert their ancient rights. The Indians had not been finally subdued, however, and two centuries later the struggle was to be renewed. Many of the natives who had escaped death or captivity at Cuiná, Nochistlan, and Mixton had taken refuge in what was later known as the sierra of Nayarit.[2]

[1] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 490–515, this series.

[2] The region so called is situated in modern Jalisco, north of the Tololotlan, on and south of the Durango boundary, east of the coast province of Acaponeta, west of Zacatecas, on and near the river San Pedro. In *Nayaritas, Rel.*, 4–5, Nayarit is described as a province of 22 pueblos, lying within a triangle formed by the towns of Zacatecas, Huajuquilla, and Guazamota. It included a valley enclosed by high mountains broken only by the Rio Vara-

Very little has been learned about the country since its so-called conquest in the first quarter of the last century. It is still inhabited for the most part by aborigines seemingly but little under the control of Mexican authority, and has become famous of late years as the central stronghold from which the native chieftain Lozada attempted valiantly, but in vain, to restore the independence of his nation. One or two

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difficult passes, easily defended against a superior invading force, lead to a succession of wooded peaks, arid mesas, huge chasms, and small valleys of considerable fertility. The natives inhabiting this region became known to the Spaniards as Nayarits, Coras, and Tecualmes; there were also other minor tribes, who together with them claimed descent from the

nia—by which may be meant the Tololotlan. The entrance is ten leagues from Guazamota. According to *Apostólicos Afanes*, 173, the chief river is the Jesus María y Joseph, probably the modern San Pedro, which is tributary to the Tololotlan. Mota-Padilla and Alegre content themselves with giving latitude and longitude, with general bearings from well known points. It is evident that the early writers knew nothing of Nayarit geography.

Aztecs, a claim supported to some extent by their language.[3]

In the central parts of Nayarit are two plateaus, known as the mesas del Tonati and del Cangrejo, on the former of which were the nation's sacred temples. The people were a bold race of mountaineers, for the most part savages, their Aztec forefathers having handed down to them only a few religious forms, and a knowledge of agriculture. They enjoyed a fine and healthy climate. In their territory was an abundance of wild fruits, and no lack of game. They dwelt in security under the protection of their own gods, with whom they were content; but what they seem to have prized above all was their long immunity from Spanish and christian intermeddling. Nevertheless they beheld with distrust the progress of the Spaniards, and gradually found themselves entirely surrounded by numerous missions. From their observations and the reports of fugitives they had ample opportunities to study the effects of the new institutions that had encircled their retreat; but their conclusion was that their old gods, customs, and rulers were good enough. Like most other natives, they doubted not their ability to resist, with the aid of their natural defences, notwithstanding their small numbers—perhaps never more than three or four thousand. Circumstances contributed to strengthen their self-confidence as the Spaniards long delayed active measures to subdue them.

The Indians in their visits to the coast, where they were wont to obtain salt in large quantities for barter with inland tribes, or to the Zacatecan towns, came often into friendly contact with the friars and soldiers, always declining their invitations to become christians, and gradually forming the idea that submission was to

[3] See *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. 719–20. The region is often called sierra de los Coras. According to *Apostólicos Afanes*, 8–9, the Nayarits were there when the Mexicans marched south in search of homes, and the long lines of intrenchments by which they defended their land were still visible in 1752.

be altogether optional. The friars, however, had other views.

In the sixteenth century there is no record of any definite communication with Nayarit; but we are told that in the first years of the seventeenth, Captain Gerónimo de Arciniega penetrated to Guainamota, took thence two thousand Indians, and with them founded four settlements.[4] Then we have a vague narrative of the expedition in 1616 to 1618 of Captain Miguel Cadera with several companions. They are said to have set forth from Compostela and to have spent some time about the entrance to the forbidden realms, meeting the king and his attendants, receiving four children as a gift, and making so favorable an impression that some of the Nayarits came to Tepic and even submitted to baptism. About the same time a band of rebellious Tepehuanes from Durango sought refuge in the southern sierra, and Captain Bartolomé Arisbaba, pursuing them, met Caldera and the Indians at Guazamota. Here was a chance for the great chief to give a practical demonstration of his new friendship, as in fact he is said to have done, by offering to join in the pursuit. Of the result we only know that Arisbaba left on a stone preserved in the church at Guazamota as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, an inscription reciting that in 1618 he conquered the province of San José del Gran Nayar. His conquest however cannot have been a very effectual one, probably consisting of certain ceremonies of formal submission, of which the wily natives were ever prodigal outside of their own territory; and Guazamota was on the frontier and

[4] *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 458–9. Other Indians were added in 1603, and in 1605 the king thanked Arciniega for his services. The same author relates that in 1613 father Miguel de Aranzú walked barefoot up the Sierra de los Coras, meeting many natives under a one-eyed chieftain who said his name was Nayarit, thus originating a name for the province and for the people. It is probable that the name did come from a native ruler. According to *Apostólicos Afanes*, 2, 9, it was from El Naye, the first who attained to regal power. El Gran Nayar is another and, according to this author, more vulgar form. He however calls the chief ruler in 1616 El Gran Nayarit.

not within the pass. From this time, the Franciscans seem to have had a station there.[5]

It was also in 1617 that Acaponeta was attacked and destroyed by a force said to have come from Durango, and which seems to have incited a revolt of the natives in this region. Aid soon came from Guadalajara and Guadiana however, and peace was restored. It is not unlikely that Arisbaba was in command of the reënforcement sent on this occasion, and that it was against the destroyers of Acaponeta that the alliance of the Gran Nayarit was utilized. In 1667, and again a few years later, the Franciscans drew from Nayarit some converts for their outside missions. According to a royal decree of 1673 the friars were to be aided in their efforts, but nothing more was done during the century.[6]

In 1701 Captain Francisco Bracamonte, who seems to have been military commander on the frontier, had gained the friendship of the Nayarits, and was even known as protector of the Gran Nayar. Governor Gutierre of Nueva Galicia now proposed to use his influence in the subjugation of their territory. Bracamonte, not without misgivings, accepted the offer, and with several priests, escorted by a dozen soldiers, set about his task. The Nayarits were indignant at this action of their friend, and forbade all further advances. Foolishly Bracamonte was induced by his companions to go on and enter the pass known as El Simon. The result was that only one of the ill-fated band escaped, badly wounded, the rest being slain with their commander.[7]

The natives now became more aggressive in their policy. In 1702 there were tumults on the frontier, during which the Nayarits not only sheltered fugitives,

[5] *Apostólicos Afanes*, 28–34; *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, iii. 197–8. Arlegui, *Cron. Zac.*, 172, tells us that his order first entered Nayarit in 1635.

[6] See *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 459.

[7] The account of this occurrence in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 34–5, is made up from a written statement by the survivor, and from the testimony of some Indians who were present at the massacre.

but sent a force under the chief Tzomon to aid the malecontents. Depredations were committed from time to time; and though open rebellion was finally prevented on the west, the dissatisfaction spread eastward, and in 1703–4 as we are told by Arlegui, the Indians of the Tololotlan sierra rose, killed Captain Silva, their protector, threatened their curate, and stole everything within their reach. They were four thousand in number, held meetings at Nostic, and surrounded Tlaltenango; but Count Santa Rosa marched against them with three hundred men from Zacatecas, and defeated them with considerable slaughter. Whether the Nayarits took any active part in this revolt we are not informed.[8]

The Nayarits, though often professing friendship or even submission on the border, allowed no white man to enter their province; and thus, by the weakness of Spanish effort rather than by any achievement of their own, became day by day more firmly convinced that they could not be conquered. Various attempts were made to reduce them, but with insufficient forces. Then a party of devoted Franciscans from Nueva Galicia started barefooted from Guadalajara for the dominions of the devil and Gran Nayar. But not even bare and saintly feet were permitted to enter there, and the sorrowing friars turned back from Guazamota. All this occurred before 1709. The Nayarits, however, as proved later, were by no means invincible; all that was required for their reduction was a determined effort by a few hundred armed men.[9]

The time for decisive action had not yet arrived.

[8] *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 89–90, 201. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 459, gives the date of the defeat of Bracamonte—whom he calls Juan—in 1709.

[9] The Jesuit chroniclers, like the author of the Society's *Apostólicos Afanes*, or Apostolic Labors, though doubtless conversant with the facts, delight in exaggerating here as elsewhere the fruitless efforts of state and church to bring gentiles to law and faith before the task was undertaken by the company of Jesus. The Jesuits were, like other orders, zealous and able workers; but they also had the good fortune in several notable instances to undertake a difficult task, just when the government was ready to learn by past experience and adopt an effective policy.

Pursuant to the recommendation of oidor Pacheco of Guadalajara, a royal decree of 1709 ordered both the viceroy and the audiencia to intrust the spiritual conquest of the savage district to the famous Franciscan friar Margil de Jesus. Delays occurred, and the plan of Padre Margil was not matured till 1711. His suggestions were adopted and all needed aid promised, but he was instructed in case of failure to make careful observations which might be useful in the future. The good friar, with his companion, Fray Luis Delgado Cervantes, and six frontier caciques, set out for Guazamota. The Nayarit chief was notified of their intention, and permission to advance was denied. The Nayarits would sooner die than become Christians. Still, Father Margil pressed forward until stopped by hostile demonstrations. No miracle took place to soften the barbarian's heart. The chief insultingly gave the friars for supper a fox-skin stuffed with straw, and retired with his men to the mountains. This was too much for Christian digestion; and sadly the would-be apostles again turned back. By force alone could the gospel of peace be given to these obstinate heathen, and Father Margil now came to the sensible conclusion that the next attempt at conversion should be made with the assistance of at least a hundred well armed soldiers. But this was expensive, and Nayarit must wait.[10]

The next expedition was accompanied by a member of the company of Jesus. Obstacles now began to disappear, and compared with preceding attempts this one was almost a success. General Gregorio Matias de Mendiola, with thirty Spaniards, a hundred Indians, and some friars, arrived at Guazamota in 1715, early in December. In January 1716 the Nayarit

[10] Father Pablo Felipe wrote a report of this embassy from which comes the information in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 55–61. The date is made 1710 in *Nayaritas*, *Rel.*, 6, and Pedro Alvarez de Roa is named as protector in that year. In the saint's life, *Margil*, *Notizie*, 67–72, it is stated that he was on the point of being killed during this journey, but that God struck terror into the hearts of the savages, thus saving his life.

chiefs allowed them to enter the pass, and the country was named, after the day, Provincia del Santo Nombre de Jesus. Passing across the San Pedro up a steep grade to a plateau, they were ceremoniously received by four hundred young warriors; further on they met the priests of the sun and Nayarit nobility. They were greeted with the barbarous etiquette of the sierra tribes. The savages readily went through the forms of submission to the authority of Felipe V., but refused to change their religion.

Argument was in vain, and after several days of festivity the Spaniards noted some peculiarities of conduct on the part of their hosts, which prompted them to retire with more alacrity than they had entered.[11]

The mountaineers now became more haughty and daring than ever, until the tribes of the coast, tired of their continued outrages, assumed about 1718 a hostile attitude, attacked small parties which ventured out of the stronghold, and finally were able to cut off Nayarit communication with the coast. Then came a new cédula urging as usual active measures for the breaking up of this last refuge of idolatry in Nueva Galicia. The viceroy put the matter into the hands of Martin Verdugo de Haro, corregidor of Zacatecas, and the latter intrusted it to Juan de la Torre Valdés y Gamboa, a rich and popular citizen of Jerez, with the suggestion that a Nayarit representative be induced to visit Mexico. Circumstances were favorable, since the Nayarits were in great trouble about the cutting-off of their salt supply for consumption and trade. Pablo Felipe, native chief and governor at San Nicolás, exerted his diplomatic powers in favor of Spanish interests, and, particularly in the interests of his friend Torre, easily persuaded the Indians that the viceroy alone could effectually redress their wrongs, that a personal application to that official was essential,

[11] A letter to the bishop, February 25, 1716, by Father Solchaga, who accompanied this expedition as chaplain, is the authority given in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 63–73; it is followed in *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, iii. 199–201. Other writers do not mention Mendiola's expedition.

and that Juan de la Torre was the man above all others to accompany their embassy to Mexico and take charge of their interests.

Accordingly the *tonati*, or *güestlacatl*, that is to say the chief,[12] notified Torre of his purpose to visit him with fifty of his subjects for consultation. The viceroy was notified of this intended visit by a letter of the corregidor dated November 25, 1720,[13] at a time when Juan

ANCIENT MAP OF NAYARIT.

[12] Called also Tonat, Tonatin, Tonatiuh, Tonali, Nayarit, Nayerit, Nayar, Naye, Güestlacalt, Guactlaco, and Gueitlacal.

[13] *Nayaritas, Relacion de la Conquista de la Provincia de los Nayaritas en el Reyno de la Nueva España, que consiguieron las Armas de su Majestad à principios de este año de 1722*, Madrid (about 1723), sm. 4to, 30 p. This is a report dated Madrid, Oct. 6, 1722, apparently made to, and by order of, the king, by a writer whose name is not given. It is a little volume of considerable historical value which has now become very rare.

Another important authority on the final conquest is the *Gacetas de Mexico*, a serial publication, or newspaper, begun by Dr. Juan Ignacio de Castoreña y Ursúa at the beginning of 1722, just in time to include in the first numbers for January–April of that year, the news from Nayarit. These oldest numbers were reprinted in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. iv. Of the series from 1784 to 1821 I have a complete set in my library.

Berrotaran was negotiating for the conduct of the enterprise, having offered to raise two hundred men for forty days at his own cost; but he immediately appointed Torre capitan protector of Nayarit, with four hundred and fifty pesos per year for his expenses, and an allowance of two or three hundred with which to entertain the embassy.[14] This according to Mota-Padilla was on December 10th, and at the appointed time the tonati with his fifty companions arrived at Jerez. Every attention was shown them, both here and at Zacatecas where they soon went with their protector. The devil, fearing to be forced from his last Galician intrenchments, circulated a report that the tonati's companions were not Nayarits at all, but apostate frontiersmen. This not being credited, he worked upon the fears of the Indians themselves, so that twenty-five of the fifty on one excuse or another returned home. The rest followed their ruler to Mexico, where they arrived under the escort of Captain Torre and Captain Santiago Rioja, in February 1721.[15]

The visitors were entertained in the metropolis with the attention and pomp due their rank, hospitalities being measured somewhat by what the Spaniards hoped to gain. They created no little sensation among all classes, and were themselves suitably impressed, though we are told they were successful in concealing their wonder. At their first audience for the transaction of business, perhaps on March 16th, each of the native nobles, kneeling, presented to the viceroy an arrow, and the tonati offered his wand and a crown of feathers, all in token of submission. In return the marquis Valero expressed thanks, pardoned past delinquencies, and received a written memorial containing the Nayarit grievances. At the second

[14] So say Mota-Padilla and the *Relacion*. According to *Apostólicos Afanes* Torre was appointed before the negotiations for a visit to Mexico.

[15] Villa-Señor, *Teatro*, ii. 268–9; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 834. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 115–17; and Revilla Gigedo, *Informe*, 467, make the date of the visit to Mexico 1718.

audience Viceroy Valero, after granting all the memorial asked for, gave his attention to the spiritual wants of the applicants, delivering orally and in writing a most eloquent and convincing argument in favor of the adoption of a new and better faith. The poor Indians were somewhat confused, but they could not answer the viceregal logic, and were understood to assent, and to call for 'black padres,' as they termed the Jesuits, to instruct their people. The archbishop entertained and blessed his prospective converts; and the Jesuit provincial, being assured of non-interference of other orders in Nayarit, named on March 19th fathers Juan Tellez Jiron and Antonio Arias Ibarra as missionaries for the new field. He even made a strong effort to convert and baptize the tonati then and there; but the latter did not deem it a convenient season, owning that were he baptized his people would probably kill him. He had no yearnings for martyrdom, but at last agreed to submit to the rite at Zacatecas, a city he was subsequently very careful to avoid.

The treaty, by the terms of which the Nayarits were to be protected in all their rights on condition of rendering allegiance to Spain and admitting Jesuit instructors, was confirmed in a council held March 20th.[16] The party soon started for the north, Torre as governor with authority to recruit troops—called for by the tonati himself, who dared not return without their protection—and to draw on the treasury at Zacatecas for the necessary funds. Now the tonati's real troubles began. In fact the royal representative of the sun lost his wits in Mexico, and promised

[16] Revilla Gigedo in his report of 1793, *Informe*, 467, gives the conditions of the treaty more fully than any other. According to this authority the tonati was to be sustained as lord of his country, his rights and titles to descend to his successors; his subjects were never to pay tribute nor to acknowledge any superior judges save the viceroy; the privilege of obtaining salt from Acaponeta and Nexcatitlan free from all tax was guaranteed; and rebellious Nayarits in the future were to be brought gently back to the path of duty. Frejes gives date of treaty May 20th. His account of Nayarit conquest is incomplete and even inaccurate. *Hist. Breve*, 150–5.

more than popular feeling at home would permit him to perform. This he realized more and more as the day of meeting with his people drew near, and his companions began to be free in the expression of their views and fears. He became nervous and changeable; intending at first perhaps to fulfil his pledges, else he would hardly have asked for a military force; but finally overcome by his fears, especially when warned by one of his old men respecting the popular discontent and the plots of a rival chieftain, Guamocat. At Jerez he managed to escape from his Spanish escort, and hurried home to explain his policy, regain his impaired influence, and prepare for defence.[17]

Some months were now spent by the governor in preparations at Zacatecas and Jerez, where obstacles were thrown in his way from the first by persons who liked not to hear their old companion addressed as governor and general. These mischief-makers had much to say of the foolhardiness of the expedition; and then raised doubts as to the validity of some of Torre's papers, thus confusing the treasury officials and necessitating a hasty trip of Captain Rioja to Mexico. In June, however, all was declared satisfactory; the proper orders were issued; and after seventeen citizens had raised 40,000 pesos for the depleted treasury, the enlistment flag bearing the holy image of Christ was raised on the 29th of June.[18] One hundred men were to be raised and to receive each four hundred pesos. Captain Rioja enlisted fifty at Zacatecas and Captain Alonso de la Reina y Narvaez another company of fifty at Jerez. One hundred

[17] Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 472–4, and Villa-Señor, *Teatro*, ii. 268–9, state that the tonati did not leave the Spaniards until the latter had entered Nayarit, when according to the former he was sent in advance, or as the latter says fled, taking with him a large part of the company's property!

[18] From *Nayaritas*, *Rel.*, 8–9, it would appear though vaguely that some of the delay may have arisen from the fact that Torre called on the treasury for more men than had been specified in Mexico. He said he had 800 Indians enlisted and wanted money to pay 200 soldiers. The names of the 17 contributors to the fund are given.

Indian allies were also enlisted. Father Jiron had accompanied the embassy from Mexico, and father Ibarra now came down from Nueva Vizcaya. The Jesuits were allowed nine hundred and eighty-four pesos for sacred utensils, and an additional sum for clothing and gifts with which to conciliate the natives.

Just as the army was about to march, Governor Torre was stricken with a serious brain trouble, resulting from past anxiety, and amounting almost to insanity. The viceroy was notified of the calamity, but before any reply was received the governor recovered his health and marched with his men to Huajuquilla, perhaps in July or August. Nothing had been heard from Nayarit; but now came conflicting rumors from dwellers on the frontier respecting the tonati's intentions. Cristóbal Gerónimo, a friendly Cora, was sent forward, but the Nayarits demanded more time before giving any definite reply. In the mean while news of Torre's malady reached the viceroy and orders came north for Count Laguna to take command. Considerable correspondence and delay ensued, and finally the count came to Huajuquilla, where he found that, although the commander was still afflicted at intervals, yet it would cause dissatisfaction for him to assume command, since many of the officers and men had enlisted merely from friendship to Torre. He therefore decided to let the governor go on, but to remain himself as colonel on the frontier to be prepared for any emergency. The little army set out for Nayarit on the 26th of September.

The distance was thirty leagues over a difficult and dangerous way. Fording a large river called Chapalagama and climbing a steep grade they entered El Pinal, where on October 1st they met Gerónimo with a message to the effect that the Spaniards might come to the pass and in a designated spot await further communications. Next day they said mass at Angel de la Guarda, looked from the summit upon the promised land—"fit only for apostates or apostles,"

and later known as the Nayarit hell—and descended to the rendezvous in the pass. The spot was unfavorable both for comfort and defence; many Indians visited the camp in pretended friendliness, but the rulers did not make their appearance. The governor went in person to meet a band of two hundred warriors at a ranchería near by, and was ordered by an apostate chief, Cucut, the Serpent, to leave the country since the tonati's acts in Mexico would not be ratified by the people. When Torre refused to comply, the Indians pretended to listen to his arguments, became very friendly, and even held out hopes of submission in the near future. During the next few days smoke signals were seen in all directions; Nayarit spies, including Melchor and Alonso, two of the leading chiefs, came to inspect the Spanish camp; and other spies sent out by Torre reported a plan to assemble for formal homage, and having arranged the warriors advantageously to attack at a given signal.[19] A council of war decided upon a retreat to Peyotlan, five leagues from the pass. The Indians treacherously protested against the change, promising everything, and the governor was inclined to credit their promises; but his men, and especially the native allies, insisted. The Spaniards remained at Peyotlan from the 11th to the 19th of October, frequently visited by Nayarits, who declared that the nation awaited only the coming of the tonati to submit.

Meantime that dignitary was in council with the elders at the ranchería of El Portero. He was opposed to war, and favored the admission of at least the padres, but was induced to leave the whole matter to the old men. Their decision was to name Coaxata, or Guasta, as a rendezvous, and to attack the Spaniards on the way thither at the Teaurite pass where the trail crossed a stream. This was on the 17th, and two

[19] According to *Nayaritas, Rel.*, 10, the warning came on October 10th, and the attack was planned for October 16th. This writer speaks of a change of camp but does not name Peyotlan. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 473–4, says nothing of a retreat before the battle.

days later Torre marched for Coaxata. The battle took place on the 20th;[20] it was not an unexpected attack by ambushed foes, since the Spaniards were forewarned. The hills swarmed with natives; the Nayarit chief stood in sight directing his men where the padres went up to embrace him, and the army made no special effort to retire, notwithstanding the unfavorable nature of the spot for a fight. The Christians were enveloped in a cloud of arrows, but soon learned they had nothing to fear; the arrows fell harmless, only scratching slightly seven or eight men. Santiago with his heavenly corps was plainly visible to the savage patriots, fighting for the invaders; and after an hour's ineffectual fight Alonso retired with a loss of forty or fifty warriors, and devoted his whole attention thereafter to the defense of the mesa. The Spaniards having come to take possession in accordance with past promises rather than to conquer, did not deem their force sufficient to follow up the victory, and retired to Peyotlan. This is the Jesuit version; according to Mota-Padilla the glorious victory was a defeat, and the Spaniards with difficulty escaped with their lives.[21]

During the remaining months of 1721, fortifications were strengthened at Peytolan, the presidio being called apparently San Juan; while the friars gathered about one hundred natives, baptized them, and founded there the pueblo of Santa Rita. Governor Torre reported to the viceroy, asked for aid and instructions, and at the same time called upon Jerez and Zacatecas for temporary reënforcements with which to hold his position and check threatening movements in the frontier towns. Fifty men were at once enlisted under Captain Nicolás Escobedo and Nicolás Caldera,

[20] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 201–6, says Oct. 26th, and Mota-Padilla makes it Oct. 3d.

[21] *Conq. N. Gal.*, 473–4. He makes the date Oct. 3d, and speaks of 24 captives. In the *Relacion*, 10, it is stated that Torre was attacked suddenly by 500 men in ambush, and that after an hour's hard fighting both parties retired. This version is a medium between the others and is perhaps the most reliable.

and sent to Peyotlan where they remained a month or more.[22] Communication with the Nayarits on the mesa was not rare. Negotiations, of which the details are complicated and need not be repeated, took much the same course with much the same results as before the battle. Many of the chiefs were free with their promises, but never quite ready to perform. Torre called upon them repeatedly to submit, but was not ready to enforce his order, and always granted the few days' delay required. On the mesa a small party with the tonati still opposed resistance; but a plot was formed to kill the tonati and put another in his place. The plot failed, partly because the rival chieftain was captured by the Spaniards in one of their raids to the foot of the mesa.

In Mexico, though it was resolved to prosecute the war, it was deemed unsafe to trust the command longer to Torre, a return of whose malady might cause disaster at the very moment of success. Juan Flores de San Pedro[23] was made governor, and Torre was summoned to Mexico. The order came on December 8th, and the new commander, marching from Villanueva on the 24th, arrived on the 4th or 5th of January 1722, at the camp of San Juan,[24] with sixty men, three hundred horses, and a large store of supplies. Captain Escobedo and his men seem to have returned at about the same time. Torre gave up the command and started for Mexico.[25]

Governor Flores lost no time in notifying the

[22] The names of citizens who contributed to the fund of 839 pesos are given in *Nayaritas, Rel.*, 13–17. Capt. Escobedo raised his company at his own cost.

[23] So called in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 148; *Gacetas de Mex.*, Jan. 1722, and *Nayaritas, Rel.*, 16. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 474, and Revilla Gigedo, *Informe*, 467, call him Juan Flores de la Torre, a descendant of the second governor of N. Galicia. Mota-Padilla attributes Torre's insanity to his defeat, and accordingly represents the correspondence with Count Laguna as having taken place while the army was at Peyotlan.

[24] Called Santiago Teyotan in the *Gacetas de Mex.*

[25] The *Gaceta de Mex.* for Jan. 1722 contains the notice that Capt. Rioja had arrived with news of the battle, and that Torre was expected soon. The number for Feb. announces Torre's arrival. The force brought by Flores is given by Mota-Padilla as 60; by the *Afanes* as 70; and by the *Relacion* as 16.

Nayarits of his appointment, of his intention to take immediate possession, and of his desire to receive at once the promised allegiance. After a not very successful resort to their former dilatory tactics, they formally announced on January 13th their purpose to defend the mesa. Thereupon Flores, who had already sent out expeditions in different directions to close all avenues of escape, began active operations on the 14th. Dividing his force he marched in person with fifty soldiers and many Indians via Guainamarus, where he began the foundation of Santa Teresa,[26] with three hundred natives, making a long détour to attack the mesa from the west. Escobedo with a like force took a shorter way to the eastern base. This plan of attack by divided forces was not, as the Jesuit chronicler justly observes, a very wise one; but it resulted in no harm, save to the governor himself, who was perhaps deprived by it of the personal honors of the victory.

Escobedo had orders to march slowly so as to assault the mesa on January 17th, simultaneously with Flores from the opposite side; but he arrived on the 15th, and could not resist the temptation to begin operations at once. The Indians of the mesa del Cangrejo adjoining that of the Tonati were induced to offer no resistance, and to abide by the result if their neighbors were vanquished. On the morning of the 16th Escobedo's force began the ascent, and reached the summit late in the afternoon, having left the horses half way up, with a guard. Authority is not wanting to warrant the historian in giving to the Nayarits a valiant defence, terminated perhaps by a leap down the precipice of the few who escaped Spanish bullets. The Jesuit historian pictures a terrible conflict as Escobedo's men fought their way inch by inch up the narrow, steep, and tortuous trail, over suc-

[26] Called Santa Teresa de Miraflores, from Teresa, his wife's name, and Flores, his own. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 478. According to the *Relacion*, 17, he arrived here on the 15th; the pueblo was named Santa Gertrudis and the presidio Santa Teresa.

cessive lines of artificial as well as natural defences, enveloped in clouds of arrows and showers of stones hurled from slings, and above all impeded continually by immense masses of rock which were precipitated from the cliff and dashed large trees into splinters as they passed! Others assert that not one of the assailants, and but one or two of the defenders, were injured—which is somewhat absurd unless with the chronicler we can regard the proceeding as miraculous; for Santiago fought with the Spaniards, and against him human missiles could not prevail. It must be confessed, that in the light of their reputed bravery and the strength of their position, the Nayarits made but a sorry show of resistance or heroism.

The author of the *Afanes* admits that an accidental turning aside into a by-path near the top materially aided the assailants and deranged the plans of the enemy. Following this writer, Escobedo took possession of the mesa on the afternoon of the 16th; the enemy fled after one of their bravest leaders, Tahuitole,[27] had fallen in a last desperate and single-handed charge, and Governor Flores arrived next morning, to find the victory won, and to chide the victor for his haste. Mota-Padilla, however, with little to say of hard fighting, tells us that Escobedo did not quite reach the summit on the first day, and that the Nayarits ran away when they heard of another force approaching from the west; so that when Flores next morning prepared for an assault, he found no foe save a few warriors forming a kind of rear-guard to the flying masses. One of this number was Tlahuitole, who was slain by Flores' men. Immediate pursuit into the barrancas was impracticable.[28]

With the occupation of the mesa the conquest of

[27] Written also Taguitole, Talmitole, Tlaquilote, and Taquiloc.

[28] The *Relacion*, 17–18, gives only a general account, stating that both attacking parties were miraculously protected. The *Gaceta* for Feb. does not say which party reached the summit first, but seems to have confused the two parties, apparently making Escobedo command the western division under Flores, while the other was under captains Reina and Muro.

Nayarit practically ends. There was no further opposition meriting the name even in comparison with past events; neither do subsequent developments require more than a general glance here. The attention of the Christians was first turned to the destruction of temples on the mesa, with all their paraphernalia of idolatry. Evil influences were exorcised, though not easily, by the zealous conjurations of the friars; a temporary structure for mass was erected without delay; and the bones of the first Nayar were sent with other relics and trophies to Mexico.[29] The new province in accordance with the viceroy's wish was called Nuevo Reino de Toledo, because he attributed the successful conquest largely to the image of our lady worshipped in the cathedral of Toledo. Flores was made comandante of the territory he had won as lieutenant of the captain-general. The natives on the adjoining Mesa del Cangrejo[30] had kept their promise, merely rolling down a few stones where they could do no harm and making some noise during the battle in order to make a good showing in case the Spaniards were defeated. They now came in and offered their submission, and other rancherías followed their example. Soldiers were despatched in every direction, and the whole native population was gradually subdued, though not without considerable difficulty and delay by reason of the abundance of almost inaccessible hiding-places long frequented by apostates.[31]

The missionaries were as usual earnest and industrious; the military guard at first sufficient; and the local troubles and partial revolts less frequent and serious than might have been anticipated from the

[29] The trophies arrived in Mexico Feb. 12, 1722, where they were burned with great ceremony for the good of the faith. *Gacetas de Mex.*, Feb. 1722. This author calls the temple *Huci Calli*, the image of the sun worshipped in it *Tonati*, and the Gran Nayari whose bones were sent to Mexico *Guayco* or 'third.' Mota-Padilla calls the temple *Caliguei*.

[30] Their chief is called Cangrejo in *Relacion*, 20.

[31] Mota-Padilla gives more importance to these various expeditions than does the author of the *Afanes*, and represents the soldiers' sufferings as very great from exposure, scorpions, etc. According to *Nayaritas, Relacion*, a Franciscan friar, P. Arroyo, accompanied the army.

character of the people. Already a presidio of San Juan, and a pueblo, or mission, of Santa Rita had been established at Peyotlan; and preparations had been made for a pueblo of Santa Teresa at Guaimarus in the north.[32] Now the pueblo of Trinidad and presidio of San Francisco Javier de Valero were founded on the mesa, as capital of the province, with Father Tellez in charge; in the north were founded the pueblo of Santa Gertrudis[33] and the presidio of San Salvador el Verde; while on the river were located Jesus María and San Francisco de Paula.[34]

Governor Flores left Nayarit in March to visit his hacienda, not returning until the end of May. During his absence there were some disturbances; many Indians ran away to join a rebellious band under Alonso at the ranchería of Santiago; and a party searching for mines was attacked, by its own fault, and one man lost. On the comandante's return, however, with reënforcements, and with two padres, José Bautista Lopez and José Mesa, order was restored, and Alonso soon gave up the useless struggle. A new establishment of San Ignacio was founded at Guainamota[35] under Captain Rioja and Father Mesa. In July Flores made an expedition into the territory of the Tecualmes and Coras, and with natives of these tribes founded San Juan Bautista and San Pedro on the Rio de San Pedro. Of all the fugitives, an apostate female leader named Juana Burro held out longest against the Spaniards; but she at last yielded to gospel influence and muskets. The comandante was now absent again for a year or more; but all went well with the missions, the new one of Rosario being

[32] Coynamams, Guaimaruzi, or Coaymarus. It was about 20 leagues northwest of the mesa.

[33] According to *Relacion*, 17, 20, Sta Teresa was the presidio and Sta Gertrudis the pueblo, and they were six leagues apart.

[34] The *Relacion*, 27, states that the presidio of San Juan Bautista was afterward moved to Jesus María. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 480, says a pueblo of Guadalupe was founded in February, 12 l. east of the mesa. The *Relacion*, 20, says it was on the mesa 12 leagues from the real.

[35] At Guazamota according to *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 18.

founded, and fathers Urbano de Covarrubias, Cristóbal Lauria, and Manuel Fernandez being added to the Jesuit force.

Flores came back to Nayarit at the end of 1723, and new troubles soon arose, resulting in the temporary abandonment of Trinidad and Santa Gertrudis, the burning of the churches at Rosario and Santa Teresa, and the death of one of the leading allies of the Spaniards named Luna. Aid was sent, however, from different quarters, and quiet restored without much difficulty. It is said that none of the missions revolted on this occasion unless the padre was absent. Perfect safety was secured before March, when Flores returned with a body of fugitives whom he had pursued into Durango.

The tonati does not seem to have been a very important personage in these latter days. He wandered for some time, a fugitive even from his own people, until captured by the Spaniards in 1722. He was baptized in 1725, when the visitador Rivera stood as godfather to this relic of Nayarit royalty. Rivera found nearly four thousand Indians in ten settlements, all in excellent condition; and when in 1728 the bishop came on a pastoral visit he was delighted with his reception and with the progress of the converts.[36]

Indeed from this time, so far as the record shows, the Nayarits were model converts, attached to their teachers, living quietly in their settlements, and all the more orderly doubtless because few Spaniards ever had occasion to visit their mountain homes. The missions were still flourishing in 1767 under seven Jesuits, who were expelled with their order.[37] They

[36] Alegre speaks of 5,000 pesos distributed to pay for damages during the conquest; he also mentions difficulties in 1729 caused by the bad character of the soldiers sent to the country. *Hist. Comp.*, iii. 227–8, 238–9. It is stated, however, by Mota-Padilla, writing in 1742, that the people had given no trouble since the conquest, and that the military governors might well be dispensed with. *Conq. N. Gal.*, 510. In 1725 a presidio with 38 soldiers was still kept up. *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, ii. 270. In 1752 a real de minas was established at Bolaños and part of Nayarit brought under a corregidor. *Instruccion Vireyes*, 44–57.

[37] The seven missions in 1767 were Santa Rita, Santa Teresa, San Pedro,

were then with their settlements turned over to the Franciscans of Nueva Galicia. The principal mission on the mesa was transferred on February 1st, the same day the Jesuits left. All the missions were reported to be in a lamentable condition as to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the natives, who received no religious instruction, absented themselves at will, and worshipped their idols unmolested, so that it was necessary to use force in order to bring in whole families living thus. At the time the Tecualmes of San Pedro Iscatan still spoke their native tongue; but this was entirely lost before 1785, when they used the mixed Mexican and Spanish spoken in most of the New Spain missions. At the other Nayarit missions the Indians were Coras.[38]

The province was garrisoned by a company of about forty soldiers, under a comandante who was at the same time protector of the Indians, and who not infrequently misused his power to oppress the natives. It is said the Jesuits had been so lenient with their flock that under their régime the Indians only confessed *in articulo mortis*, and most frequently through interpreters. If the Franciscans applied more stringent measures, it is not shown that they made more progress than their predecessors; in 1789 only twelve friars were engaged in missionary work in Nayarit,[39] nor do the records show how long the garrison or missions were continued.[40]

Jesus María, Trinidad, Guainamota, and Rosario. *Comp. de Jesus, Catálogo.* Villa-Señor, *Teatro*, ii. 271, in 1745 adds the following names: San Joaquin, Santa María, San Lúcas, Dolores, and Tecualmes. Orozco y Berra, *Geog.*, 279–80, adds San Juan Corapa, Santa Fé, and San Diego.

[38] *Navarro, Misiones de Nayarit*, in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 467–80. This author, who was one of the Franciscans to whom the missions were transferred, states that each had its ranchos of horned cattle, horses, mules, goats, and sheep. All that belonged to the missions had been placed in deposit with Joaquin Hernandez Solis, a minero matriculado of the real of Tenamachi, who sold everything without rendering an account to the royal treasury. He turned over to the Franciscans only the empty mission buildings without furniture or utensils of any kind; even the standing crops had been sold, so the friars were obliged to buy maize for their subsistence.

[39] *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., i. 572.

[40] The principal authorities consulted on matters treated in this chapter have been quoted in separate notes. From certain passages in the *Apostólicos*

Afanes, I infer that the author was the friar in charge of Santa Rita and Jesus María from a date somewhat earlier than 1728, that he wrote much of his work at Santa Rita, that his name was probably Joseph Ortega, and that the part of his narrative relating to Nayarit was largely founded on a manuscript from the pen of father Antonio Arias de Ibarra. Frejes, however, speaks of father Fluvia as the author. *Hist. Breve*, 20. Of the three parts which make up the volume the first is entitled *Maravillosa reduccion y conquista de la Provincia de San Joseph del Gran Nayar, Nuevo Reino de Toledo*, filling 25 chapters and 223 pages. It is therefore the leading authority for the present chapter of my work. Mota-Padilla's *Conq. N. Gal.*, 271–2, 319, 458–87, 510, written ten years earlier than the *Afanes*, and not consulted by the author of that work, contains some information not included in the Jesuit record, and is hardly second to it as an authority. Alegre, *Hist. Comp.*, iii. 196–239, gives a very full account of the subject, following the *Afanes* pretty closely, and his version is repeated in *Dicc. Univ. Geog.*, x. 10–18, 834. Arlegui, *Cron. Zac.*, 89–90, 172–3, 201, and Arricivita, *Cron. Seráf.*, 88–92, narrate the acts of the Franciscans in the Nayarit region.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PROGRESS IN NUEVO LEON, AND CONQUEST OF SIERRA GORDA AND TAMAULIPAS.

1601–1803.

GOVERNORS AGUSTIN DE ZAVALA, JUAN RUIZ, AND MARTIN DE ZAVALA—CONGREGAS—UPRISING OF NATIVES—AND FINAL SUBJECTION—POLITICAL DIVISION—SECULARIZATION OF MISSIONS—AND CONSEQUENT GENERAL INSURRECTION—GOVERNOR BARBADILLO—HIS PRUDENT MEASURES—MORE DIFFICULTIES—POPULATION OF PROVINCE—SIERRA GORDA—DEATH OF ZARAZA—GOVERNOR JOSÉ DE ESCANDON—HIS PACIFICATION AND CONQUEST OF SIERRA GORDA—CONDITION OF TAMAULIPAS—ESCANDON IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR—HE FOUNDS NUEVO SANTANDER—NUMEROUS TOWNS AND MISSIONS ARE FOUNDED—STATISTICS FOR 1757—GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES.

AT the close of the sixteenth century Nuevo Leon, as will be remembered, was ruled by the lieutenant-governor, Diego de Montemayor. The records tell us little or nothing about the progress of the country during his term of office, and after 1611 his name disappears. It is uncertain whether he left the province or died there, and only the names of his two sons, Diego and Miguel, are mentioned. Meanwhile, the Spanish settlers seem to have increased in number, spreading toward the adjoining province of Coahuila, where an active trade was carried on with the aborigines. From this time also until 1628,[1] when Martin de Zavala was appointed to office, nothing worthy of note is recorded concerning the province. This ruler

[1] In 1613 Agustin de Zavala appears upon the scene as governor, appointed by Viceroy Guadalcázar. He is said to have been a wise ruler, his prudent measures serving to check the occasional aggressions of the natives. He was succeeded in 1625 by lieutenant-governor and captain-general Juan Ruiz, attorney of the audiencia of Mexico.

made himself conspicuous by his harsh treatment of the natives, forcing them as soon as converted, or even before, into the *congregas*, or congregations, established by Montemayor. The laws regarding the formation of encomiendas were now so stringently enforced that of necessity some means had to be devised to elude them in order to retain the benefits derived from compulsory Indian labor. The difference between the congrega and encomienda existed only in name, but under the former system the law was evaded, while an attempt was thus made to delude the natives by the abolition of the obnoxious appellation formerly in use.

The immediate result of Zavala's policy was a general uprising of the natives, which it required more than eight years to master. A decisive battle in 1637 restored peace to the country for a time; but a great number of natives had taken refuge in the sierras of Tamaulipas whence at intervals they continued to harass the Spanish settlers. During two centuries Nuevo Leon was seldom free from alarm. The missionaries in vain exerted themselves to restore peace; in vain did the viceroys send troops, settlers, and money; in vain did the venerable Margil de Jesus labor to check the outrages of the Spaniards and to bring the Indians into subjection. The strife continued; and though the natives were the greatest sufferers, in course of time, especially during the second half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, many of the Spanish settlements were destroyed by the natives or abandoned by the colonists.[2]

[2] Such was the fate of Tanguanchin, Laxa, Jaumave, Palmillas, Monte Alverne, Santa Clara, Buenaventura, Bernardino, and others. *Prieto, Hist. Tamaul.*, 84–5. Some friars who subsequently investigated the matter found that all this ruin had been caused by the iniquities of the Spaniards. Among the settlements which had sprung up before the middle of the 18th century were Pesqueira, Santo Catarina, Salinas, Boca de Leones, the presidio of Serralvo, Sabinas, the Tablas, and Agualeguas missions, Cadereita, Huajuco, Pilon, the Mota mission, Linares, San Antonio de los Llanos, the presidios of Santa Engracia and Lampazos, Labradores, and others.

In 1700 there were in Nuevo Leon five ayuntamientos, fourteen alcaldías mayores, and the same number of capitanías. After a season of comparative quiet, affairs were brought to a climax in 1712 by the secularization of the missions and curacies by order of Bishop Diego Camacho y Ávila. In consequence of this impolitic measure the natives rose, and the insurrection assumed such a general character that it spread not only over Nuevo Leon, but over all the neighboring provinces, carrying devastation even far into Querétaro. From 1709 to 1715 the Indians in those regions are said to have killed over a thousand Spanish settlers.[3] It was conceded by this time that the whole system of colonization in Nuevo Leon was a failure.

In 1715 Francisco Barbadillo was appointed governor of the province by Viceroy Linares, and commissioned to investigate the causes of the disturbance. On his arrival at Monterey this officer, who is highly commended by the chroniclers of his time, proceeded to organize a company of mounted militia, for the protection of the settlers.[4] His next step was to strike at the root of the evil by abolishing the congregas, though he was bitterly opposed in this measure by the Spanish settlers; at the same time he founded with some five thousand Indian families from the western sierra of Tamaulipas—to-day known by the name of San Cárlos—independent native settlements and missions.[5] The settlers were provided with cattle, farming

[3] In April 1713 Governor Francisco Mier y Torre commissioned the ex-governor, Treviño, to enter into negotiations for peace with the Indians, but while thus engaged his whole party was massacred. More stringent measures were then dictated by a council of war, but they were also ineffectual. *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 38–40.

[4] This was a light cavalry troop recruited from among the settlers, and maintained by pro rata contributions of the colonists. This was the first instance in which the settlers were required to pay any tax for the expenses of government. See *Prieto, Hist. Tamaul.*, 85–6.

[5] Among them Guadalupe, near Monterey, with 1,000 families; Concepcion and Purificacion on the margins of the Pilon, with 600 families each. A great number of families was also apportioned to the different settlements already established. *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 46–7; *Prieto, Hist. Tamaul.*, 86–7.

implements, and everything needed to establish them on their farms, and salaried protectors were appointed to guard their interests. Barbadillo enforced a strict compliance with his orders, and his plan, for the time being, proved a complete success.

The services of such men as Barbadillo, however, were also required in Mexico, and scarcely had order and peace been restored in Nuevo Leon, when he was recalled. This was the signal for the colonists, who had suffered by his policy, to revenge themselves on the natives. Contributions were refused to maintain the militia, which was soon disbanded; the defenseless natives in the settlements were again subjected to extortions and maletreatment of every kind, which abuses the protectors were powerless to check, and thousands of them again sought refuge in their mountain homes. Linares had died in the mean time, and his successor, the Marquis Valero, ordered Barbadillo to undertake the task of restoring order in the province. He at once set forth for Monterey, and we are told that at his mere presence the colonists ceased from their iniquities, and the natives, mindful of past favors received at his hands, returned in flocks to their abandoned settlements. Barbadillo remained in Nuevo Leon for four years, when he was recalled to Mexico by Viceroy Casafuerte, and the government of the province was bestowed on Pedro de Zaravia Cortés. The incapacity of this ruler soon produced the same disorders which had occurred twice before in that region, and on this occasion they spread to the Sierra Gorda as far as to Huasteca. Revolts and insurrections became more frequent, and more disastrous than ever in their effects, and the governors and officials of several provinces with their combined forces were unable to restore quiet.

It now became evident to the government of New Spain that more decisive measures must be inaugurated. In the Sierra Gorda districts and in Ta-

maulipas the bands of marauding savages always found a safe retreat. Moreover, those regions were suspected to possess rich mines and other wealth; and for these reasons the definite conquest of the

Map of Sierra Gorda.

coast region from the river Pánuco to the borders of Texas was decided upon.[6]

[6] In 1810 the province of Nuevo Leon comprised 2,621 square leagues of territory, consisting of one partido; there were 13 curacies, 1 mission, 2 cities,

Ever since the close of the sixteenth century, after Viceroy Velasco had colonized the regions about San Luis Potosí, Cololotlan, and San Miguel Mezquitic with Tlascaltec and Chichimec families, missionaries had begun to enter the wild districts of the Sierra Gorda[7] and Tamaulipas, to convert the numerous tribes, which were supposed to have taken up their abode in this part of the country after the conquest. These efforts seem to have been attended with very little success. Toward the end of the seventeenth century six Dominican missions had been established in Sierra Gorda territory. The friars were soon driven away, however; the churches were burned, the missions destroyed, and the Spaniards who had settled in the vicinity were compelled to abandon the country.

In 1704 Francisco Zaraza was made lieutenant captain-general, and commissioned to bring the revolted aborigines under subjection; hitherto all the efforts to that effect of the alcaldes and captains of militia had been unavailing. Zaraza opened a campaign against the natives, but was killed during an attack, without having accomplished anything decisive. In his place was appointed Gabriel Guerrero de Ardila, who with a force of eight hundred cavalry defeated the natives and compelled them to enter into a treaty of peace. This occurred in 1715, and the conditions of the treaty were most favorable to the Indians, who were to retain their liberty and be abso-

4 villas, 16 pueblos, 4 mining districts, and 23 haciendas. The population consisted of 27,412 Spaniards, 2,431 Indians, and 13,838 of mixed blood, making a total of 43,681 inhabitants. *Navarro*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ep., i. 291. *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 137–45, Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, 155, gives the population in 1803 as low as 29,000. In 1828 the population had increased to 88,793, said to have been due to a large immigration; in 1850 there were 137,070 inhabitants. *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 38. For more details concerning Nuevo Leon for the period under consideration see *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., v. 11, 99, 104; *Revilla-Gigedo*, in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 11, 49–51; *Villena ál Regente Romá*, MS.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 181; *Mier-Vida, Aventuras*, 3; *Alaman, Mej.*, ii. 96; *Not. N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 19; *Gonzalez*, in *Id.*, 3da ep., i. 238, 266; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 718; vii. 194.

[7] The mountainous region so called extends from near Rio Verde in San Luis Potosí to the vicinity of Querétaro, and forms the partido of Cadereita, to-day belonging to the province of Querétaro. *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 335.

lute masters of the sierra. Nevertheless we find that outrages and disturbances soon afterward became the order of the day. For many years the towns in the jurisdictions of Querétaro, San Miguel el Grande, Celaya, Chamacuero, San Juan del Rio, Cadereita and elsewhere remained in the same condition. The native tribes of Sierra Gorda were under neither military, civil, nor religious control, and their raids extended at times into the very streets of Spanish settlements.

If we can believe Arlegui, one or more of the governors of Nuevo Leon were induced to persecute the natives by private persons who claimed to have lost lands through the appropriation of tracts for the Tamaulipas tribes in 1715, and many Indians were subsequently hanged for trivial offences. Nor would this suffice; the settlers themselves constantly sought to drag the Indians into revolt in order to have a pretence to make them slaves. Under such circumstances the efforts of a few friars were of no avail.

Such was the state of affairs when in 1734 José de Escandon, an officer of the Querétaro militia, was commissioned to pacify the Sierra Gorda. At last the proper person had been found to carry out this difficult task. During his first expedition four hundred prisoners were taken; the ringleaders were summarily punished, while the others, in place of being enslaved, were treated with great consideration. This policy had the desired effect, and in the course of a few years several other expeditions under the same leader completed the work of pacification. All these campaigns were carried on by Escandon with little expense to the crown, without burdening too much the Spanish settlers, and without enslaving the natives. He was a wealthy man, and expended the greater part of his own fortune in maintaining his troops, who were kept under strict discipline, and not allowed to commit any excesses. His conduct gained for him the esteem of the government, the respect of the colonists, and the love

of the pacified tribes, who under similar circumstances had hitherto been treated like brutes. It was also remarked that although he divided lands among Spaniards and Indians, none were reserved for himself.

Thus the wild regions of Sierra Gorda were finally brought under Spanish rule, without much bloodshed, and without any of the revolting incidents usually attending the conquest of new territory. In consideration of his services Escandon was made count of Sierra Gorda, and his achievements paved the way for the conquest of Tamaulipas, where still greater laurels were in store for him.[8]

The same causes which led to the final pacification of Sierra Gorda and the subjugation of the Nayarits, ultimately led to the conquest of the gulf region stretching from Pánuco north to the Rio Bravo del Norte. Here, as elsewhere, the Indians were driven to revolt by a series of outrages committed on them by squatters, robbers, kidnappers, and slave-traders.[9] During and subsequent to the operations of Escandon, various proposals were made to the central government at Mexico, and to the crown,[10] for the extension of Spanish settlements in Tamaulipas. No decision was arrived at, however, till 1746, under the rule of Revilla Gigedo, when a council of war held for the purpose intrusted the enterprise to Escandon, who was now universally recognized as a man of consummate

[8] In 1767 there were nine Indian towns in Sierra Gorda, with an average of over 1,700 families. *Soreaino, Prologo*, 2. Most of these were founded by Escandon at the time of the pacification. For further details concerning Sierra Gorda affairs see *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 67–70; *N. Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 250–8, 268–81; *Arlegui, Cron. Zac.*, 122–3; *Frejes, Hist. Brev.*, 238–40; *Tamaul., Conversiones*, in *Maltrat. Ind.*, no. 20, 1–5; *Guijo, Diar., Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1a ser., i. 330, 362; *Prieto, Hist. Tamaul.*, 60–1, 71–8, 101–2; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 373–4, 570, 575.

[9] A royal cédula for the protection of the Tamaulipas Indians was issued May 25, 1689. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 67–70. See also *Tamaul., Conversiones*, in *Maltrat. Ind.*, no. 20, 1–5.

[10] Notably by Ladron de Guevara, whose conditions were very extravagant, and excited suspicion concerning his ultimate object in regard to the natives. *N. Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 250–8.

ability; nor could a better selection have been made.[11] The whole northern coast from Darien to Florida had gradually succumbed with the exception of this portion, which now, after a successful resistance of over two

TAMAULIPAS.

hundred years, was to be the last to submit to Spanish domination.

[11] Escandon was appointed September 3, 1746. For the transport of the settlers, soldiers, and other expenses, 115,000 pesos were needed; after that the sum of 29,000 pesos a year was to be paid from the royal treasury. The

Escandon was authorized to extend his operations over a distance of more than a hundred leagues from south to north, and sixty or eighty from east to west, the boundaries being designated on the east by the gulf; south by the jurisdictions of Pánuco and Tampico, Villa de Valles, Sierra Gorda, and Huasteca; west by Guadalcázar, Venado, Charcas, Nuevo Leon, and part of Coahuila, and north by this latter province and the boundary of Texas. The territory comprised within these limits received the appellation of Nuevo Santander. Most extensive preparations for the expedition were made in the city of Querétaro; and the prestige of Escandon was so great that from all parts of the country Spanish families hastened to join his fortunes, and many an adventurous soldier enlisted under his banner. Enthusiasm ran high, till finally the expeditionary forces numbered seven hundred and fifty, while the number of prospective settlers, consisting of Spaniards and converted Indians, exceeded two thousand five hundred families. That these numbers are not exaggerated is shown by the settlements founded by Escandon, and by subsequent official statistics.

The expedition set forth from Querétaro early in December 1748, passing through the towns of Pozos, San Luis de la Paz, Santa María del Rio, San Luis Potosí, and thence to Tula,[12] where it was joined by a number of Spanish families. Various attempts seem to have been made since 1714 to form new settlements in this vicinity, attended apparently with little success. At one of these, Palmillas, Escandon appointed a military governor, and continuing his march in a north-easterly direction, founded on December 25th the town of Llera with sixty-seven families. Turning northward on January 1, 1749, Güemes was

audiencia at Mexico in 1748 granted the funds, and in 1749 the king ordered an additional sum to be paid to complete the enterprise. *Revilla Gigedo*, in *Instruc. Vireyes*, 37–8.

[12] This place, then in the jurisdiction of Charcas, was at the time quite a flourishing colony.

established with fifty-eight families, and a mission some few leagues distant on the banks of the Purificacion. On January 6th forty-four families settled at Padilla, and a mission was established in that neighborhood. It may be mentioned here that for each newly settled place a military governor was appointed with the rank of captain, and a small garrison was left for police duty, and to protect the settlers against the hostilities of the natives. Other towns were located in rapid succession, and at first the colonists had to be content with primitive huts, hastily constructed of branches and leaves, until better accommodations could be secured. During the first years they suffered great hardships, for in many instances the sites selected were unfavorable, either on account of their liability to floods, their sickly climate, or for other reasons. The settlers of the town of Escandon are said to have been driven from their second site by clouds of mosquitoes and other obnoxious insects.

From Padilla, Escandon continued his march some twenty leagues in a north-easterly direction, with a view to establish a general camp from which exploring expeditions might be despatched, particularly to discover the harbor of Santander, at the mouth of the river then called Purificacion, and to-day La Marina. On this march from Padilla the first savages made their appearance, descending in great numbers from the eastern sierras of Tamaulipas, but being overawed by the vast caravan of Spaniards, abstained from attack. About the same time Escandon was joined by another party of settlers from Linares, consisting of sixty families under the conduct of Ladron de Guevara, and efforts were now made to reach the seaboard. After various attempts, on February 17th, the mouth of the Purificacion was discovered; the town of Santander was established with forty-five families, and designated as the capital of the province.[13]

[13] The site was subsequently changed and the town flourished, counting nearly 600 inhabitants in 1757.

From the new capital Escandon proceeded north in quest of the valley of Flores. Crossing the Rio Conchas, and passing along the banks towards its mouth at Salinas bar, he came upon a friendly Indian chief who had formed a settlement of Pintos. Leaving several Franciscan friars with the natives, he pushed forward to the Rio Bravo del Norte, expecting to meet with some families coming from Linares and other places, with whom to form a settlement. He soon arrived at Camargo, which had been provisionally founded by one Barrero from Nuevo Leon, and formally established the town on March 5th, leaving Captain Falcon in command. A little to the south a mission was erected with the Franciscan, Juan García, in charge; this friar was also the first curate of Camargo. Thence proceeding west, the town of Reinosa and a mission were established, with families from Nuevo Leon under Captain Cantun. After despatching Captain Basterra to form a settlement on the Nueces River, Escandon returned to Salinas, where, with families brought by Captain Merino, he founded San Fernando. On this return march the natives showed signs of hostility, and an inclination to dispute the passage. They were appeased, however, by Escandon's kind words and by presents.

About April 27th Altamira was located near the coast, and on May 9th the city of Horcasitas was founded with more than ordinary pomp. Ten days after this, Santa Bárbara and the mission Soledad[14] were established, after which Escandon returned by way of Tula to Querétaro, to report on the progress of his enterprise. Remaining there during the whole of the following year, he prepared a second expedition. At no time during the colonial history of New Spain had so many settlements been founded in such

[14] The mission Santa María de la Soledad a quarter league east of Santa Bárbara, was given lands by Escandon in the king's name, the same as all the other missions. *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 361.

a comparatively short period, and with so little bloodshed. True, here and there the natives were obstinate and unwilling to submit to the strangers, and in several instances Spanish settlements were attacked by the nomad tribes still scattered in the recesses of their mountain retreats. Thus it became necessary at times to send a force against them. This, however, seems never to have been done unless the Indians first gave sufficient provocation by their hostile attitude. Indeed, as a rule Escandon managed the aborigines with great skill and judgment, never resorting to hostile measures when with inducements and promises he could attract them to the missions, after which they would generally become good settlers. It is evident that this leader pursued a wise policy in making the lot of the subjugated natives as comfortable as possible. We find no signs of encomiendas or congregas, the same policy being observed as in Sierra Gorda. It is indeed refreshing to record a circumstance of this nature—so much at variance with the general conduct observed by nearly all the conquerors and pacificators of earlier times—and even at the present day the name of Escandon is esteemed and honored in Tamaulipas.

Many other settlements and missions were founded during the second expedition, the details of which are similar to those of the first, and of little interest to the general reader. All these new settlements, as I have mentioned, were placed in charge of a military commander, while one or more Franciscan friars took charge of each mission. Thus the government of the new colonies was at first purely military; yet it cannot be denied that, for the time being, and under a man like Escandon, this was the best fitted to keep the Indians under subjection, and to prevent civil dissensions among the colonists themselves. At all events we do not hear of any abuses committed by the commanders appointed by Escandon, and the progress of the colonies evidenced the success of the system. Never-

theless even in 1757 Indian hostilities had not entirely ceased;[15] and for this reason it was recommended by Inspector-general Tienda de Cuervo, who made an official visit to the province in that year, to take final measures to complete the pacification of the territory. Though Spanish dominion was permanently established, he was aware that to ensure the peaceful and steady development of the country, another campaign must be inaugurated; the natives who remained obstinate must be pursued to their last haunts; they must either be obliged to settle in the missions or be exterminated. The recommendation was approved by Viceroy Amarillas, and it is claimed that the campaign was a success, and that soon after the establishment of San Cárlos all hostilities and depredations by the Indian tribes of the neighborhood ceased. Many of them, seeing they were pursued even to their most secret haunts, had preferred to join the missions; but others, more warlike, receded beyond the boundaries of Coahuila and to the Rio Bravo. They were gradually surrounded, and confined by the encroaching Spanish settlements to the most remote parts of the province; and being obliged to withdraw, they joined the wild tribes of Coahuila, Sonora, and New Mexico, who long afterward continued to harass the settlers on the borders of Mexico and the United States. In 1792 a last raid was made

[15] According to a statistical report made by the inspector-general José Tienda de Cuervo in 1757, Escandon had founded 24 cities, towns, and villages, with nearly the same number of missions; there were 8,993 inhabitants; 20 missionaries; 3,473 Indians settled in the missions. The stock of the colony consisted of 58,392 horses; 1,874 mules; 24,747 horned cattle, and 288,363 sheep and hogs. The cost of the political and religious administration was 45,095 pesos annually. *Hist. Arch. Genl. Mex.*, liv. Navarro, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., i. 291, gives the area of Nuevo Santander in 1810 as 5,193 square leagues, one partido, 26 curacies, 8 missions, 18 villas, and 11 pueblos; and a population of 56,715, consisting of 14,639 Spaniards, 13,251 Indians, and 28,825 of mixed blood. In *Certifn de los Mercedes*, MS., *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 39, the cost of the presidio at Camargo in 1758 is given at 3,225 pesos; that of Santander at 32,927 pesos. See also *Humboldt, Tab. Estad.*, MS., 7–40; *N. Mex. Cédulas*, MS., 303–22; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 19. The prospects for agricultural development were very poor, according to a report of Bishop Candamo in 1791. *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 123–25.

by the savages on Laredo, but they were soon repulsed and driven beyond the frontier.

At the time of Cuervo's arrival at Soto la Marina he found a schooner belonging to Escandon anchored in the harbor. This is the first craft known to have traded between Vera Cruz and Nuevo Santander. The master, Bernardo Vidal Buzcarrones, informed Cuervo as to the general condition of the coast, anchorage, and the different sand-bars he had examined at the mouths of various rivers. According to his opinion prospects for shipping were not at all encouraging, as during the greater part of the year only small craft were able to cross the bars and find a safe harbor. Then Cuervo made a tour of inspection with the schooner himself, during which he came to the same unfavorable conclusion.

More improvements were made in 1763. The sites of Escandon, Búrgos, and Reinosa were changed; new settlements were founded, and the settlers received assistance from the government. For fifteen years the lands in the vicinity of the colonies had been used in common, but in 1764, by order of Viceroy Cruíllas, they began to be segregated. The following year the town Cruíllas was founded, and in 1766 San Cárlos was established. From this time until the end of the century the colonists were enabled to breathe more freely; all the settlements rapidly improved; several mines were discovered and worked; stock-raising increased; and merchants and dealers from Mexico, Huasteca, Sierra Gorda, San Luis Potosí, and other parts of the country began to frequent the flourishing towns of Nuevo Santander.[16]

[16] In 1779 Manuel de Medina was governor of the province, and in 1787 Melchor Vïdal de Lorza was appointed. In 1791 and 1799–1800 the conde de Sierra Gorda, probably a son of José de Escandon, is again mentioned as governor, and at the outbreak of Hidalgo's revolution we find Manuel de Iturbe ó Irreta at the head of affairs in the province. See *Medina, al Regente Romá*, MS.; *Gomez, Diar.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., vii. 278; *Alaman, Mej.*, ii. 94; *Gonzalez, Col. Doc. N. Leon*, 153; *Dicc. Univ.*, v. 458; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.* vii. 191. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the missions of the custodia of Rio Verde and San Pablo de Michoacan, Tula, Palmillas,

Pantano, Jaumave, Llera, Croix, and Güemes belonged politically to the colony of Nuevo Santander, and spiritually to the diocese of Nuevo Leon. *Arias, Informe*, MS., in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 342. See also *Estad. Hist. Ant.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ep., i. 570.

The *Historia, Geografia y Estadistica del Estado de Tamaulipas por el C. Ingeniero Alejandro Prieto*, Mexico, 1873, 4to, pp. 5, 361, map, gives an outline of the history of Tamaulipas from the time of the conquest; the author makes an effort to prove an ancient civilization in that state, based upon some personal researches and a number of relics discovered, with a brief narrative of aboriginal traditions, habits, customs, and religion, touching also in a general way on the historical events of Texas, Nuevo Leon, and Sierra Gorda. Then follows a description of geographical conditions and political divisions, giving, based on statistics, information on the material standing of the country in regard to agriculture, commerce, industries, and general resources. This portion of the work is by far more useful than the historical division; indeed the author does not claim any credit in that direction, and we find but a confused compilation of historical data, scattered about promiscuously with an utter disregard to logical sequence, and clogged by eternal repetitions. Notwithstanding these defects, the author has undoubtedly been painstaking in his researches, both among the ancient ruins of his country, and among authorities which it might be difficult for others to obtain.

CHAPTER XIX.

THIRTY-SEVENTH TO FORTY-THIRD VICEROYS.

1721–1760.

Bi-centennial of European Occupation—Viceroy Casafuerte—He Encourages Public Improvements—Peaceful Progress—Death of the Viceroy—His Successor Archbishop Vizarron—Negro Insurrection at Córdoba—Its Suppression by the Military—Ravages of Epidemic—Viceroy Conquista's Rule—Fuenclara Arrives—Commodore Anson—He Captures the 'Covadonga'—Spanish Jealousy—Persecution of Boturini—Loss of Valuable Manuscripts—Administration of Revilla Gigedo—His Trafficking Propensities—Famine, Disease, and Earthquakes—Fuenclara Resigns—Viceroy Amarillas—His Poverty and Death—The Audiencia Rules—Short Administration of Viceroy Cruillas.

More than two centuries had now elapsed since the fleet of Cortés had cast anchor under the island of San Juan de Ulúa, and of all the powerful tribes that once rendered allegiance to the Montezumas few retained any traces of their ancient glory. While in 1721 the Spaniards were celebrating the bi-centennial of the occupation of the capital, the mountain tribes of Nayarit were being subjugated, and a quarter of a century later those of Nuevo Leon, Sierra Gorda, and Tamaulipas were destined, as we have seen, to meet the same fate.

On October 15, 1722, Juan de Acuña, marqués de Casafuerte, the successor of Valero, arrived in Mexico as thirty-seventh viceroy of New Spain. He is said to have been one of the best of all the representatives of royalty, being remembered in the history of the country as the 'great governor.'[1] During his ad-

[1] Casafuerte was a creole, a native of Lima, Peru. During 59 years of public service he had been viceroy of Messina and of Sicily. Besides being

ministration Casafuerte wrought a marked change in the various branches of the public service, and labored zealously, and not in vain, to purify a venal court. Many of the former rulers had done much to benefit the country by establishing new colonies, and encouraging commerce and the development of the mining and agricultural interests. It must be acknowledged, however, that few of them were proof against the temptations of the age, and that directly or indirectly they countenanced the shameful abuse of selling public offices to the highest bidder. When Casafuerte took charge, he at once abolished this practice. No presents were received, no favors shown; none of his household or subordinates dared to meddle in the question of appointments, or to intercede for office-seekers. Wholesome reforms were introduced and maintained during his long rule, while merit alone was the passport to preferment.

In the matter of public improvements the marquis was equally active. The building of a new mint was begun in 1731, and finished in 1734, at a cost of four hundred and fifty thousand pesos;[2] in 1733 the plaza de Acapulco was renovated, the San Cristóbal causeway having been reconstructed the previous year. The grand aqueduct which supplies the city of Querétaro with water was begun in 1726 and finished in 1738.[3] Improvements were also made in the various presidios throughout the country under Pedro de Rivera, who made a four years' tour of inspection by order of the viceroy, and a cannon foundry was established at Orizaba, the guns being used to strengthen the coast defences.

general of artillery, he had attained the highest military title, that of captain-general of the Spanish army. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 122; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 53.

[2] In 1722 the royal theatre was destroyed by fire. Steps were immediately taken to rebuild, though the new edifice was not reopened until 1753. *Alaman, Disert*, iii. app. 53; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 122.

[3] This structure was undertaken at the suggestion and under the patronage of Juan Antonio de Urrutia y Arana, marquis of Villa del Villar del Aguila, who, encouraged by Casafuerte, spent large sums on it from his private fortune. *Navarrete, Rel. Peregrina*, no. ii. 1–11.

The administration of Casafuerte was not marked by any internal disturbances; nor were the provinces harassed by the depredations of pirates which wrought so much mischief during the rule of his predecessors. Commerce still suffered to some extent on the North Sea, but corsairs had been driven from the waters of the Pacific, and trading vessels passed to and fro between New Spain and the East Indies without fear of being molested.

The marquis was beloved by the people, and the only enemies he had were dissatisfied office-seekers. These prevailed upon the king's council to recommend his removal on account of his great age, and his long tenure of office, which was inconsistent with general usage. When this was done Felipe signified his confidence in his representative by merely replying: "As long as Casafuerte lives his talents and virtues give him all the strength necessary for a good governor." Soon afterward, however, in 1734, the marquis died, at the age of seventy-seven. His funeral ceremonies were described in detail in the *Gazette* then published by Sahagun. Since that time they have served as a model on similar occasions, and resemble those which at the present day are observed on the demise of a president of the Mexican republic.[4]

When the *carta de mortaja*, was opened by the audiencia it was found that the archbishop of Mexico, Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, was designated to fill the vacancy.[5] Vizarron was appointed to the primacy January 13, 1730, and arrived in

[4] In 1724 Felipe V. abdicated the crown of Spain in favor of his son Luis I., who ascended the throne on January 10th. While preparations were being made to celebrate the event, news arrived of the death of the latter, which had occurred August 13th the same year, and Felipe, reluctant to place his minor son Fernando upon the throne, had reassumed the crown.

[5] On the death of archbishop Lanciego in 1728, Manuel José de Endaya y Haro was elected to the see, but died before taking possession, October 5, 1729. The bishop of Puebla, Juan Antonio de Lardizábal, was elected the same year to fill the vacancy, but the prelate refused the appointment. *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 224–5; *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, MS., ii. pt. i.; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 271.

the capital on December 20th of the same year. He was consecrated by the bishop of Puebla Lardizábal y Elorza, assisted by the bishops of Yucatan and Caracas, who were on a visit to Mexico at the time, and took charge of the ecclesiastical government on the 21st of May 1731, receiving the pallium on the 13th of January 1732.[6] The pastoral administration of the archbishop, which lasted sixteen years, was one of the most peaceful and prosperous recorded in the annals of the Mexican church; and concerning his reign as viceroy, it may be said that he was in every way a worthy successor to Casafuerte; he sent more treasure to Spain than any previous viceroy, without oppressing the people, draining the country of the precious metals, or diminishing the amount usually held in reserve at Mexico.

Though near the close of his administration war was again declared between Spain and England, New Spain remained undisturbed by foreign aggression; on the other hand, we have to record for this period some internal troubles and calamities. The negro and other slaves of the town and vicinity of Córdoba had long meditated revolt, when in 1735 a rumor was circulated by a mulatto that all slaves had been declared free by the king, and that they were now unlawfully kept in bondage by the Spaniards. A general uprising followed in the month of June; and though some of the more timid remained with their masters, the majority, being supplied in secret with arms of every description, gathered and fortified themselves on the hacienda called Omealca, protected by the Rio Blanco and the mountains. The militia of Vera Cruz, Ori-

[6] Archbishop Vizarron was born in the city and port of Santa María, Spain. So little is known of the early history of this illustrious member of the church that not even the date of his birth is given. His biographers merely mention that his studies were completed in the college of San Clemente in Rome, and that at the time of his election as archbishop of Mexico he was a high dignitary of the church of Seville. See *Reales Cedulas*, MS., i. 28–9; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 8–10; *Cabrera y Quintero, Festividades, Div.*, i. pt. i.; *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, i. 26–31; *Gazeta Mex.*, Dec. 1730; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 290.

zaba, and the neighboring towns were called out, and a formal campaign opened. A force of six hundred Spaniards attacked the insurgents, who were routed after a stubborn resistance. The ringleaders were executed, and others who were captured were subjected to cruel tortures. Those who escaped fled to the mountains; but hunger caused most of them to return, while a few preferred death from starvation to the fate of their companions.[7]

During the greater part of the following year violent storms prevailed, and in the month of August the epidemic called *matlazahuatl* made its appearance in Tacuba, and spread with rapidity over the whole country.[8] This terrible disease was similar to that of 1576, which carried off some two millions of natives.[9]

After being relieved from office as viceroy, Vizarron remained in charge of the primacy until the day of his death,[10] and was succeeded in 1749 by archbishop Dr Manuel Joseph Rubio y Salinas, who presided over the affairs of the church no less ably than had his predecessor.[11] He died, after a successful ad-

[7] More particulars about this insurrection may be found in *Rodriguez, Cart. Hist.*, 43–6; *Rivera, Gobernantes*, i. 107–8. In 1737 a Guaima Indian was hanged for inciting the natives to revolt, pretending to be a prophet. At the execution the natives were much astonished that the Spaniards did not turn into stone. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 56.

[8] The cholora morbus of 1833 also broke out in August, at the time when Herschel's comet was expected, though this was not visible in Mexico till Oct. 11, 1835. *Bustamante*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 137. The epidemic of 1736–7 was also ascribed to the appearance of a comet. In the city of Mexico the deaths amounted to 40,000, according to Alaman, and Cabrera gives 54,000 for Puebla. Alegre claims that in the province of Mexico one third of the population perished, and Villa-Señor states that many towns remained deserted. A remarkable circumstance was that Teutitlan, Ayahualica, Hueyacocotlan, and Notchixtlan in the bishopric of Oajaca, though surrounded by infected towns remained free from contagion. The Spaniards, as usual, suffered less than the Indians. See also *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, iii. 261–8; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 113–15; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., ii. pt. i. 133; *Alzate, Gazeta Lit.*, ii. 97.

[9] Our Lady of Guadalupe was supposed to have caused the disappearance of the epidemic. She was therefore declared the patron saint of the city of Mexico; and in later years of the whole country. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 56.

[10] He made a report of the condition of the country and the different branches of the administration to the king, and died Feb. 25, 1747. See *Vizarron y Equiarreta*, 4–7, 85–92, in *Vireyes de Mex. Instruc.*, 1st ser. nos. 18, 19; *Actos Secretos*, in *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, MS., i. pt. i. v.; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 17–19; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 56; *Castro, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser., iv. 76–7.

[11] This prelate, related to the most prominent nobility of Spain, was born

ministration of sixteen years, at the age of sixty-two.

The thirty-ninth viceroy, Pedro de Castro y Figueroa Salazar, duque de la Conquista y marqués de Gracia Real, took charge of the government of New Spain August 17, 1740. He had taken passage in a Dutch ship in order to elude the English war vessels which were then cruising in the North Sea, but being pursued near Portobello was obliged to make his escape in a small swift craft which had served as escort. His baggage and papers were left behind, but he was nevertheless acknowledged as viceroy without credentials.[12] During his brief reign of a single year, he gave indications of being a good ruler, though he found the country in a less favorable condition than his predecessors. The French had retired from the extreme northern provinces of New Spain, but the English, under Oglethorpe, bombarded San Agustin, in Florida; while Admiral Vernon who had captured Portobello and destroyed the castle of San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagre, threatened Ulúa and Vera Cruz.

The duke ordered that the razed batteries of Guadalupe and San Miguel should be reconstructed, and an adequate force raised for the protection of the gulf coast. Soon afterward he repaired to Vera Cruz for the purpose of adopting measures for defence, but a short time after his arrival at that port he was stricken

June 29, 1703. He finished his studies at the famous university of Alcalá de Henares and became celebrated as a licentiate in canon law. It is not known when he took orders, but he rose rapidly in the ecclesiastical career under the patronage of Cardinal Borja, and at the time of his elección to the Mexican archsee was abbot of San Isidro de Leon. See *Veitia, Linage*, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., i. pt. v. 36; *Concilios Prov., 1555–65*, 225–26; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 181; *N. Esp. Breve Res.*, i. 139–40; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 182–91; *Morena, Juan Becerra, Rel. Mex.*, 1766; *Vallarte, Sermon*, pt. ix., in *Arteaga, Josias.*

[12]Instead of saving the credentials and instructions of the crown, the duke took with him his favorite poodle-dog. For this he was severely reprimanded by the king, and the rebuke bore so heavily upon his mind that one year later it caused his death. So say Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 148, and Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 353. It is more likely that the viceroy died from yellow fever. The lost baggage was valued at 100,000 pesos.

down with a severe illness, causing his immediate return to Mexico, where he died, August 22, 1741.[13] His successor, Pedro Cebrian y Agustin, conde de Fuenclara, the fortieth viceroy, and the last who in those days enjoyed the dignity of grandee of New Spain, assumed office November 3, 1742.

At this time the Spanish provinces were kept in a state of constant alarm by the operations of Anson and Vernon, which have already been briefly related.[14] After scouring the Pacific coast of South America, Anson arrived off Acapulco in February 1742, with forces greatly reduced by sickness, and failing to receive the coöperation of Vernon, resolved not to make any attempt on the mainland. Hearing that he had narrowly missed intercepting a treasure-ship named the *Covadonga*, which had sailed safely into Acapulco a short time before, he cruised off that port for three months in the hope of capturing this prize. In the ordinary course of things the *Covadonga* should have left Acapulco in March, but on account of Anson's presence the authorities thought it best to detain her until the following year. Thereupon the British admiral set sail in disgust for China; and, having burned one of his two vessels and refitted the other near Macao, put off to await the arrival of the two galleons which he expected would reach the Philippines in May 1743. On the 20th of this month he arrived in his remaining vessel, the *Centurion*, a frigate of sixty guns, and with a very slender ship's company, at cape Espí-

[13] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 203, asserts that the duque de la Conquista was the only viceroy born in America. In this statement he is in error; there were several others, among whom was Casafuerte, who, as before related, was born in Lima. For more particulars concerning the administration of this viceroy, see *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 123; *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, i. 44–5; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., i. 1st ser. 521, 531; *Castillo, Sermon Real*, 1 et seq.; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 117; *Reales Cedulas*, MS., 149; *Vireyes, Instruc.*, MS., pt. 20; *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 1–12; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 32; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 146–8; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 57; *Rivero, Gobernantes*, i. 351–4. On the death of the viceroy, there being no *carta de mortaja*, the audiencia assumed the reins of government, with Pedro Malo de Villavicencio as president. During his brief rule nothing worthy of note occurred.

[14] See *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, ii. 589 et seq., this series.

ritu Santo, off the island of Samal. Here were erected signal stations for the purpose of warning Spanish galleons to beware of enemies who might be cruising about in neighboring waters. The *Covadonga* soon made her appearance, and when Anson's ship was sighted, bore down upon her to give battle.

Though not a war vessel, the *Covadonga* was well armed and manned, having thirty-six large guns, twenty-eight howitzers, and five hundred and fifty men, a number greatly in excess of the *Centurion's* crew. But these advantages were counterbalanced by the lightness of the British frigate, and the greater efficiency of her men. For two hours the conflict lasted. Though outmatched in seamanship the Spaniards showed no lack of courage. The galleon's rigging caught fire; her pennant was shot away; her commander was wounded, sixty-seven of her crew were killed, and a greater number wounded, before her colors were struck, while the loss of the British was but one man killed and seventeen wounded. Taking possession of his prize, Anson found on board treasure amounting to nearly a million and a half in coin, and about forty thousand five hundred marks in silver bullion.[15]

When the news of this disaster reached Mexico, it created much dissatisfaction among the parties interested, who laid the blame on the authorities. Moreover, the war which was then raging in Europe caused great scarcity of merchandise and high prices throughout New Spain.

A remarkable instance of Spanish jealousy toward foreigners, and of the strictness with which the laws in that respect were enforced, occurred at the beginning of Fuenclara's rule. Before the arrival of the viceroy, an Italian gentleman, Lorenzo Boturini, appeared in Mexico provided with a papal bull author-

[15] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 152, gives only 4,463 marks of silver. Other authors confirm the amount given in the text.

izing him to make collections for the purpose of providing a costly crown for the virgin of Guadalupe. Upon leaving Spain, however, he had forgotten to procure the sanction of the India Council; nevertheless the audiencia, believing Boturini to be sincere in his intention, decided to issue to him a license and passport. Fuenclara, however, took matters more seriously. An investigation was instituted, Boturini was imprisoned, and his papers, forming an exceedingly valuable historical collection, were taken in charge by the authorities.[16] Although Boturini had acted in good faith, he was kept in confinement for a long time, until finally, not knowing what to do with him, the audiencia sent him to Spain. There he presented his case at court and was compensated by the position of royal chronicler with the salary of a thousand pesos, and the Mexican government was ordered to return his manuscripts. This, however, was never done, and the greater portion of them disappeared from the office of the viceroy's secretary. Thus the persecution of Boturini and his exile from New Spain were the cause of an irreparable loss to Mexican history, for which Fuenclara is directly answerable. As for the audiencia, the viceroy was ordered to convoke a secret session, and having done so, to administer a stern rebuke for their presumption in encroaching on the prerogatives of the council of the Indies.

Fuenclara was a peaceably inclined ruler and seems to have paid much more attention to the development of the country's resources. Apart from this there is little to record concerning his administration. Indeed this period of the history of New Spain is necessarily void of interest. The European wars were confined to the Old World, and the people of New Spain were

[16] The learned Italian made this collection intending to write the history of 'Our Lady of Guadalupe.' The ancient documents which he gathered from all parts of New Spain grew upon his hands, and induced him to extend the scope of his work. These works will be fully discussed later.

content to supply the royal coffers with the necessary treasure, so long as they were comparatively free from the attacks of foreign powers. England considered it a much easier task to capture Spanish treasure ships on the ocean than to send expeditions to the mainland, where the deadly climate carried off her soldiers by hundreds. Nothing, therefore, impeded the progress of the provinces; agriculture and mining were developed; the population increased; new lands were occupied, so that in every direction the country became sprinkled with industrious settlers. New Spain had now arrived at the stage when the spirit of conquest disappears; and having outlived the period of early settlement, the people quietly and steadily pursued their course.

Ill-health finally induced Fuenclara to resign, though his salary had been raised to forty thousand pesos. The resignation was accepted by the king in 1745, and in the following year he was relieved[17] by Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, conde de Revilla Gigedo, who assumed the reins of government as forty-first viceroy of New Spain. He was appointed while captain-general of Cuba, and assumed office July 9, 1746. The peaceable condition of the country favored the propensities of the new ruler, who had acquired a vast fortune by trading ventures, and throughout Europe was regarded as the richest vassal of his sovereign. His fortune increased enormously during his administration, and in the history of the viceroys he is noted mainly as a shrewd and successful speculator. He would pass by no commercial enterprise or profitable traffic, generally devoting thereto his personal attention, so that the viceregal palace was transformed into an exchange. Nevertheless he had some qualities which gained for him the

[17] He returned to Spain, and was appointed ambassador to Vienna, where he arranged the marriage of one of the sons of Philip V. *Rivera, Gobernantes*, i. 363. See also, for other particulars, *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 38–9, 166; *Reales Cedulas*, MS., 210; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 45; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 33; *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, i. 7.

respect of his subjects, and chief among them was his personal courage. It is related that when a revolutionary mob once gathered about his palace he rode in among them unattended by any guard, and by his commanding presence and stern rebuke caused the rioters to disperse. Although he devoted much of his time to his individual interests, it cannot be alleged that he neglected the affairs of state. It is even claimed that he augmented the resources of the country, and greatly increased the royal revenue. The generous protection extended to Escandon in the pacification of Nuevo Santander is also greatly in his favor.

The years 1749 and 1750 were sad ones for the inhabitants of New Spain. The crops were destroyed by unusual frosts in many provinces, occasioning a famine throughout the country, which in its turn was succeeded by an epidemic in the territory under the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Guadalajara. During the same period many and destructive earthquakes occurred, the centres of which seem to have been near the volcano of Colima. Many lives were lost and towns destroyed, though the city of Colima suffered but little.[18]

Fernando VI., who succeeded to his father Felipe V. on the decease of that monarch in August 1746, had certainly no reason to be dissatisfied with Revilla Gigedo's administration, for his constant demands for gold to replenish the empty coffers of the royal treasury were ever promptly complied with. But the count had now ruled for nine years, and he was rich enough. His resignation was accepted in 1755, on which date he returned to Spain.[19] He was succeeded

[18] The towns of Sayula, Zapotlan el grande, Amacalpan, and many others of minor importance were destroyed. On May 13, 1752, an eclipse of the sun terrified the inhabitants, and in 1758 the volcano of Jorullo on the hacienda of that name, near Patzcuaro, suddenly became active. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 162, 169, 172; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, i. 117; *Hernandez, Estad.*, 18; *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, iii. 226–7.

[19] On his return to Spain he received the title of captain-general of the army and was made president of the council of war. For other particulars

by Agustin de Ahumada y Villalon, marqués de las Amarillas, who took charge of the government on the 10th of November in that year. The character of the marquis was in strong contrast with that of his predecessor in almost every respect. Indeed, they seemed to have only one trait in common, and that was loyalty to their sovereign. Amarillas was a soldier who had won fame in the Italian wars, and at once devoted himself to correcting the abuses that had crept in under the former administration. But soon after his arrival his health began to fail, and by the advice of physicians he resided for some time at Cuautitlan, and thence removed to the city of Cuernavaca. Not finding relief he returned to Mexico where he died February 5, 1760. While his predecessor was known as the wealthiest vassal of the king, it may be said of Amarillas that he was one of the poorest. Though his administration lasted more than four years, his honesty and generosity had been such that his widow was left in poverty, and became dependent on the archbishop Rubio y Salinas, who provided funds for her return to Spain.[20]

Francisco de Echávarri, president of the audiencia, took charge on the death of the viceroy, and ruled for several months pending the arrival of his successor. In the carta de mortaja, the governor of Habana, Francisco Cagigal de la Vega, was designated to fill the vacancy ad interim. He was notified of his

concerning Revilla Gigedo's administration, see *Instruc. Vireyes*, 3–57; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 190; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., v. pt. i. 27; *Payno, Rentas Generales*, vi.–vii.; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 33; *Castro, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. vi. 84–5; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 59–60; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 571–9.

[20] Some years previous to the viceroy's death, an aged married couple without heirs, and friends of the family, had donated a large estate to his wife. After much reluctance, the gift was accepted. The case was reported to the king by evil-disposed persons, and the donation was declared void, thus leaving the viceregal family in poverty. For particulars of the case see *Reales Cedulas*, MS., ii. 225–8. See also *Vireyes, Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser., pt. v. 1–6; pt. vi. 7; 2d ser., pt. iv. 1–2; *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, MS., i. pt. vi.; *Coloquio, Soph. y Leon.*, MS., 4; *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 47; *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 33; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 60–1; *Rivera, Gobernantes*, 379–85.

appointment by the audiencia, and arrived at Vera Cruz April 8, 1760, receiving the viceregal baton on the 28th, when he formally entered the city of Mexico. The administration of this, the forty-second viceroy, was void of any important event, and of very short duration. Knowing that his successor would soon arrive from Spain, he abstained from making any changes in the government, and contented himself with upholding for the time the existing laws. "However, during the few months of his rule," says Panes, "he gave evidence of extreme rectitude, zeal, and disinterestedness in the service of the king and the public."[21]

[21] I may mention as authorities on the preceding chapters the following: *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro, Mex.*, i. 33–282; ii. 47, passim; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 77, 90; *Torquemada*, i. 338–9; *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., 521–38; *Doc. Eccles. de Mex.*, MS., i. 4–15, 27–41; ii. 1–3, 43–6, 133; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 197–8, 213–18, 261–8; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 29, 38–9, 59, 68; ii. 58–189; iii. 171; iv. 67–70, 139–48, 164–6, 190–4; v. 11, 99, 104; vi. 7; vii. 48–54; *Arlegui, Prov. de Zac.*, 57, 73–89, 94–6, 122–3, 408–44; *Providencias, Reales*, MS., 1, 8–10, 60–2, 172–5, 219–21; *Villena á Regente Roma*, MS., passim; *Navarro, Misiones de Nayarit*, MS., 466, 469; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 33–56; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 31, 33–4; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 179–91; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 192; *Azanza, Ynstruccion*, MS., 76–8, 106–8; *Lazcano, Vida del P. Oviedo*, 276–8; *Nayaritas, Relacion de la Conq.*, passim; *Michoacan, Informe de las Misiones*, MS., 137, passim; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., passim; *Nayarit, Fragmento Hist.*, MS., 1; *Id., Informe de la Aud. de Guad.*, MS., 67–9, 75; *Descrip. de America*, MS., 107, 123–5; *Medina á Regente Romá*, MS., passim; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 330, 362; iv. v. vi., passim; série ii. tom. iv., passim; tom. vii. 31, 278, 435; *Medina, Cron. de San Diego de Mex.*, 181, 256; *Vireyes de Mex.*, MS., série i. 1–19; série ii. 2–17; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 1, 28–35, 83, 181–3, 203; ii. 109–12, 159, 197, 210, 225–8, 234; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 66, 88, 114, 209–14, 330–1; iii. 9–11, 34–7, 96, 110–28, 176, 211, 238; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 41–7, 110–17, 309–48; *Concilios Prov. 1555 y 1565*, 224–6; *Salguero, Vida*, passim; *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 73–7; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 123; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 92; v. 79–84; *Maltratamiento de Indios*, MS., 1; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 339; *Castro, Diario*, passim; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, tom. i. 135; ii. 6, 18–20, 96–110; vi. 295; vii. 3–40, 138, 300–17, 521–43; ix. 270–5; xi. 200–1; *Id.*, 2da ép. i. 291, 497–500, 570–2; iii. 21–5, 194–9, 307; *Id.*, 3da ép. i. 238, 266; v. 497; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 61; *Soriano, Prólogo*, passim; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 6 et seq.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii., passim; iii. 197; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 2, passim; no. 11, 49–51; *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 15–27; *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 26–58; *Orozco y Berra, Not. Hist.*, 291–2; *Frejes, Hist. Conq.*, 238–40; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 57, 155, 203, 257–61, 282–8; *Id., New Spain*, ii. 180–7, 224–35; *Id., Tabla Estad.*, MS., 7–40; *Id., Versuch*, ii. 156–60, 186–95; *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, i. 112–14, 139–40; ii. 304–20; *Instrucciones á los Vireyes*, 5–111; *Beltrami, Mex.*, i. 107–9; *Guerra, Revue N. Esp.*, i. 354; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 228–39; *Id., Mex. as it was*, 172–3; *Payno, Rentas Generales*, vi.–vii., passim; *Rodriguez, Carta Hist.*, 43–56; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 4–153, 365–72; *Mosaico, Mex.*, ii. 419; vi. 162; vii. 225–9; *Prieto, Hist. Tam.*, 1–9, 67–8, 75–213; *Al-*

zate, Gazetas, ii. 97; iii. 344, 420; *Colima, Representacion*, passim; *Noticia de N. España*, 18–19; *Sanchez, Sermon*, 1–28; *Hassel, Mex. and Guat.*, 155–68, 212–29; *Fransham, World*, 8–20; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, no. 35, 509–12; *Robertson's Hist. Am.* (ed. London), ii. 950, 955, 970–2; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Libre*, 79; *Castellanos, Defensa*, 26; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 354, 364–84; *Parras, Conq. de Jalisco*, MS., 520–1, 742–3; *Lerdo de Tajada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. 5, 294–313, 382–8; *Rivera, Descrip. Zac.*, 50–66; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 182–91; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 681; v. 535–95; vi. 301; vii. 7–9, 34–40, 174, 184–94; viii. 49; x. 1372–3; *Montanus, Die Nieuwe Weereld*, 222–30; *D'Avity, Descrip. Gen.*, ii. 83–4; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, x. 400–19, 495–513; xi. 1–8, 400–33; *Rivera, Gobernantes de Mex.*, i. 107–8, 222; *Sammlung, Aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 508–13; *Navarrete, Rel. Peregrino*, no. 1, 30–66; *Galvez, Informe del Visitador*, MS., 42–54; *Viagero, Univ.*, xxvii. 97–112; *Mofras, L'Exploration*, i. 105; *Velasco, Noticias Son.*, 197; *Mexico, Ordenanzas*, 7 et seq.; *Laet, Am. Descrip.*, 282–9; *Spanish Empire in Am.*, 103–14; *Arispe, Colosso Eloquente*, 98, 174; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.*, 65; *Salmon's Modern Hist.*, iii. 159–60; *Burke's Europ. Settlement*, 228–30; *Zamora, Bib. Leg.*, iv. 284; *Lardner's Hist. Marit. Discov.*, ii. 328; *Burney's Discov. South Seas*, v. 60–4; *Zuñiga y O., Calendario*, 103–17; *Bury's Exodus*, ii. 172–3; *Moreno, Relacion del Funeral*, 1–155; *Betagh's Voy.*, 190–3; *Arispe, Colosso Eloquente*, 98, passim; *Willie, Noticias Hacienda*, 4; *Vallarta, Sermon Funebre*, passim; *Coloquio entre Sophronio y Leonidas*, MS., 4–16; *Berenger's Col. Voy.*, iv. 149–51, 268–92; *Hernandez, Estadistica*, 18; *World Displayed*, vi. 119–42; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 61–2, 70; *Young's Hist. Mex.*, 60; *Boucher's Bib. Univ.*, ii. 123–5; *Voyages, A New Col.*, iii. 413–43; *Id., New Univ. Col.*, i. 240–2, 286–8, 395–402; *Id., Hist. Voy. round World*, ii. 117–19, 202–33; *Flint's Geog.*, ii. 132, 142; *Berghes, Zac.*, 4; *Pap. Var.*, ii. passim; iv. 1–155; x. 3 et seq.; cxlix. 413; ccxv. 17, 61–76; *Diario, Mex.*, iii. 486–8; iv. 1–2; xi. 220–2, 675–6; xii. 252; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 110–18; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 53–61, 266–90; *Id., Hist. Méj.*, i. 49–51; ii. 94–6; *Gazeta de Mex.*, i. 42 et seq.; ii.–v., passim; vi. 9–709; vii. 10–475; viii.–x., passim; xi. 9 et seq.; xii. 165–293; xiii. 411–803; xiv.–xvi., passim.

CHAPTER XX.

VICEROYS FORTY-FOUR TO FORTY-SIX.

1760–1779.

VICEROY MARQUÉS DE CRUÍLLAS—KING CÁRLOS III. PROCLAIMED—WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN—EXTENSIVE AND COSTLY PREPARATIONS AGAINST POSSIBLE ATTACKS—VISITADOR GENERAL JOSÉ DE GALVEZ—HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN MEXICO AND SPAIN—CRUÍLLAS' RELIEF AND HARSH TREATMENT—VICEROY MARQUÉS DE CROIX—HE SUPPORTS GALVEZ—HIS RULE APPROVED—PROMOTION, RECALL, AND FUTURE CAREER—UNJUST STRICTURES—VICEROY FREY ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI—GENERAL MEASURES OF HIS LONG RULE—HIS DEATH—TEMPORARY RULE OF THE AUDIENCIA—FOURTH ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL—ITS ACTS—ARCHBISHOP FRANCISCO ANTONIO LORENZANA—HIS COURSE IN MEXICO AND SPAIN—HE IS MADE A CARDINAL—FUTURE CAREER AND DEATH.

THE successor of General Cagigal, and forty-fourth viceroy, was Joaquin Monserrat,[1] marqués de Cruíllas, a knight grand cross, claviger commander of Montroy and Burriana, and bailiff of Sueca in the order of Montesa,[2] a mariscal de campo[3] of the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the royal Spanish infantry guards. He brought out his wife, Doña María Josefa de Acuña,[4] a lady related to the highest nobility of

[1] His family names, as given at the head of his decrees, were Monserrat, Ciurana, Cruillas, Crespí de Valldaura, Alfonso, Calatayud, Sans de la Llosa. *Disposic. Varias*, i. 21, iv. 1.

[2] A Spanish order of knighthood named after the convent of Santa María de Montesa, which was situated two leagues from the city of Játiva in the province of Valencia. It was founded with the sanction of Pope John XXII. in 1537. *Moreri* and *Miravel y Casadevante*, *Gran. Dicc.*, vii. 74.

[3] This was his military rank at the time of his appointment. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 237. His promotion to lieutenant-general was decreed soon after his departure for America. *Rivera*, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 388. He certainly held the commission of a lieutenant-general during his rule in Mexico, and made it appear in his decrees.

[4] Her family names were: Acuña y Prado, Vazquez, Coronado, Henriquez, Luna y Portocarrero, Castro, Figueroa y Mendoza, Ronquillo y Briseño, Mascareñas, Alencastre y la Cueva. *Rodriguez*, *Express. del Dolor.*, i.–xvi.

Spain, among whom was the late viceroy, marqués de Casafuerte, and it is even said that royal blood coursed in her veins.

The marqués de Cruíllas was appointed viceroy of New Spain on or before the 9th of May, 1760. He left Spain in July, touched at Puerto Rico and Cuba, and landed in Vera Cruz the 4th of September. He left that city the 19th, and journeying as his predecessors had done, reviewing on his way the colored troops in Puebla, and reached on the 5th of October Otumba, where acting viceroy Cagigal delivered him the baton of command, and on the next day[5] informally entered the capital. Being received by the ayuntamiento and conducted to the presence of the royal audiencia he then laid before that body his commissions as viceroy, governor, and president, took the oath of office,[6] and made his public entry into Mexico on the 25th of January, 1761,[7] not the 17th as modern authors have asserted.

Several important affairs soon engaged the new viceroy's attention. The first was the recognition and proclamation of the new king who had ascended the throne in November 1759. The act had been decreed in 1760 and postponed. The viceroy resolved that it should be on a magnificent scale. Accompanied from the palace by the city council, courts of justice, and the nobility on horseback, holding the standard that had been blessed by the archbishop, the marquis repaired to the stage erected in the plaza mayor, where being challenged to raise the standard for Cárlos

[5] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 173, refers to the *Libro Capitular* of Mexico for this date. Lorenzana, *Hist. N. Esp.*, has it 4th of October. Panes erroneously places his arrival in Mexico on the 24th of August. The same authority adds that Cruíllas was the last viceroy to make a public entry in Tlascala and other places as had been the practice of his regularly commissioned predecessors. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 49.

[6] On his recognition he demanded the yearly pay of $40,000 from the date of his embarkation for America. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 388.

[7] He at once carried out the papal bull on patronage, prayer, and recognition of the mystery of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary. *Ib.* A grand triumphal arch was erected with allegorical paintings, which are described in a work dedicated to the marquesa de Cruíllas. *Leon, Ilust. de las Pinturas*, 1–40.

III. he complied, and then and there the caciques of Tlatelulco, Tezcuco, Tlacopan, and Cuyoacan reiterated their allegiance on behalf of the Mexican nation. The procession being again organized, the several other platforms were visited, and the ceremonies repeated. That night, and the two following, the city was brilliantly illuminated, and the people surrendered themselves for three days to festivities, in the midst of which poetical effusions were not wanting.[8]

While the viceroy was studying the general affairs of the country, and discharging his multifarious duties, news reached Mexico early in 1762 that war had been declared by Spain against Great Britain. There were good reasons to apprehend an attack on Vera Cruz, for early in June a combined land and naval force had captured Habana. Cruíllas hastened to Vera Cruz to provide for its defence, taking with him the two companies of his guard, and reënforcing the few bodies of regular troops at his command. The militia, both infantry and cavalry, from all parts of the country was mustered into active service, and quartered at a cônvenient distance from Vera Cruz. Among them was one battalion of Puebla, and one of Michoacan. Most of the men were Spanish creoles; to render them efficient the viceroy summoned to his aid such governors, corregidores, and alcaldes mayores as had formerly followed the profession of arms.[9]

The real consulado of Mexico raised and equipped at its own expense a regiment of dragoons. The regi-

[8] *Cárlos III.*, *Amorosa Contienda*, 1–208; *Cárlos III.*, *Real Procl.*, 1–29. The ceremonials of allegiance were repeated throughout the country. In Puebla, particularly, the loyal manifestation was marked. An obelisk, said to have been worthy of the Augustan era, with the king's statue on the top was erected in the plaza. *Cárlos III.*, *Obelisco*, 1–4, etc.; *Plateros*, *Obelisco*, 1–5. The ceremonies in Vera Cruz are described in *Idea Mercurial*, 1–26.

[9] *Alaman*, *Disert.*, iii. app. 63. Among those who obeyed the summons were Pedro Montesinos de Lara, president of the real audiencia of Nueva Galicia, and comandante general of that province; and José Cárlos de Aguiar, governor of Durango. The latter was made inspector-general of all the troops called to the succor of Vera Cruz. *Panes*, *Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 119–20.

miento del comercio was intrusted with the preservation of public order at the capital, which service it had rendered, on several previous occasions of danger, free of all cost to the royal treasury.

The viceroy visited Anton Lizardo and Alvarado, and caused provisional batteries to be erected to protect the entrance of the bar, and floating batteries. A hospital was likewise made ready, and barracks for the troops. Every possible measure was adopted to meet the impending attack.[10]

The whole force put under arms remained in active service till all danger had passed,[11] peace having been concluded between the belligerents soon after. The news of peace was brought by a British man-of-war, which found some difficulty in gaining admittance into port; but becoming satisfied of the truth of the report, the authorities finally greeted her with the usual honors. On the 25th of February, 1763, arrived in Vera Cruz the British frigate *Trent* with the Spanish prisoners captured by the English in the siege of Habana, and a copy of the preliminaries of peace. In September of the same year came several small vessels conveying the garrison, officials, vecinos, and two bands of Indians from Pensacola, which place, by order of the captain-general of Cuba, had been surrendered to the English.[12] The energetic measures taken and personally supervised by the marqués de Cruíllas for the defence of New Spain were highly appreciated, and rewarded by the crown.[13]

[10] At this time was brought to Vera Cruz from Campeche a 'religioso servita,' who pretended to have visited Yucatan to procure shoes for the English. Several papers and drawings of Spanish ports being found on his person, he was taken to Mexico as a spy, and with the approval of the audiencia thrown into jail. This confinement of a priest with common criminals was objected to by the archbishop, who claimed the ecclesiastic immunity; the secretary of the audiencia was excommunicated; but the viceroy and audiencia demanded the repeal of the excommunication, and the demand was complied with. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 380–1; *Rivera, Gob. Mex*, i. 394–5.

[11] The expense incurred in these preparations exceeded two million dollars. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 394.

[12] The authorities and the people provided for the comfort of the immigrants. *Id.*

[13] He was made 'gentil hombre de cámara de S. M.' *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 153; *Rivera, Gob. Méx.*, i. 399.

Experience had taught the necessity of a strict supervision by the crown over the management of the treasury. The court, therefore, directed Francisco Armona to come to New Spain as visitador general to inspect and arrange the administration of the royal revenues.[14] The king's minister, Arriaga, sent the viceroy the instructions under which the visitador was to act, and ordered him to aid that officer in every possible way. Armona, who had been given five assistants, died on the passage out, and José de Galvez, an intendente of the royal army, was chosen for the position.[15] He came out in 1765 and before he had fairly begun the discharge of his duties a disagreement sprang up with the viceroy who refused to recognize certain powers claimed by the visitador. Thereupon the latter, referring the questions to the crown, led a retired life and awaited the final decision. The fleet of 1764 brought him powers independent of the viceroy, almost unlimited ones, which the latter could not ignore.

Galvez was endowed with talents of a high order, a sterling fearless character, indomitable will, and uncommon industry, united to great experience in affairs. He has been charged with a harsh, despotic, rancorous disposition,[16] that never tempered justice with clemency,[17] but there were deeply rooted abuses to

[14] The French at that time had much influence at the Spanish court. They urged Spain to be better prepared with resources for war, to which end the government should effect such changes in the administration of the American possessions as would bring about an increase of revenue, which hitherto, considering their extent and wealth, was indeed a very scanty one. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 296.

[15] He owed his great promotion to the French ambassador at Madrid. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 296.

[16] 'Hombre de pasiones fuertes, rencoroso y terrible...abusaba del poder que el Soberano habia puesto en sus manos.' Many thought him insane. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 44.

[17] Galvez was a native of Málaga. His services were munificently rewarded by the sovereign. In 1768 he was made a member of the supreme council of the Indies, and on his return to Spain ministro universal de Indias, an office that he held till his death, which occurred suddenly at Madrid on the 17th of June, 1787. He had been also given the title of marqués de Sonora. The news of his death reached Mexico the 30th of August. Many of those who suffered at his hands showed their satisfaction in disgraceful printed papers that made their appearance the next morning. *Lorenzana,*

be corrected regardless of reputation.[18] It is believed, however, that the visitador used a just discrimination. The result of his efforts was that in future, or at least during his term, every branch of the public administration experienced a marked improvement,[19] officials, in the fear of dismission, faithfully doing the right.

Viceroy Cruíllas neglected none of the important duties of his offices, and his wise, energetic policy won him an honorable name in the country. His disagreements with General Villalba, explained elsewhere, and the presence of an official exercising authority independent of him, rendered his stay in New Spain unpleasant. His relief came in August 1766.

The marquis was subjected to a rigorous residencia by the judge commissioner, José Areche, who refused him permission to go to Spain on bail, as had been granted his predecessors. He remained in Cholula till the end of his trial, and then was allowed to depart for the mother country, which he did in the same ship that carried General Villalba.

The forty-fifth viceroy of New Spain was Cárlos Francisco de Croix,[20] marqués de Croix, a knight of the order of Calatrava, commander of Molinos and Laguna Rota in the same order, and a lieutenant-general of the royal army,[21] who had been colonel of the walloon guards. He had given proofs of military skill in fifty years of service; he had been in command at Ceuta and Puerto de Santa María, and had served as captain-general of Galicia. King Cárlos III. esteemed him highly, knowing that he was a sincere, just man, and a true soldier, ready at all times to sacrifice him-

Hist. N. Esp., 34, 35; *Panes, Vir.* in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 121; *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., vii. 280–1; *Gazeta de Méx.* (1786–7), ii. 82. Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 402, wrongly gives 1789 as the year of his death.

[18] A few of those were at a later day reinstated by the sovereign. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 182.

[19] His master mind had been felt everywhere. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 64.

[20] In several documents, both manuscript and printed, the name is written Croix, which was probably the accent given it by Spaniards.

[21] A native of the city of Lille in Flanders, and of a very illustrious family. *Lorenzana, Hist. N. Esp.*, 35; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 65.

self for his master, as he called the sovereign, whose orders were to be obeyed without cavil, and on the same principle he allowed no contradiction to his own authority as the king's lieutenant.[22]

The marquis took charge of his offices on the 25th of August 1766, which was the date of his entering the capital.[23] From that time he paid strict attention to his duties, doing all in his power for the improvement and defence of the country, the increase of its revenues, the development of knowledge, and all that might be expected from a conscientious ruler. With the visitador general, José de Galvez, he maintained the closest relations, supporting all his measures, as he had the fullest confidence in his ability and character. The marqués de Croix won for himself the name of an able viceroy, as well as of a pure, upright man. When he arrived he refused to accept the customary gifts, and called for higher pay from the crown, which was granted him. He was somewhat addicted to drink, and evil tongues called him a drunkard.[24] If this was so he was a better man drunk than was many another sober; at all events his measures showed that he was a very sensible man, and that they were planned by no clouded or besotted intellect.

[22] Anecdotes were related of him, which, if authentic, and they are given for what they may be worth, go to show that he possessed a vein of humor as well as force of character. Once while holding a command in Spain, the all-powerful inquisition sent for him, and he obeyed the summons; but knowing the characters he had to deal with, took with him a squad of artillerymen and four cannon, which he stationed round the inquisitorial quarters, giving orders to his men, before entering the building, that if he did not come out in fifteen minutes they were to demolish it. The inquisitors on learning this dismissed him 'con muchas zalemas y carabanas,' and never troubled him again. Another time a bishop excommunicated him; and on being apprised that this meant cutting off relations between him and the faithful, he resolved to cut off relations of the faithful with the bishop, and laid siege with armed men to the episcopal palace to stop all ingress and egress as long as the excommunication should be in force. The next day the prelate raised the ban, and sent the marquis his apologies, whereupon the troops were removed. *Correo Semanario* (Enº. 10, 1827), i. 124–5.

[23] He was the first viceroy not to make a public entry, as his regularly commissioned predecessors had done. *Panas, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 50.

[24] His stock of wines and liquors was the finest in the country, and his table splendid. His expression of thanks to the sovereign for increase of pay and promotion was no warmer than when he was granted exemption

On the 21st of April 1770 he was commissioned a captain-general of the royal army; and as a further reward of his faithful services, on being relieved from the government of New Spain the 22d of September 1771, he was promoted to viceroy and captain-general of the kingdom of Valencia in Spain.[25] These offices he held at the time of his death.[26]

The forty-sixth viceroy was the bailiff Frey Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, Henestrosa, Lasso de la Vega, Villacis y Córdoba, knight commander[27] of La Bóveda de Toro[28] in the order of Saint John of Malta, and a lieutenant-general of the royal armies.[29]

Bucareli was a native of Seville, and related to the most noble families of Spain and Italy, being on his paternal side a descendant from a very distinguished family of Florence, which boasted among its connections three popes, six cardinals, and other high officers of the state and church; and on the maternal, the Ursuas were related to several ducal families.[30] The knight entered the military service of his country as a cadet, and rose by gallantry and honorable service to be lieutenant-general. He had distinguished himself in several campaigns in Italy and Spain, in en-

from import duty on some barrels of Bordeaux wine. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 13–14.

[25] About the time of his departure the spite of his enemies was displayed in doggerel verse, depreciating his rule, and even hinting at peculation. *Vir. Instrucc.*, MS., 1st ser., no. 13, 1–3; no. 14, 1–4.

[26] In 1786, at the age of 87 years. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., vii. 259–60. In 1775 had been paid him out of the Mexican treasury by royal order an extra allowance of $12,000. *Mex., Circular sobre Nomb.*, MS., no. 8.

[27] In 1776 he called himself knight grand cross, and commander, having been promoted to the former dignity by the grand master of the order. *Cédulario*, MS., i. 153, iii. 64; *Disposiciones Varias*, i., no. 26; *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 51.

[28] One author says La de Osma. *Panes*, in *Id.*, 124. And still another work descriptive of the viceroy's funeral, in the title-page has it La Tocina. The same is found in some of Bucareli's later edicts. *Bucareli, Breve Descrip., Disposiciones Varias*, i. 57.

[29] Later, probably after 1776, the king bestowed on him the office of a 'gentil hombré de cámara con entrada.' *Panes*, in *Id.*, 124.

[30] Alburquerque, Lerma, Denia, Alba, Arcos, Medina-Coeli, etc. Bucareli was received into the order of Malta by special dispensation, when he was still under the prescribed age. *Uribe, Elogio*, in *Breve Descrip.*, 8–10.

gineering work, and as the inspector-general of cavalry. Lastly, he was called to be governor and captain-general of Cuba, where he again rendered valuable services to the crown, which were rewarded with the promotion to the viceroyalty of New Spain. Nor was this the only reward. He was not only permitted to grant offices to twelve of his friends and attachés, a privilege that had been withheld for some years from his predecessors, but was given by royal order of January 22, 1777, an increase of $20,000 a year above what had been the viceroy's salary, making it $80,000, as a mark of special favor.[31]

The newly appointed viceroy left Habana August 14, 1771, and arrived at Vera Cruz on the 23d; started thence September 9th, and travelling slowly, via Antigua, Rinconada, Plan del Rio, Jalapa, Vigas, Perote, Haciendas de Soto, Tonquito and San Diego, Piedras Negras, Buenavista, Apam, Otumba, and San Cristóbal, accomplished the journey of 84 leagues to the capital on the 23d. This route was the shortest as well as most convenient, avoiding the entry into Tlascala and Puebla, in both of which cities the municipal authorities and people, particularly the Indians of the former, would have insisted on entertaining the viceroy, and their wishes could not well have been slighted, entailing upon him the delay of two or three days at each place, and upon those communities expenditures that would have weighed heavily on them for a long time. At San Cristóbal the real audiencia and other officials, among them the representatives of the city of Mexico, paid their homage to the incoming ruler, who received the baton of command from his predecessor the 22d of September, whereupon the city authorities escorted him to the capital.[32] His public reception was magnificent, for the citizens believed him deserving.[33]

[31] *Expediente promovido*, in *Mex., Circular sobre Nomb.*, MS., no. 7–26.
[32] *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser., no. 8, 1–2.
[33] The triumphal arch was a splendid architectural work in three of the

General Bucareli on the 23d produced to the audiencia his three commissions as viceroy and governor, captain-general, and president of that body, and took the oath to faithfully discharge his duties; among the pledges was that of maintaining peace in the interior, and defending the kingdom against all foes.[34]

Viceroy Bucareli during nearly eight years' rule attended carefully to the organization of the military forces and coast defences; to the well-being of the new settlements in California; an honest and economical management of the royal treasury, the revenue of which he augmented without burdening the king's subjects with extra taxation; the police and administration of justice; the development of public instruction and the arts of peace. Indeed, whatever could contribute to the honor of his sovereign and the welfare of the people was matter of interest to him. He cared for the poor in hospitals and asylums, and was zealous in assisting the prelates of the religious orders to preserve good morals. The term of his rule was the happiest that New Spain experienced. Peace and prosperity reigned; and the country took long strides in advance.

Whilst the viceroy was thus engaged disease seized him, a violent attack of pleurisy,[35] to which he succumbed on the 9th of April, 1779. His death spread sorrow throughout the land, for he had won the title of "virey amado por la paz de su gobierno." As an evidence of the high standing of his character, I shall mention one instance. Being in need of funds for the

orders, namely, Ionic, Corinthian, and composite. The allegory of Ulysses was used to represent Bucareli's great actions, his learning, wisdom, and virtues. The formula was that of the ancient Romans, with mottoes and emblems from Latin and Greek authors, and descriptions of passages in appropriate Castilian verse. *Leon, J. Velasquez, Explicacion de los Adornos*, 1–22.

[34] *Escribano Castro, Certif.*, in *Mex., Circular sobre Nomb.*, MS., no. 1.

[35] During this, his last illness, were brought to him the most notable relics in the convents and churches. The viaticum came from the sagrario of the cathedral, the archbishop accompanying the host from the foot of the palace stairs; but not administering the communion because the viceroy objected to giving him the trouble of putting on his vestments. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., vii. 59.

operations of the mint the merchants lent him without interest or security $2,500,000.[36]

The deceased had ordained in his last will that his remains should be interred in the temple of the Insigne y Real Colegiata of Guadalupe, charging that the interment should be in the humblest and most trampled spot at the very entrance of the temple. The body remained in state at the palace till the 13th, when the funeral cortége started in the morning for the convent of San Francisco, where it was deposited till the evening, and then it was conveyed to the santuario of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and there on the 29th of October inhumed in the threshold, as he had requested, with expressive epitaphs on the tomb. The executors, José Martin de Chavez and Joaquin Antonio Dongo, in view of the late viceroy's great regard for the Capuchin nuns, and of his great zeal in the erection and preservation of the casa de ejercicios in the oratory of San Felipe, resolved that his heart should be given to the Capuchin nuns, and his other vitals to the before mentioned casa.[37]

So soon as the supreme government heard of the death of Viceroy Bucareli, it ordered that his effects should be forwarded to Spain, and that no residencia of his official acts should be had,[38] a course unprecedented in the history of royal representation.

Immediately after Bucareli's death was officially announced, was opened the pliego de providencia or mortaja, by which the president of Guatemala was to

[36] He was not backward in reimbursing the loan. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 68. As evidence of his piety and humility, when he felt death approaching he begged to be helped on his knees that he might die in that position, or at least allowed to lie on a bare floor. *Uribe, Elogio*, 16–20, 26, 38–41.

[37] This is probably the correct version as to the disposal of the heart and other vitals; though it was asserted in Habana that the heart was deposited in Santa Brígida, and the entrails in the cathedral. A contemporary left it written that the heart went to the Capuchin nuns, a moiety of the other vitals to the casa de ejercicios, and the other to the cathedral. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. vii. 60, 74–5. Panes, *Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 51, 124, merely says that the heart was deposited in the convent of the Capuchin nuns, and the body in the colegiata.

[38] *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Méx.*, série ii. vii. 85–6.

succeed as viceroy ad interim. Until his arrival the government devolved on the audiencia. The baton of acting captain-general was delivered to the *regente,* Francisco Romá y Rosel.[39] Circulars were despatched to the authorities throughout the country to notify them of these events.[40]

On the 23d of April was celebrated a thanksgiving mass, attended by the audiencia and the regente. At the head of the palace reception room were placed three chairs; the middle one was occupied by the regente, and the other two by the *decano,* or senior oidor, and the subdecano. The regente and his two associates took the palace coach, the guard presenting arms, and with a squad of cavalry in advance, and the escort of halberdiers, repaired to the cathedral, at the principal door of which were four canons to receive them. For the regente was supplied not a prie-dieu, but a mere cushion.[41] The audiencia during its rule of a little over four months made no change in the government policy.

One of the notable events of the second half of the eighteenth century was the assembling of the fourth Mexican provincial council,[42] convened pursuant to two royal cédulas of August 21, 1769, one of which

[39] He was the first regente; appointed June 20, 1776; entered upon his duties March 13, 1778, and resigned the office in 1782. Both he and his wife, Narcisa Paisagns, were from Catalonia. He died in Mexico, December 1, 1784, and was buried the next day in the chapel of Santo Domingo with the honors of the last rank he held in life. *Reales Cédulas,* MS., ii. 159; *Gomez, Diario,* 198–9. His colleagues in the government were the oidores Villaurrutia, Madrid, Gamboa, Algarin, Luyando, and Guevara. *Cedulario,* MS., i. 90.

[40] Every official on seeing the circular wrote over his signature in continuation the date of its receipt, as well as the obligation he was under of forwarding it to other officials residing off the main routes taken by the couriers. There were six such circulars. *Liévano, Luis Mendez de, Carta á Romá,* MS.

[41] Other ceremonies practised toward viceroys were omitted; for instance: the mace-bearers and doorkeepers of the city were not stationed in front of the audiencia; the holy book was not brought to the regente to kiss, 'sino la paz,' that is to say, an image to be kissed in sign of peace and fraternity, and this, not by a canon, but by the master of ceremonies wearing the surplice and stole. *Gomez, Diario,* in *Doc. Hist. Mex.,* 2d ser., vii. 62–3.

[42] *Hist. Mex.,* ii., this series, gave full information on the preceding councils.

commanded the prelates of America and the Philippines to attend such a council. The other, called the *tomo regio*, specified as many as twenty points to be considered.[43] The partisans of the expelled Jesuits, among whom is the writer Cárlos M. Bustamante, would have the world believe that the ministers who had influenced the king to adopt that measure, now impressed upon his mind a conviction that the convocation of a provincial council, after the old fashion, was needed to eradicate the erroneous doctrines taught by the society of Jesus, which had taken deep root in America; that the king's flatterers represented morals in Mexico to be at a low ebb, owing to those teachings; and one of the orators at the council affirmed that the period was worthy of comparison with that of the conquest of America.[44]

On the 13th of January, 1770, Archbishop Lorenzana laid the royal cédulas before his chapter, and on the 21st it was announced at high mass that the council would be inaugurated on the 13th of January proximo. Some differences between the archbishop and his chapter on matters of ceremonial occurred toward the end of 1770, and new discussions arose one week before the installation of the council. They were not, however, an obstacle to the swearing-in, on the 11th of January 1771, before the archbishop, of the theologians and canonists who had been chosen to act as advisers of the council.[45]

The preliminary ceremonies took place, part in the church, and part in the chapter's hall, which was the room selected for the sittings.[46] The viceroy made a short address; and after the tomo regio and the archbishop's decree had been read, he retired.[47]

[43] *Cédula*, in *Concilio Prov. Mex.*, iv. MS., i. 1–8.

[44] *Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 7.

[45] Five of the former taken from both the secular and regular clergy, and six of the latter. *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 194.

[46] The religious rites were attended by the royal courts without the viceroy; but at their termination he was found sitting on the throne under the canopy in the council chamber. *Id.*, 193.

[47] The next day the archbishop delivered a long discourse on provincial

The council was presided over by the archbishop, and the following prelates and dignitaries of the church were in attendance. Bishops: Miguel Álvarez de Abreu, of Antequera; Friar Antonio Alcalá, of Yucatan, and elect of Guadalajara; Francisco Fabian y Fuero, of Puebla, and José Diaz Bravo, of Durango. The bishoprics of Michoacan and Guadalajara were represented by canons of their chapters. Prelates of the religious orders: generals of the San Hipólito and Bethlehemite orders, and the provincials of the Franciscans, and barefooted Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, barefooted Carmelites, and order of Mercy; and the comisario of the clérigos regulares of San Camilo. The colegiata of Guadalupe likewise had two seats in the council. Oidor Antonio de Rivadeneira, as asistente real, and José Areche, fiscal of the audiencia; and the two representatives of the city of Mexico. The officials of the council were the secretary, Doctor Andrés Martinez Campillo, promoter, master of ceremonies, notary, and two nuncios.

The labors of the council were completed on the 26th of October,[48] and on the 10th of November a commissioner was despatched to Spain with the acts to be laid before the king in council for approval. This was never given them, owing to the many objections preferred by the fiscal for Peru, based chiefly on alleged grievances against Archbishop Lorenzana. The king on the 8th of October, 1772, ordered that the acts should not be made public till they were sanctioned by his council and the pope. They have consequently remained unpublished.[49] An authenticated copy of them exists in the archives of the archbishopric of Mexico. The manuscript has a blue velvet cover, and is entitled *Concilio IV provincial Mex-*

councils, and was followed by the *asistente real*, or viceroy's proxy, who spoke of what was to be done, and ended with vivas and acclamations to the viceroy, and Visitador Galvez. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 9.

[48] On the 10th of the same month the council was visited by De Croix's successor, Bucareli, amid much ceremonial, and with a large suite. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 9–10.

[49] *Concilio Prov. Mex. IV*, MS., i. 365; *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 334–5.

icano, celebrado en 1771. It contains five books, the first with thirteen titles; the second with sixteen; the third with twenty-four; the fourth with two; and the fifth, with twelve; each title having a large number of decrees and ordinances on ecclesiastic reform and discipline.[50]

The council also prepared fourteen works, all on matters more or less connected with the church, and tending to the improvement of its branches and service, and to the advancement of religion and popular education; one of them concerned the management of hospitals, and another the beatification of Juan de Palafox.

Doctor Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Butron, of whom mention has been so often made in connection with the above described fourth council, was of illustrious lineage, born in Leon, Spain, on the 22d of September 1722; he studied literature in the college of San Salvador de Oviedo, of the renowned university of Salamanca.[51] His first prominent position was that of canónigo doctoral in the cathedral of Sigüenza. He afterward became successively canon and vicar-general of Toledo, abbot of San Vicente, a dignitary of the cathedral of Toledo, and a member of the royal council. In 1765 he was made bishop of Plasencia, and on the 14th of April of the following year

[50] *Concilio Prov. Mex. IV*, MS., i. 9–360; ii. 13–323; *Granados, Tardes, Am.*, 484–5. Bustamante irreverently calls this council a solemn farce, inspired by party spirit, and supported by the king or his councillors, to impress the Mexican people with awe and dread, and with the idea that the king was a divine being. Comparing it with the first presided over by Father Martin de Valencia, he derides the former as well as Lorenzana. *Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 11–12. Bustamante's remarks are certainly ill-considered, for the instructions to parish priests, among other points, clearly show that they were intended to elevate, and not to depress the character of the Indians. *Cathecismo por IV Concilio.* This is an original manuscript, in my collection, dated September 5, 1771, bearing the signatures and rubrics of the archbishop of Mexico, bishops of Yucatan and Puebla, the proctors of Michoacan and Guadalajara, and the secretary. It is followed on pages 69 to 263 by an explanation of Christian doctrine made by the council, dated August 4, 1771, also bearing the same signatures.

[51] His earliest ecclesiastic instruction he received in a Benedictine monastery. *Vir. de Mex., Instruc.*, MS., no. 22, 2.

was promoted to the archbishopric of Mexico, of which he took possession on the 22d of August, receiving on the 8th of September the pallium from the bishop of Puebla.[52]

Lorenzana's government of the archdiocese, though a brief one, was marked by acts that justly entitled him to a high place among the most distinguished members of the Mexican episcopacy. His first act was to establish a foundling asylum. Soon after his arrival he noticed the absence of such a shelter for the care of infants forsaken by their parents either to conceal a fault or to elude the fulfilment of their duties. He purchased out of his income a suitable building on the 11th of January, 1767, founding and organizing in it the casa de niños expósitos, commonly known as La Cuna, which he supported till he left the country. He was governing in harmony with the civil power, and much valued for his learning, virtue, and philanthropy, when he received promotion to the archbishopric of Toledo, and was made primate of Spain, to which place he had been nominated on the 27th of January, 1771. In his new position he had a still wider field of usefulness. On the 30th of March, 1789, Pius VI. made him a cardinal.[53]

When the French revolution broke out and a large number of ecclesiastics from that nation sought a refuge in Spain, Lorenzana, foremost among the Spanish prelates, afforded them great protection and assistance.[54] In 1797 he was sent by Cárlos IV. to Rome to afford aid and comfort to Pius VI., and remained at the pontiff's side, accompanying him to Florence and thence to Parma. The object of his company was to furnish pecuniary resources to Pius. At last the

[52] *Concilios Prov.*, 1–2. His autograph signatures and official seal appear in *Concilio Prov. Mex.*, 4; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 192; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 1.

[53] Bustamante and others attribute his getting the red capello to his work in the fourth provincial council. *Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 12. The fact is that the honor has been almost invariably conferred on the archbishops of Toledo.

[54] *Michaud, Biog. Univ.*, in *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 197.

French refused him a passport, and he was separated from the illustrious captive, whom he never saw again. The cardinal is heard of as present at the conclave held in Venice.[55] In 1800 he resigned the archbishopric of Toledo, and fixed his residence in Rome, where he died the 17th of April, 1804, being interred in the church of Santa Croce.

Upon the receipt in Mexico of the news of the death of its former archbishop, funeral honors were paid him with great pomp.[56]

[55] *Id.* in *Id.*, 198.

[56] *Vir. de Mex., Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser., no. 22, 1–12; *Arévalo, Laudatio Funebris*, 1–31. Lorenzana published several works giving impulse to letters, particularly to historical research. The principal ones were: *Concilios provinciales primero y segundo, celebrados en la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de México.* Mex. 1769, folio. *Concilium Mexicanum provinciale III. Celebratum Mexici, anno MDLXXXV. Præside D. D. Petro Moya et Contreras...Confirmatum Romæ die XXVII. Octobris anno MDLXXXIX...* Mex. 1770, folio. *Historia de Nueva-España, escrita por su esclarecido Conquistador Hernan Cortés, Aumentada cón otros documentos, y notas.* Mex. 1770, folio. *Statuta Ordinata a Sancto Concilio Provinciali Mexicano III. Ex Præscripto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentino Decreto Sess. 24 cap. 12 de Reform., verbo cetera. Revisa a Catholica Majestate, et a Sacrosancta sede Apostolica Confirmata, A. D. Millessimo quingestissimo octuagessimo nono, folio.* In the first above mentioned work, preceding the Constituciones of the councils is the editor's carta pastoral, briefly relating the object of such councils, and giving the history of those held in Mexico. Next appear the resolutions of the first Junta Apostólica, and the curious information of Captain Juan Juarez y Gamboa in 1649 on the coming of the first clergymen to New Spain; Bishop Garcés' letter to Paulus III. in favor of the natives, and next the pope's bull in 1537 declaring the Indians rational beings. After the acts of the two councils are given biographical sketches of the archbishops of Mexico, and bishops of Puebla, Guatemala, Antequera, Michoacan, Guadalajara, Yucatan, and Durango. These biographies, though brief and often erroneous as to dates, are important for the study of Mexican ecclesiastic history. In continuation are the *Avisos para la acertada conducta de un párroco en la América; Privilegios de Indios*, and *Avisos para que los naturales de estos reynos sean felices en lo espiritual y temporal.* The whole ending with a good index in six pages of the matter contained in the volume.

With reference to the *Historia de la Nueva España*, which contains the second, third, and fourth letters of Hernan Cortés, Icazbalceta says that he has been unable to ascertain if the original Lorenzana had before him was the edition in Gothic letters or Bárcia's reprint. His work is valuable any way, for his additions, namely: Alzate's map of New Spain (1769); Cortés' journey from la Antigua Vera Cruz to Mexico, for the better understanding of the places mentioned in the map; a drawing of the chief temple of Mexico; remarks for better understanding Cortés' letters (information on ancient history with the series of Mexican emperors); months of the Mexican year (drawing); government of New Spain (list of governors and viceroys from Cortés to Viceroy de Croix); here follows Cortés' second letter; fragments of a tribute map (Mendoza's Codex), giving the towns that paid, and expressing the kind, quantity, and time (31 drawings with a preliminary note); here follows Cortés' third letter; Cortés' voyage to the Cali-

fornias, with information on all expeditions made to that country till 1769, for better understanding Cortés' fourth letter and projects.

Icazbalceta, *Col. Doc. Hist. Mex.*, i., referring to Lorenzana's collection reprinted in New York, in 1828, 1 vol. 8vo, by Manuel del Mar, justly finds fault with the editor's alterations, an unpardonable one being that of substituting j for x in Mexican names. The editor omitted Nos. 1–5, 7, and 9 of the previous, and added an historical account of Hernan Cortés with some poor cuts taken from Clavigero. As to the tribute map, Orozco y Berra, an archæologist worthy of all respect, discovered many errors, omissions, and changes which he details in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Méx.*, i. 183 et seq., concluding with these remarks: 'No proseguiremos amontonando cargos, doliendonos que los grandes gastos y empeño del Señor Arzobispo Lorenzana, por circunstancias fuera de su voluntad, no hubieran sido más fructuosos para la ciencia.' Lorenzana published at his own expense for distribution, not for sale, the above named works, and several others of minor importance, namely: several pastoral letters; *Missale Gothicum secundum regulam B. Isidori in usum Mozarabum, Rome, 1804, folio; Opera Patrum Toletanorum; Opera S. Martini Legionensis*, etc., all of which have become quite rare. Also: *Aranzel para todos los curas de este arzobispado, fuera de la Ciudad de México*, Mex. 1767, fol., 6 leaves; *Memorial que presentan á todas las Comunidades, y Gremios los Pobres Mendigos de Mexico por mano de su Arzobispo* (n. p. n. d.), 4to, pp. 29; *Memorial que presentan á todas Estados los Niños Expósitos de la Imperial Ciudad de México por mano de su Arzobispo*, Mex. 1770, 4to, pp. 21; *Reglas para que los naturales de estos Reynos sean felices en lo espiritual, y temporal*, Mex. 1768, folio, 2 leaves; *Tratado del Agua Mineral Caliente de San Bartholome* (n. p.), 1772, 4to.

CHAPTER XXI.

VICEROYS FORTY-SEVEN TO FORTY-NINE.

1779–1787.

VICEROY MARTIN DE MAYORGA—HIS EXCEPTIONAL POSITION—WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN—WARLIKE MEASURES—MAYORGA'S EFFICIENT RULE—VICEROY MATÍAS DE GALVEZ—HIS SHORT ADMINISTRATION—HE PROMOTES IMPROVEMENTS—THE CONDE DE ARANDA'S PLAN—INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS IN SPANISH AMERICA TO BE ERECTED—KING CÁRLOS' OBJECTIONS—THE AUDIENCIA RULES A FEW MONTHS—VICEROY CONDE DE GALVEZ—HIS GREAT SERVICES AND RANK—UNBOUNDED POPULARITY—TREASONABLE SCHEMES ATTRIBUTED—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH—POSTHUMOUS BIRTH OF HIS CHILD—MAGNIFICENT CEREMONIALS AT THE CHRISTENING—THE FAMILY LIBERALLY PENSIONED—THE AUDIENCIA RULES AGAIN.

MARTIN DE MAYORGA, a knight of Alcántara and mariscal de campo of the royal army, who had been captain of the Spanish royal guards, governor of Alcántara in Estremadura, and lastly governor, president, and captain-general of Guatemala, became the forty-seventh viceroy of New Spain. He had but just surrendered the baton of command to the inspector of the troops, and was on the point of departing for Spain, when despatches reached him that in the pliego de mortaja opened in Mexico at the death of Viceroy Bucareli he was named as the successor ad interim.[1] On the 23d of August, 1779, he entered the viceregal palace, and took the oath of office, which was administered him by the regente in the presence of the oidores.[2]

[1] He started for Mexico on the 18th of May, 1779. *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 271–2; *Escamilla, Not. Curiosas de Guat.*, 50–1; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 58–63; *Cédulario*, iii. 61.

[2] *Gomez, Diario*, 70.

Mayorga is represented to have been affable and liberal, possessing a magnanimous charitable heart, and making himself beloved by all, and yet he had to exercise much prudence as well as force of character, his position being an unfortunate one, as will be seen hereafter.

The new viceroy's arrival at the capital occurred just eleven days after the proclamation there, on the 12th, of war having been declared May 18th against Great Britain by King Cárlos III. Assistance secretly afforded by Spain to the British North American colonists to attain their independence,[3] had much to do with the animosity of the day; in which measure Spain did not know how surely she was working her own undoing in the same direction.

The people of Mexico saw in this war nothing but misfortune; their trade would be harassed, and their coasts ravaged. Taxation, loans, and sacrifice of life would naturally follow. Nor were their fears unfounded, for very soon Mexico was called to the aid of Guatemala for the recovery of the port of Omoa in Honduras, which the English had taken. She was also required to take a prominent part in the combined Spanish and French operations against Florida. Those operations were quite active from 1779 to 1781.[4]

Fearing an assault on Vera Cruz, the government

[3] Bustamante, the editor of *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 31–2, assures us that the policy of the Spanish court in aiding the colonists was intended to avert a dangerous British invasion of New Spain from the North American colonies—a false step in his opinion, which eventually proved injurious not only to the allied powers, the French and Spaniards, but also to the people of New Spain, whose emancipation it retarded 50 years, though not preventing it. The king however, in his manifesto of July 8th to his vassals of America, states as his reasons for the war, among others, the hostile acts of the British authorities in Darien and Honduras. On the first day of the same month ordinances additional to the general regulations to govern the royal navy and letters of marque on the subject of prizes, had been issued. All trade and intercourse with the British had been forbidden in June. *Reales Ordenes*, iv. 57–84, 192–6, 199–225.

[4] Mayorga had been apprised in Puebla of the measures the audiencia had decreed to supply with money Yucatan, New Orleans, Habana, Manila, and other points, which derived their support from Mexico, and might expect an attack by the enemy at any moment. He sent, in various amounts, about $600,000 to Louisiana for the campaign against the English in Florida. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 30–7.

made every preparation to repel it. The disposable force, both regulars and provincial militia, was called into active service. Mayorga and his secretary[5] visited Vera Cruz, inspected the fortifications, corrected defects, and stationed the troops in Orizaba, Encero, Jalapa, and other convenient spots. In this inspection and in all the arrangements, which occupied about nineteen days, Mayorga conducted himself with ability, energy, and dignity. Fortunately, the enemy attempted no movements upon the coasts of Mexico.

But offensive operations were carried on from Yucatan to expel the British from Belize and the neighborhood, pursuant to orders from the crown to the governor, Captain-general Roberto Rivas Betancourt, who hastened his preparations; and before the enemy could effect his purposes against Bacalar, Rivas was at this town ready for action. The viceroy of New Spain had been directed to aid the governor, but he could not do it. He sent him, however, a great quantity of gunpowder, and money, which were of much benefit for the campaign.[6]

Rivas' efforts were successful. He not only dislodged the British from Belize, capturing on Cayo Cocina the 15th of September, 1779, a number of prisoners, over three hundred slaves, and some small vessels, but with his canoes and pirogues made a prize of an English brig armed with fourteen guns. He did not, it is true, accomplish all that was expected of him; but considering the small resources at his command to counteract the large ones of the enemy, his conduct was deemed meritorious.

Viceroy Mayorga attended to all his duties, not neglecting those of charity to the poor in a time of affliction, with signal zeal and ability. His measures for the defence and security of the country were

[5] Melchor de Peramás was the secretary by royal appointment of the viceroyalty. In January 1780 he was retired with the honors of an oidor. His successor in the office was Pedro Antonio Cosío. *Gomez, Diario*, 78; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., ii. 1st ser. 313, 315; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 33.

[6] *Mayorga, Carta*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép., i. 242.

effected with the utmost possible economy to the royal treasury, and it is a well known fact that his remittances of treasure during his short rule amounted to about fifty million pesos, without delays or burdening the people with extra taxation.[7] But all his wisdom and valuable services could not save him from the constant fault-finding of the all-powerful José de Galvez, ministro universal de Indias. He had incurred the enmity of that dignitary, it seems, because he had been called to the viceroyalty, an office which the minister had intended should fall to his brother, Matías de Galvez; but Bucareli's death took place sooner than was expected, and before Matías de Galvez had been commissioned as president of Guatemala.[8] Whatever the motive, Mayorga was the victim of the minister's ill-concealed resentment.

In November, 1781, there arrived in Mexico Francisco Saavedra,[9] a person who later, though but for a short time, became one of the ministers of state in Spain. He made it appear that he held some authority from the court. The common people believed him to be a royal prince travelling incognito. As he presented a grave demeanor, and never gave public offence, a certain mystery and respect surrounded him.

The viceroy's unpopularity at court was soon known in Mexico, and there were not wanting those to take advantage of it. Even the audiencia of Mexico with whom he had endeavored to maintain cordial relations, tried to interfere with his action; but in a dignified manner he upheld his authority. The regente of the audiencia of Guadalajara, Eusebio Sanchez Pareja, took upon himself the title of captain-general, and required the commissioner sent by Mayorga to attend

[7] The calls of the war on him were large, but with the assistance of the real consulado he was enabled timely to meet them. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 125; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 147.

[8] *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 42; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 71.

[9] Mayorga announced it in a letter to the minister of state. It was believed that Saavedra came to spy the viceroy's acts. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 42.

to military affairs in Nueva Galicia to first ask his leave to carry out orders. His presumption was rebuked, Mayorga maintaining the unity of the chief military command.[10]

The governor of Vera Cruz also manifested some insubordination, because the viceroy did not approve some of his schemes,[11] and thus the viceroy's position was made unpleasant. Besides these annoyances was the injustice of not making his appointment regular, or sending out a successor. His tenure was ad interim, and therefor he was allowed only half pay, though his expenses were great.[12] At last he was recalled, and gave up the office on the 29th of April, 1783, soon after embarking for Spain. He died on board the vessel in sight of Cádiz,[13] foul play being suspected by some. In April, 1784, news reached Mexico that Mayorga's estate had been attached by the king's order. This was probably the usual course where an official was subjected to a residencia. That of the ex-viceroy was published in Mexico on the 3d of June, the alcalde de corte, Juan Francisco de Anda, being the judge,[14] with results favorable to the residenciado.

The forty-eighth viceroy of New Spain was Matías de Galvez, García, Madrid, y Cabrera,[15] a lieutenant-general of the royal armies,[16] transferred from Guatemala, where he had been president, governor, and captain-general.[17] The new viceroy brought with him

[10] From that time the people of Jalisco began to show a spirit of independence from the central authority, which in later years became more developed, and caused untold evils. *Id.*

[11] *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist.*, no. 5, 308.

[12] Of this he complained to the king, pleading also that the trouble had come upon him soon after he had lost heavily by the Guatemala earthquake of 1775. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 72. After his death 20,000 pesos were paid his widow, María Josefa Valcárcel, out of the royal treasury. *Id.; Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 252–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 636.

[13] *Gomez, Diario*, 173; *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 125.

[14] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 57; *Gomez, Diario*, 184, 186–7.

[15] *Galvez, Solemnes Exequias*, title-page. At foot of his portrait, which is probably copied from the original formerly existing in the viceregal palace, he is named Galvez y Gallardo. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 449.

[16] *Cedularios*, i. 153; *Disposiciones Varias*, iii. 97.

[17] *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii., this series.

his wife, Ana de Córdoba.[18] Though a brother of the talented minister of state, the marqués de Sonora, and having a better heart, Matías de Galvez was not endowed with the same powers of mind. But best of all he had sound common sense and indefatigable industry. He had been a plain farmer, and he looked like one; and he loved a farmer's life, from which he had been drawn at his brother's elevation to high official position near the king's person. He was not afraid, and on every proper occasion showed a martial spirit; but to inflict punishment upon another was an infliction upon himself. His solicitude for the general welfare, and particularly for the relief of the poor and afflicted, was well known both in Guatemala and Mexico. He was cheerful, witty, frugal, modest in his tastes, affable, and was reputed pious; and so disinterested was he, that having held high and lucrative offices, his estate did not probably reach, at his death, the value of 50,000 pesos.[19]

On the 29th of April, 1783, he took possession of the baton of command ad interim,[20] at the town of San Cristóbal Ecatepec, and not at Guadalupe, as his predecessors had done, owing to the bad condition of the reception house at the latter place. It had been the viceroy's intention, on account of his advanced age and bodily infirmities, to enter the city in a carriage; but some difficulty about precedence having been raised by the city council, he cut it short by mounting a gentle horse and riding into Mexico. He was the last viceroy that entered the city on horseback.[21] The pas-

[18] *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 53.

[19] *Galvez, Solemnes Exequias*, 1–31; *Bustamante, Suplemento*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 52–3; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 147.

[20] On the 19th of November of the same year the mail brought out his commission as 'virey en propiedad.' *Gomez, Diario*, 160, 171.

[21] The act of receiving the command at San Cristóbal was approved in the royal order of Aug. 8, 1783, which prescribed that in future such act should take place there. The precedence that the city council claimed was disallowed, and the king ordered March 14, 1785, that there should never be a second public entry, to save the city, the consulado, and the people in general the onerous expenses it entailed. The audiencia declared its obedience June 25, 1785. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 42, 54. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS. 126.

sage to the palace was adorned with triumphal arches, bearing descriptive devices of his military prowess against the English, and his wise administrative acts in Central America. The services of the Galvez were compared in emblems and verse with those of the Vespasian family in ancient Rome.[22] On the same day he took the oath of office, before the real acuerdo, administered to him by Regente Herrera.

With the conclusion of peace between Spain and England,[23] Galvez was free to devote his attention to public affairs. Many improvements in the capital and elsewhere were made; he was zealous in the king's service, and jealous of anything that might prove detrimental to the authority of his sovereign. Hence his disapproval of the aid given the revolted colonies of North America to attain their independence, and of the treaties afterward concluded with them. He foresaw dangers to Spanish domination in America from the presence of a democratic republic.[24] Amidst high duties well performed came death. On the 16th of September, 1784, he lay ill at Tacubaya, unable to sign his name,[25] and some Indians brought him to the city on a litter. After receiving the sacrament and executing his last will, he breathed his last the 3d of November. The 4th being the king's birthday, the remains could not be laid in state, so the ceremony was postponed to the next day, when the death was promulgated by firing three guns; after that, one gun was fired every half hour till the morning of the 8th, when the funeral cortége left the palace for the con-

[22] *Velazquez de Leon, La Estirpe Vespasiana*, 1–27.

[23] The news reached Mexico a few days after Galvez assumed his duties. The crown on the 22d of October, 1783, ordered certain demonstrations of piety and rejoicing to celebrate that auspicious event, as well as the birth given to twins by the princesa de Asturias, heiress to the throne. *Reales, Ordenes*, MS., iv. 313–17. Before the celebration the twins had died. *Leon y Gama, Carta*, in *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, x. 785.

[24] This is given on the authority of Andrés Muriel, who was constantly near the viceroy. *Bustamante, Suplemento*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 50.

[25] A fac-simile of his signature was affixed to public documents needing it, with a stamp by the secretary of the viceroyalty. *Gomez, Diario*, 193.

vent of San Fernando, where the remains were deposited, with religious rites.[26] As a mark of appreciation of the purity, uprightness, and ability shown by Galvez during his rule in Mexico, the king on the 26th of March, 1785,[27] decreed to relieve him of a residencia, and consequently his estate of the expenses incident thereto.

It was at this interesting period in American history—1783—that Cárlos' principal secretary of state, Pedro Abarca de Bolea, conde de Aranda, having returned with a leave of absence from Paris where he went by express order to sign the general treaty of peace with Great Britain by virtue of which the independence of the United States of America was afterward recognized by George III. and his government, made a sweeping suggestion to his sovereign. Entertaining a favorable opinion of the state of learning and culture prevailing among the Spanish Americans, he recommended the creation of three independent monarchies in the king's American dominions, each under a prince of the Spanish reigning family, Cárlos for himself and his successors assuming the title of emperor, and the latter for all time to be recognized by the American monarchs as the head of the family. Marriages of the new sovereigns and

[26] The viceroy's last will called for a humble funeral, but the audiencia disregarded the wish, official etiquette requiring it, and caused the viceregal and military honors to be paid. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 453. The body was escorted from the foot of the palace stairs by six colonels, the captain of the halberdiers, Conde de Santiago, and the master of the horse, Agustin Yañez. Three regiments, regular troops and militia, and the company of halberdiers—the last as the guard of honor of the audiencia—took part in the pageant. The mass at the church was celebrated by the precentor of the cathedral. The following gentlemen acted as mourners: the fiscal de real hacienda in the real audiencia, Ramon de Posada y Soto; the secretary of the viceroyalty, Francisco Fernandez de Córdoba; Fernando José Mangino; Colonel Juan Cambiaso of the Corona regiment; and José Chavez and Francisco Cabezon, executors conjointly with the above named Posada and Córdoba. *Gomez, Diario*, 196–7; *Galvez, Solemnes Exequias*, 2. On the 4th of March, 1785, there were solemn obsequies, with eulogy of the deceased, all the civic and ecclesiastical bodies being in attendance; and the ceremonies were imposing. Next day the archbishop officiated at the mass, and a sermon was preached. *Gomez, Diario*, 203; *Galvez, Elogio Fúnebre*, 1–42.

[27] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 56.

their offspring and near connections were to be, as a matter of policy, with members of the royal family of Spain, and vice versa. Treaties of reciprocity for commerce, and of offence and defence, were to be made between the European and American sovereignties, and forever maintained in force. France, the family ally, was to be specially favored in her manufactures. Relations of any kind with the British were not to be tolerated. The aggrandizement of the new republic, or of any other power that might establish itself in America, was also to be averted.

The three kingdoms thus proposed to be erected were Mexico, Peru, and Costa Firme. Cuba, Porto Rico, and one or two more islands were to be retained to serve as entrepôts to foster the national trade. Every argument that could be adduced in favor of this project was brought forth in a memoir, and among them the following: The large extent of the possessions and their great distance from the mother country rendered it difficult for the supreme government to protect them against foreign hostilities, or to obtain correct views on affairs, so as to adopt the wisest and most efficacious measures for the benefit of the country, to check abuses, and administer justice. So far as the people of America were concerned the benefits were obvious, chief among which was the facility with which they might resort to the sovereign authority. All the difficulties enumerated of course tended, as was affirmed, to breed discontent among the crown's American vassals.

We have the assurance that Aranda's scheme was seriously considered by the king in council, and that it would have been resolved in the affirmative, had there been in those countries a larger number of pure white people and mestizos able to withstand the possible attempts at subjugation by the other more numerous races. This fear of danger was attributed to Cárlos himself, in whose lips were placed words suggestive that in the event of the subversion of

the upper classes by the lower, tyranny and licentiousness would follow, smothering, perhaps in its very cradle, each national autonomy. How the proposed new political organization was to increase this danger does not appear. Possibly opposition on the part of Great Britain was foreseen, or Cárlos could not be brought to voluntarily abdicate his undivided sovereignty over the immense domains of America. Aranda at an audience persisted in his views, but the king continued his objections.[28] The plan was, therefore, postponed to a future day; and the policy of crossing the races was warmly persevered in.

The real object in view on the minister's part, as avowed by him, for an independent Mexico, was to counteract Anglo-Saxon supremacy and protestantism in America.[29] Indeed, Aranda apprehended serious evils to Spain from the act he had just performed at Paris, on the ground that the American federal republic would in due time assume greatness, and forget the benefits received at the hands of France and Spain, and think only of self-aggrandizement; and this would naturally be at the expense of the Spanish possessions in America, beginning with the Floridas in order to obtain control of the gulf of Mexico.[30]

The administration of public affairs had been by direction of Viceroy Galvez in charge of the real audiencia since the 20th of October. On the evening of the 3d of November, just fifteen minutes after

[28] It is related, and I give the story for what it may be worth, deeming it well suited to the character of both men, that the king playfully twitted the minister with stubbornness, and was repaid in kind. 'Conde de Aranda, thou art more stubborn than an Aragonese mule.' 'Pardon me, please your Majesty, I know another still more stubborn than myself.' 'And who may he be?' asked the king. 'The sacred royal majesty of my liege lord, Cárlos III.,' was the reply. The king smiled and dismissed him with his usual affability. *Tejas, Ligeras Indic.*, 3.

[29] 'Neutralizar la prepotencia y consiguientes influencias de la raza sajona, y con ellas del protestantismo en el Nuevo Mundo.' *Martinez, V. J., Sinópsis hist. filosóf. polit.*, i. 20.

[30] *Aranda, Mem. Secreta*, in *Variedades de Jurisp.*, v. app. 39–43; *Aranda, Mem.*, in *El Indicador*, iii. 158–65; *Ramirez, Vida de Motolinia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, i. cxvii.–viii.

that ruler's death, the audiencia held a meeting to ascertain on whom the government should devolve, and there being no pliego de providencia, or mortaja, it became ex officio the governor and captain-general of the kingdom of New Spain. This fact was duly announced, and the regente, Vicente de Herrera y Rivero, formally took possession of the baton, and presented himself with it in public.[31] There is no record that during the rule of that body of about eight and a half months it did anything worthy of notice, save that under apprehensions of certain designs of the British on the port of Trujillo it adopted precautions to defeat them.

The succeeding and forty-ninth viceroy was Bernardo de Galvez, Madrid, Cabrera, Ramirez, y Marquez, conde de Galvez,[32] a pensioned knight of the royal order of Cárlos III., commander of Bolaños in the order of Calatrava, and a lieutenent-general of the king's armies.[33] The conde de Galvez, a son of his predecessor in office, was now about thirty-seven years of age, of noble mien, gentlemanly deportment, frank and affable. He possessed, in short, the requisite qualifications to make him popular with all classes. The reputation had preceded him that in every act of his government elsewhere he had shown mildness, united with a just and enlightened spirit; and his course in Mexico confirmed repute. His young wife,

[31] *Gomez, Diario*, 196. Herrera had been some time an oidor in the audiencia when he was made the regente of that in Guatemala, a newly created office which he held till September 1782, when he was promoted to regente of Mexico. He was afterward called to the council of the Indies. His wife was a daughter of the conde de Regla; and he was also at a later day created a marquis. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 159; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 74. His colleagues were the oidores Antonio de Villaurrutia, Baltasar Ladron de Guevara, Joaquin Galdeano, Miguel Calixto de Acedo, José Antonio de Urízar, Ruperto V. de Luyando, Simon Antonio Mirafuentes, Eusebio Ventura Beleña. Juan José Martinez de Soria, escribano de cámara. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 49.

[32] The editor of the *Gaceta de México* for 1786–7, in the dedication of it to the viceroy, calls him vizconde de Galveztown, as well as conde de Galvez.

[33] For distinguished services he was, even after being called to the viceroyalty of New Spain, to retain his former offices of inspector-general of all troops in America, and captain-general of Louisiana and the Floridas, with their pay. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1784–5), i. 326; *Id.* (1786–7), ii. 251; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pref. 1–2. The news of his appointment as viceroy reached Mexico April 25, 1785. *Gomez, Diario*, 206.

Felícitas de Saint Maxent, a native of Louisiana and of French extraction, was a lady of surpassing loveliness, charitable, gracious, and intelligent.[34] Scarcely more than fifteen years had elapsed since the young general had been in Mexico in an humble position and with scanty means.[35] He had served as a subaltern in Portugal in 1762. The marqués de Croix gave him a commission in the Corona regiment. He finds himself a little later a captain in the same regiment, serving as comandante de armas in Nueva Vizcaya, where he punished the Apaches in several encounters, being himself wounded several times, once quite severely. He afterward went to Habana, and in 1772 to Spain, where he continued his military service, and followed it up in America with brilliant success, obtaining rapid promotion till he reached, with other honors, the highest rank but one in the army.[36]

[34] Spaniards and Mexicans came to regard her highly, making much of her, and she greatly contributed to her husband's popularity. *Gayarré's Hist. Louisiana*, 165.

[35] Of this he was good-naturedly reminded, after his exaltation, and some advice given him, in a pasquin that was found fastened on the wall of the palace the 9th of August:

'Yo te conocí pepita
Antes que fueras melon,
Maneja bien el baston
Y cuida la francesita.'

Another quartette favorably compared him and his countess with the inspector of the troops and his wife who had come together with Galvez:

'El virey, muy bueno,
La vireina, mejor;
El inspector el diablo,
Y su muger ——; peor!'

The last two lines referred only to the ill-temper of the couple. *Gomez, Diario*, 206, 213–14.

[36] In 1775 as a captain of infantry he took part in the landing and fight of the Spaniards with the Algerines on the Algiers beach, and was seriously wounded. This won him promotion to lieutenant-colonel, and to superintendent of the military school at Ávila. The next time we see him a colonel in command of a regiment in Louisiana, and soon after placed in temporary charge of the government, wherein displaying good judgment, he also had some successful brushes with the British; he was then made a brigadier. His military record in Louisiana seems to have been marked by brilliancy. I have no space to detail his deeds. Suffice it to say that he defeated the British in several actions, and took from them aided by the French, Mobile with a large quantity of arms and many prisoners. After that, with his own forces he laid siege to Pensacola, and captured it with all its forts, artillery and other arms, and a large number of prisoners whom he granted the honors of war; among them were the governor, captain-general, and the general commanding the English forces. At Pensacola, which he entered in a brig called

On the morning of the 29th of May 1785 a special messenger arrived in Mexico, announcing that the new viceroy had arrived in Vera Cruz, and on the 30th would start for the capital. On the 16th of June he arrived at the town of San Cristóbal,[37] and received the command from the regente. During the day he was honored and magnificently entertained by the real consulado, the archbishop, courts, religious orders, corporations, and citizens. The next morning at ten he reached Guadalupe. After the religious ceremonies, and having been greeted by the audiencia and others, he pursued his way to the capital, entering amidst the greatest marks of respect and enthusiasm, and a salute of fifteen guns. The same salute had been given to the vicereine, who had gone in advance escorted by the police of the real acordada, four halberdiers at the steps of the carriage, and a squad of dragoons. The people manifested their joy in many ways.[38]

the *Galveztown*, he was again wounded. The result of his campaigns was that he rid the Mexican gulf of the presence of the English. His services were rewarded without stint. It is true that his uncle, José de Galvez, was the king's minister for the Indies, but he had well deserved of his sovereign and country; promoted successively to mariscal de campo and lieutenant-general, a title of Castile was also given him with the privilege of adding on his coat of arms the motto 'yo solo,' for his prowess at Pensacola, and one of the fleurs de lis of Louisiana. It was also ordered that the bay of Pensacola should thereafter be named Santa María de Galvez. He was next granted knightly honors, and later appointed governor, captain-general of Cuba, and inspector of all Spanish troops in America. He was finally exalted to the position of viceroy, governor, president, and captain-general of New Spain. When the British fleet under Admiral Hood, conveying the royal duke of Lancaster, visited in April 1783 the port of Guarico, the duke, wishing to know the young hero, called at his head-quarters, and on the French general. Galvez being absent, the latter had to do the honors to the prince. But the former as a mark of respect sent to the duke, with a full pardon, the chief of the Natchez and his accomplices, who were under sentence of death for plotting in the interest of the English. The prince was much pleased at this, promising to report it to the British king. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1786–7), ii. pref.; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pref. 3; *Barea, Oracion fúnebre*, 1–40; *Vargas, Carta de pésame*, in *Festiv. Div.*, i. no. 11, 1–16. Whilst he was governor in Habana he extended a kind treatment to some Americans who had been brought there as prisoners, for which the secretary of the American congress wrote the conde de Floridablanca to thank him in the name of congress for Galvez' generosity. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, i. 456.

[37] He made what was called an 'entrada mista,' having on his way visited first Puebla, and Tlascala next. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 54.

[38] Both the viceroy and vicereine were loudly cheered. Rockets and flowers formed great features on the occasion. *Gomez, Diario*, 209–10; *Gaz. de Mex.*, 1784–5, i. 326–7.

At the palace, his commissions being produced and read, he took the oath of office before the real acuerdo. The rest of that day and the two following were spent mostly in ceremonials and compliments. But he soon after devoted his attention seriously to public affairs. His short rule was marked by two great calamities, the loss of crops, consequent upon heavy and continuous frosts, and famine followed by an epidemic. To meet the latter he was foremost in liberality, not only contributing 12,000 pesos remaining from his father's estate, but borrowing $100,000 more for the same purpose. He formed a board of relief, and used every exertion to supply the city with the necessaries of life.

One day while transacting business with the board, information reached him that the *alhóndiga*, or public granary, was empty, and that poor people could get no maize for the morrow. Rushing into the streets without an escort, or even his hat, he walked to the alhóndiga, where he took steps to keep up the supply. When the people saw him, and learned what had brought him there, they were moved to tears, and escorted him back to the palace in the midst of acclamations.[39] On another occasion, the Saturday preceding palm Sunday, April 8, 1786, as Galvez was riding from the country house called El Pensil to meet the audiencia for the general visit of prisons, either purposely or accidentally[40] he encountered three prisoners on their way to the scaffold, followed by a rabble, who besought the viceroy to spare the condemned, which was done. Much obloquy was heaped upon Galvez for this act; he was charged not only with the deliberate intent of saving the criminals to win favor with the populace, but of misrepresenting the facts to the crown.[41] He stated that under the cir-

[39] *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 58.

[40] José Gomez, one of his guard of halberdiers, says in his *Diario*, 236, that it was the latter; 'sucedió la casualidad que en la estacion de la cárcel al suplicio,' are his own words.

[41] *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 62–5. That author is very

cumstances it was his duty, as the agent of a benign sovereign, to heed the clamors of a people then stricken by famine, misery, and disease. Be it as it may, the crown confirmed the viceroy's act; but at the same time added to the approval a reproof; for he was directed in future to abstain when possible from going out of the palace at such hours as prisoners were usually taken to the place of execution.

A certain distance had been heretofore maintained, as a matter of etiquette, between the ruler and the ruled. Very few could approach the viceroy with any degree of intimacy. Galvez ignored that practice, and from the moment of assuming the vicegerency of his sovereign in New Spain, established close relations with the chief families, without in any manner lowering by undue familiarity the decorum of his high position. His countess' attractions aided to awaken enthusiasm and to win affection, at the same time exalting the office. He caused his little son and heir Miguel to be enrolled in October 1785 as a private in the grenadier company of the Corona regiment, on which occasion the boy was bandied from hand to hand among his new comrades. The same day the father gave a banquet in the throne-room to the officers of the regiment and the grenadier company, and also entertained civilians on the flat roof of the palace.[42]

Such acts at such a time, tending to unusual popularity, awakened at court suspicion of treasonable intent. Some authorities assert that the viceroy entertained the plan of setting up a throne for himself; that when certain of the affection of the Mexicans he began to feel his way, throwing out ambiguous remarks of double meaning, which could not compromise him. With his more intimate friends, they say, he would

severe in his strictures, and lays on Galvez the responsibility for future crimes committed by two of those reprieved men which finally carried them to the gibbet.

[42] This is the version given by *Gomez, Diario*, 217–18. On the 20th of August, 1786, the sergeants of the Corona regiment came to the palace to place on the viceroy's son's shoulder the epaulet of a second sergeant. *Id.*, 246.

discuss the present superiority of affairs over those of Montezuma's time, referring to the elements possessed by the country to become an independent monarchy. At other times he spoke of the difficulties there might be to keep up uninterrupted relations with the mother country in future wars with England or France, now that their navies were becoming so much more powerful than Spain's. Then he would expatiate on the need the Mexicans had of erecting strong fortifications at certain points in the interior, and of making other preparations, so that they could rely on their own resources in the event of a foreign invasion when Spain could afford them no aid. Thus he would hint, his accusers said, that Mexico received no benefits, but on the contrary much injury from maritime wars, and all because of a useless, indefensible, and damaging connection with Spain. The frequent social gatherings at the palace and at private houses are said to have afforded him opportunities for quietly promulgating such ideas.[43] Another charge advanced against the count is that, to further gain the good-will of the people, he invited the ayuntamiento of the capital to stand sponsor of a child soon to be born, and which, if a girl, was to be named Guadalupe after the worshipped patroness of the city.[44] The reconstruction of Chapultepec, and the peculiar form and strength given it, likewise aroused suspicion. It was not, they said, a palace for the viceroy's pleasure, but a masked fortress, or a citadel

[43] Alaman seems to give credence to the charges. *Disert.*, iii. app. 74–6. Others say that letters were written to Spain blaming Galvez for his demoeratic demeanor, and foretelling a revolution like that of the United States. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 65; *Rivera, Gob. Méx.*, i. 457, and others. Humboldt, speaking on the subject, is loath to give credence to the charge. *Essai Polit.*, 203.

[44] The person first invited to be godfather was Fernando Mangino, superintendent of the mint, who courteously gave way to the ayuntamiento; this was after the city council expressed the wish, the father being already dead. But more anon. *El Indicador de la Fed. Mex.*, iii. 170, in an article either contributed to or copied from, and also appearing in *Mora, Revol. Mex.*, iii. 289–90, would indicate that the infant in question was born in the viceroy's lifetime, when there is evidence beyond doubt that it was a posthumous child.

to command the city. The expense incurred was large and disapproved by the crown, but the order came out when it could not annoy Galvez. If, as charged, the viceroy was plotting independence, his rule was too short for his ambition.

Others scouted the imputation of treason, and said that he who, like his father, and his uncles the marqués de Sonora, and Miguel de Galvez, ambassador at Berlin, had been so exceptionally favored by their sovereign, would never lend himself to treasonable schemes; and further, if gratitude would not deter him, fear of the consequences would. And again, if, as the count's accusers say, his ambiguous behavior gave rise to suspicion, how is it that neither the sovereign, nor his ministers, nor the audiencia or other authorities in New Spain, gave information of it?[45]

I am inclined to doubt the truth of any charge of treason, and for the following reasons. On the 22d of May 1786, the audiencia sent a petition to the king that the count might be retained at the head of the government in New Spain, recounting his merits and services to the crown. Speaking for the people of Mexico the oidores praise his benevolence; the wisdom of his measures in government; in the subjugation of hostile Indians; in the arrangement and division of the provincias internas; and generally, in everything he had done, all which they declare as conducive to the public welfare and happiness. To that petition the king answered on the 18th of August promising to retain Galvez as viceroy in Mexico,[46] so long as he might not be more urgently needed for other duties. The idea of treason seems not to have occurred to any one at the time, and what follows

[45] It is stated that he received severe rebukes from the crown that so preyed upon his mind, as to break down his health; that he became melancholy, and seriously ill, which much alarmed the people, and prayers were daily uttered in almost every household for their idolized ruler and friend. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 65.

[46] 'Para satisfaccion y consuelo de sus Vasallos de N. E.' *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pref. 3–4.

tends only to disarm the impartial observer of any suspicion.

The young viceroy was stricken by disease, and on the 9th of October 1786, a consultation of physicians took place at the palace. On the 13th the sacraments were publicly administered to him in the presence of the archbishop, curates of the parishes, religious orders, and courts. The dean of the cathedral chapter officiated.[47] On the 31st the patient was removed to Tacubaya in a litter, hoping benefit from the change of air. On the 8th of November, feeling his end approaching, he executed his last will, his estate being estimated at a trifle over 40,000 pesos. Eight days later, the 16th, extreme unction was administered. He then addressed his family in most touching terms, such as drew tears from all present. On the morning of the 30th he expired, aged about 38 years, and his remains were transferred to the palace in the city.[48]

At the funeral, on the 4th of December, the highest honors were paid; the civil, military, and ecclesiastic authorities and the people contributing to the splendor of the rites, the cathedral chapter defraying the expenses. The body was deposited temporarily in the cathedral church.[49]

On the 30th of November, after the viceroy's demise, the audiencia, who had charge of affairs by Galvez' direction since the 16th, took formal possession of the government, no pliego de providencia having been found, and the regente Eusebio Sanchez Pareja[50]

[47] This was at 11 o'clock in the morning; the viceroy wore his full dress uniform of a lieutenant-general, and received the eucharist standing. *Gomez, Diario*, 248.

[48] It has been hinted that the court got rid of him by means of poison. *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, 528. I find no evidence to sustain the charge. The manifestations of sorrow by the people it would be difficult to describe. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1786–7), ii. 251–2.

[49] Later, in May 1787, it was taken to the San Fernando church, and placed near that of Matías de Galvez. *Id.*, 252–5; *Gomez, Diario*, 272; *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 54.

[50] This gentleman when an oidor of Mexico was made regente of the audiencia of Guadalajara, being the first to have that office, which he held till 1786, when he became the third regente of Mexico. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 159. His colleagues in the government were the same that the former regente

acting as captain-general. On the 1st of December the marqués de Sonora, ministro universal de Indias, was officially apprised of these occurrences, and of the fact that the commissions issued by the late viceroy had all been endorsed by the present ruler. The audiencia on the same day petitioned the king to extend to the widow and her children the utmost liberality consistent with the condition of the royal treasury. To the chief secretary of state, conde de Floridablanca, a despatch was addressed, to be forwarded post-haste from Coruña, with the object of preparing the marqués de Sonora to hear of his nephew's death.[51]

December 12th at 1:15 in the night, the vicereine gave birth to a girl, who was christened on the 19th and given the names of María de Guadalupe, Bernarda, Felipa de Jesus, Isabel, Juana Nepomucena, and Felícitas, to which was added afterward that of Fernanda, as a compliment to one of the sponsors. The sponsors were the 'nobilísima ciudad de México,' represented by the corregidor Colonel Francisco Crespo, a knight of Santiago, and Josefa Villanueva, wife of the senior oidor, José Angel de Aguirre. The godfather at the confirmation was Fernando José Mangino. Both baptism and confirmation were administered by the archbishop on the same day.[52] On

had in 1785, excepting Luyano, and adding Cosme de Mier y Trespalacios and Juan Francisco de Anda. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pref. 4; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 57, v. 4.

[51] The receipt of the first despatch was acknowledged on the 21st of February 1787, conveying the king's sorrow at the loss of so valuable a subject. Floridablanca on the 27th of the same month notified his colleague of the Indies department, of the king's high appreciation of the late count's distinguished services, and that provision in various ways had been decreed for his family. According to the marqués de Sonora's letter of February 28th to his niece, that provision was as follows: to the countess dowager, so long as she remained a widow, the yearly pension, *sin ejemplar*, of 50,000 reales de vellon ($2,500), free of media annata; to young Miguel de Galvez, heir to the title, the encomienda of Bolaños in the order of Calatrava; and to the other members of the family the following yearly pensions: to the posthumous child, $650 if a boy, or $300 if a girl; to Matilda de Galvez $300; and to the half-sister, Adelaida Detrehan, $200. *Beleña, Recop.*, pref. 7–10.

[52] This was the grandest performance of the kind hitherto witnessed in Mexico. The city presented the vicereine a pearl necklace of the value of $11,000, and the babe another worth $4,000. The archbishop and Mangino

the 6th of May 1787, came an order from the crown to pay the countess dowager 30,000 pesos for her passage to Spain. She left the city on the 25th with her four children.[53] According to Gomez, *Diario*, 298, on the 10th of June, 1788, the residencia of the late viceroy was published with little formality, forty days being allowed within which to present charges to his successor.

each gave a gold plate, spoon, knife, and fork. The vicereine returned the compliment by presenting her comadre the material for a dress worth $1,000; to the archbishop she gave a gold box garnished with emeralds and a pectoral of diamonds; to Mangino very rich and special material for two dresses; and to the corregidor, a cane with a gold head garnished with diamonds. March 7, 1787, was the first day that the vicereine showed herself in the streets with her guard of honor, since her husband's death. She attended church with her two sisters and children. The palace guard paid her military honors, the same as when her husband lived. *Gomez, Diario*, 252–3, 261. The two sisters above alluded to were Victoria and Mariana de Saint Maxent; both were married, the former to Juan Antonio de Riaño, and the latter to Manuel de Flon, afterward conde de la Cadena. Both husbands were killed in the war of independence. *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 75.

[53] She was accompanied as far as Vera Cruz by the new superintendent of the mint, Francisco Fernandez de Córdoba, and the secretary of the viceroyalty, Fernando de Córdoba. On the 9th of June she sailed from Vera Cruz on the ship *El Astuto*. *Gomez, Diario*, 270–1, 274, 276; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pref. 5.

CHAPTER XXII.

MILITARY SYSTEM.

1642–1808.

EARLY EFFORTS TO PROVIDE FORCES—ORGANIZATION BEGUN—DIFFICULTIES AND CHANGES IN POLICY—REGULAR TROOPS—URBAN COMPANIES—PROVINCIAL REGIMENTS AND BATTALIONS—PRESIDIO COMPANIES—COAST GUARDS—EFFECTIVE FORCE FOR WAR—ARTILLERY AND OTHER SUPPLIES—PEROTE AS A DEPOSIT—SEA-COAST DEFENCES—FORTRESSES ON BOTH SEAS—NAVAL STATIONS—PAY DEPARTMENT—PAY OF OFFICERS AND MEN—PENSION SYSTEM—ANNUAL EXPENDITURE—RELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT—VICARIO GENERAL—TENIENTES VICARIOS GENERALES—ARMY AND NAVY CHAPLAINS—FUERO MILITAR, AND ITS JUDICIARY SYSTEM.

THE danger of foreign invasion in time of war did not escape the attention of a military man like the Viceroy Cruíllas. He formally reported to the court on the defenceless condition of New Spain, all the regular force at the disposal of the government being one regiment, called La Corona,[1] in Vera Cruz, some

[1] The earliest organization of anything like a regular force, apart from that employed to keep hostile Indians in check, seems to have been in 1642, when a battalion with 12 companies of infantry of about 120 men each was formed, whose officers, all men in high positions, cheerfully paid the expense of organization and arms. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 101; *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. i. 20–1; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 16, followed by several others. This was, it is presumed, the nucleus of the body of infantry which in 1741 was organized into a regiment whose ranks were filled mostly with marines of the escuadra de barlovento when it visited Vera Cruz. It was then named La Corona, and its chief object was to garrison that port. Previous to and after 1642, between 1635 and 1649, on several occasions a few companies were formed, destined to be short-lived, their support being too much for the treasury. Their last disbandment was in 1649, after serving seven months and ten days. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Id.*, i. 1st ser. 20–21, 31–2; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 143. Again ten companies were organized in 1661. *Guijo, Diario*, in *Id.*, i. 1st ser. 466–9. In 1685 was completed the organization of militia on the coasts of the Mexican Gulf, which did not prove of much service, as the buccaneers made sudden raids and as quickly escaped with their booty. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*,

dragoon companies, a few soldiers in Acapulco, a small body of artillerymen, and the two companies of the palace guard.

The militia troops consisted of urban companies, mostly made up of white men and mestizos. In the capital there were some companies of laboring men, and about thirteen or fourteen others composed of merchants and tradesmen. In Puebla, as in Mexico, was a regimiento del comercio, which had been created about 1693. These troops lacked a knowledge of the use of weapons, and to enable them to acquire it, the viceroy asked the crown for experienced officers and a supply of arms, urging likewise the construction in Perote of warehouses for the safe-keeping of military stores, so that the viceregal government might afford prompt aid to Vera Cruz and the Antilles. These suggestions were acted upon at court, and on the first of November, 1765, Lieutenant-general Juan de Villalba arrived at Vera Cruz, commissioned as commander and inspector of the forces, having with him several mariscales de campo,[2] and a number of field and company officers, being the nucleus of an infantry regiment to be known as the América, and nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and drummers for organizing provincial infantry and cavalry regiments.

i. 100. In 1692, at the time of the riots, were formed two companies of 50 men each, that had, contrary to royal orders, not been disbanded in 1694, which brought down a second and peremptory command to break them up. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 75–6. In 1745 there were 14 companies of militia in the city of Mexico, of merchants and tradesmen, who served on occasions when the regulars had to march out. These regulars were two companies, one of infantry and one of cavalry, to guard the viceroy's palace, which still existed at the time of the marqués de Cruíllas' rule. The infantry company had a captain-governor, a major, second engineer, lieutenant, second lieutenant, alférez, adjutant, eight sergeants, 12 corporals, two drummers, 188 privates, 10 artillerymen; the cavalry company had a captain, lieutenant, second lieutenant, alférez, two sergeants, four corporals, one bugler, and 96 privates. Their cost was 46,168 pesos a year. There was also in 1758 a company of 24 halberdiers under a captain, who formed the viceroy's guard of honor, the yearly expense of which was 5,161 pesos. *Villa-Señor, Theatro Am.*, i. 37, 50. In that same year, 1758, there was also a battalion of negroes and mulattoes, with a white colonel. *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 53–5.

[2] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 184. Panes, *Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 120, gives their arrival in 1762, naming four of them, Juan Fernando Palacios, Cristóbal de Zayas, Antonio Ricardos, and the marqués de Rubí.

General Villalba began his labors at Vera Cruz by reconstructing the old Corona into a cavalry regiment,[3] which was thereupon called the España; he then proceeded to the capital with the other generals to continue the work of organization. The pay of each rank was at once established. The Mexican privates it was decided should be drawn by lot from the male population; but this scheme was not then enforced, and that of voluntary enlistment was for a time adopted.

It had been intended by the supreme government to raise one regular regiment of dragoons, and three others of militia, light cavalry, and dragoons; and six regiments, with twelve companies each, of militia infantry, the calculation being that the number of militiamen would reach 25,000.[4]

The development of the system was left to General Villalba, under the orders of the viceroy as the captain-general. In order to smooth the way, the officers were instructed to maintain the most cordial relations with the people, and to make the necessity for the change evident to them. Every effort to render the military service attractive was resorted to. Members of the nobility and gentry were induced to accept commissions in the provincial militia by granting them the fuero militar[5] and such other distinctions as would flatter their pride. The viceroy had the choice of

[3] With the Corona and the dragoon companies, and men brought from Spain. Some of the officers and men of the former were made into a third battalion for the América. Villalba lowered the pay of those troops, and of the artillerists, and did other things 'sin anuencia del Rey,' possibly meaning the virey. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 120.

[4] This plan eventually had to be abandoned. The treasury could not defray the expense of maintaining an army of regular troops, which would be no less than three million pesos yearly. In view of this, the king approved in 1787 and 1788 a plan of Colonel Francisco Antonio Crespo, and ordered its execution with a few modifications. It was put in practice in 1789. *Branciforte, Instruc.*, MS., 14–15; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 26–29.

[5] It was defined in a royal order of March 26, 1782, that the fuero militar belonged to members of the militia only when they were in actual service. *Cedulario*, MS., i. 69, 82. In *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 58–63, appear the military regulations enacted from 1766 to 1785; rules and regulations for the militia issued in 1767, and tactics for dragoons decreed in 1768; privileges of soldiers in making their wills, and in the settlement of their estates, all former grants being confirmed, and new ones added in the royal order of December 16, 1762, and July 21, 1766.

colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and the inspector might select the other officers with the viceroy's sanction. The only able-bodied men excluded from the ranks were negroes and Indians. The *castas*, or various grades of mixed breeds, might be admitted to the number of one third in each company, and regiments of any certain color might be formed.[6] The different localities were to pay for the clothing and other needed articles, the government furnishing arms.

The two companies of the viceroy's guard were mustered out of service, and the palace was thereafter guarded by the troops of the garrison, the halberdiers being retained.[7] Dissension soon arose between the viceroy and General Villalba, the latter assuming independent powers, in which he seemed to have been upheld by some of the officers brought by him from Spain,[8] and even failed to pay the viceroy honors that were due him. His course was disapproved by the crown, and an order issued for him and the mariscales Zayas and Ricardos to return to Spain.[9]

[6] The provincial regiments were intended to replace the old urban companies. Colored men serving in them were exempted from personal taxation. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 134–5. All military officers were exempt from taxation by royal decree of May 4, 1760. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 52. The task of raising white troops was not an easy one. As late as 1775, a committee appointed by the government to aid in developing the military defences, declared both the old Spaniards and their descendants unreliable; for at the least rumor of war they would disappear, there being in them none of the old Roman or Greek spirit. *Plan de Defensa*, MS., 424, in *Col. Diar.* The white natives had no taste for the military service. Of the enlisted men many deserted, despite the measures adopted from time to time, between 1773 and 1810, to uphold discipline, and to check vice and desertions, and other violation of the articles of war, which were not very successful. *Reales Ordenes*, i. 254–8; *Arrillaga, Recop.* (1836), 323–4, (1839), 298–300; *Gaz. Méx.* (1788–9), iii. 339–41; (1792–3), v. 529–31; (1802–3), xi. 37–8, 211–15; *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, ii. no. 6; *Diario Méx.*, ix. 319–20, xiii. 505–6. It is not surprising that desertions were common when we consider that the government forced and accepted into the service some very bad characters. *Real Cédula* (May 7, 1775), in *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 15–23; *Estalla*, xxvi. 334–5. The natives either could not endure the strict discipline, or disliked the dress or food, or may be, 'el aseo, como poco acostumbrados á él desde su nacimiento.' *Villarroel, Enferm. Polít.*, in *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, v. 166–7.

[7] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 10.

[8] A colonel was suspended and placed under arrest in consequence, and was released and reinstated only by Cruíllas' successor. *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 1st ser. no. 9, 1–8.

[9] The marqués de Rubí was sent to inspect the provincias internas, and

After this, the organization of the forces was left to the viceroy, who was an experienced soldier. But, as Great Britain had in her North American colonies the material for an army, and in Jamaica a naval station, and was thus in a position to strike at any moment a blow against New Spain,[10] the government deemed the forces already organized insufficient, and several regiments were despatched from Spain. By the 18th of June 1768, there had arrived at Vera Cruz on the frigate *Astrea* and seven transports the regiments Saboya, Flandes, and Ultonia. Later came the Zamora, Granada, Castilla, and Guadalajara.[11] Each regiment was of three battalions. The veteran force now in the country consisted of 10,000 men. Their uniform was white, with trimmings of different colors to distinguish the regiments. For this reason the people nicknamed them *blanquillos*. The office of sub-inspector, formerly held by a maestre de campo, was created with larger powers and importance; he had the direct management of the troops. The marqués de Rubí was appointed to it.[12] His superior in Spain was the inspector-general, who at that time was the conde O'Reilly.[13] The chief duty of this officer was the discipline of the troops. From time to time his functions were more clearly defined till 1806, when

General Palacios was made governor of Vera Cruz. *Panes., Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 120–1.

[10] Such an emergency had been foreseen, as appears in the correspondence of the marqués de Croix with Minister of State Arriaga in 1776. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 6.

[11] The secretary of war of Mexico in an official report gives these names: Ultonia, Saboya, América, Asturias, Granada, and Zamora. *Mex., Mem. Guerra*, 1835, 9. The fact was that the Asturias came out in a ship of the line in June 1776. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., vii. 22.

[12] The officer was called cabo subalterno, or segundo cabo. Some years after a doubt having occurred whether he should take the command in chief in the event of the viceroy's death, the crown, on the 10th of January 1786, decided the point in the negative, adding that in that event he was merely to command the forces subject to the real acuerdo. He was declared to have no prerogative. *Reales Ordenes*, MS., iii. 158.

[13] From this time Mexico assumed a military aspect, and retained it ever after. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 6. A provisional regulation for the army was issued in 1774. *Bucareli, Reglamento*, 1–32. In this same year was decreed the creation of a cuerpo de inválidos, which was organized in 1779. *Mex., Mem. Guerra*, 1840, 37–39.

it was ordered that every three years he should personally inspect the troops, not only those stationed at the capital, but those in the provinces, and if unable to do this on account of ill health, the fact was to be confidentially made known to the king by the viceroy or captain-general.[14]

Fears of war with Great Britain having ceased in 1772, the government mustered out of garrison duty three of the native regiments,[15] though the drilling of the militia was continued. The troops from Spain were successively sent back, and from the last of them, the Zamora, were retained the necessary officers, sergeants, and corporals for perfecting the organization of the provincial militia. Later, the occupation by the British of the Philippines, and the revolution in England's colonies in North America, again warned Spain of the necessity of being prepared for an emergency. But no preparations were made. At the end of the war of 1783, when the coasts of Spanish America were threatened, and the forts of Omoa and San Juan de Nicaragua were taken by the English, she resolved further to increase her military establishment in Mexico, creating in 1788 the regiments Nueva España and México, and the next year the Puebla. The French revolution deeply affected Spain, and the revolt of Santo Domingo gave rise to the creation of the Fijo de Vera Cruz in 1793. The Nueva España, México, and Puebla were afterward sent away to serve in Cuba, Santo Domingo, Louisiana, and Florida.[16] But between 1789 and 1794 the

[14] The king wished it distinctly understood that the office had been created to be useful to the royal service, and not to be a mere additional authority in the country. *Cedulario*, MS., 25.

[15] The government always was apprehensive that the natives, with arms in their hands, might revolt. Hence the policy of transporting and maintaining at heavy expense in Mexico one or two regiments of Spaniards. But nothing was really gained by it. A few months after the arrival of such troops they were of little use. Officers and men pursued pleasure and vice, and discipline became relaxed. Some of the privates got themselves mustered out of service, and others deserted; and when a regiment went back to Spain it was much smaller than when it came out. *Villarroel, Enferm. Polit.*, in *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, v. 167.

[16] From Habana these regiments were despatched upon the useless expe-

force, both of regular and provincial troops, had been reduced to 4,767 men.[17]

Having thus spoken of the regular force in Mexico, I have to add a few remarks on the provincial and urban organizations. Each infantry regiment had two battalions, and each battalion[18] five companies, including that of grenadiers. The effective force in time of peace was 825 rank and file, and in time of war 1,350. Each cavalry regiment had four squadrons with 361 men in time of peace, and 617 in time of war. The conscription age was from 14 to 40 years inclusive, taken first from the unmarried men; but if the able-bodied of a district did not cover the requisition, then the married were conscripted. Officers' commissions were given by the viceroy, subject to confirmation by the crown.[19] The provincial regiments already organized were disbanded about 1788 by the conde de Revilla Gigedo, and their arms taken to the royal warehouses in Mexico, Perote, and Vera Cruz. They were, however, restored by his successor after 1794.[20] It was

dition of Bayajá, where, by the 'cobardía de un oficial extrangero,' the honor of one of them suffered. They gradually returned to Mexico several years after, almost skeletons. General Apodaca brought the Puebla and one battalion of the México very much reduced. Those troops cost a great deal of money, and did no useful service to Mexico. *Bustamante, Medidas*, MS., 55–6. It was not the first time that Mexico sent military assistance to another Spanish colony. In 1761, news having come that hostile Indians were attempting to capture the fort at Panzacola, 200 infantry and some artillerymen under command of Colonel Luis Ortiz Parrilla was sent there, who arrived in season, and the difficulty was terminated without bloodshed. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 119.

[17] Certainly not enough for general defence, though the conde de Revilla Gigedo had deemed a larger force unnecessary. *Branciforte, Instruc.*, MS., 13–14. He thus decided against the order of the court; but finally organized the first Batallon Fijo de Vera Cruz, which was later increased till in 1809 it had three battalions. *Bustamante, Medidas*, MS., 56. The same viceroy in 1792 had two companies of light infantry created, each with three officers, and eighty men rank and file, costing for the two companies $27,816 per year. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 69.

[18] A royal order of 1798 placed each battalion under a lieutenant-colonel. *Arrillaga, Recop.* (1830–6), 508–9.

[19] *Diario, Mex.*, v. 162–320, 389, 554; vi. 12–32, 159–376; vii. 48–254; viii. 112, 414; ix. 548. *Gaz. Mex.* (1784), i. 199, 287–8. Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, i. 180, asserts that the nominations, made by the ayuntamientos, were often awarded for money to the highest bidders, though in some instances the money was applied to the fitting-out of the forces.

[20] In 1798 was organized the Michoacan dragoon regiment, and a small company near Cape San Lucas in Lower California. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 172–3, 187.

officially stated that the work met with no obstacles. Men voluntarily enlisted, and wealthy persons aided with their pecuniary means.[21]

After completing the organization of the provincial regiments, the government had of these troops about 10,000 men, which, added to 5,000 of the regular force, made 15,000, of whom about 4,000 were light cavalry and dragoons, and the rest infantry. There were also three companies of artillerymen,[22] mustering about 400, the companies of negroes and colored men of Vera Cruz, one battalion of infantry, and two companies of volunteers in the same city.[23]

[21] The wealthy contributed not only money but gave their own and their sons' services. *Gaz. Méx.* (1795), vii. 7–8, 14–16, 22–4, 33–5, 66–8, 95–6, 119–20, 174–8. The marqués de Branciforte was prompted by his insatiable avarice rather than by loyalty. He sold commissions at his own prices, pretending to apply the money to the purchase of arms for the regiments, which he never did. The purchasers wanted the fuero militar, so as not to be under the jurisdiction of the common law courts. They were of little use when fighting days came. *Bustamante, Medidas*, MS., 57.

[22] The artillery corps, down to the end of the Spanish domination, consisted of a few regular and provincial companies, there being a very limited number of fortified places and some poor redoubts on the coasts and frontiers. The sub-inspection was in charge of the viceroy, and the direct command under an officer sent from Spain. The factories and everything connected with this branch of the service were finally governed by the regulation of December 10, 1807. *Mex. Mem. Guerra, 1835*, 10.

[23] *Branciforte, Instruc.*, MS., 22–3. The following list appears in an official work: Infantry regiments: México, Puebla, Tlascala, Córdoba, Orizaba, and Jalapa (the last three places forming one), Valladolid, Celaya, and Toluca; battalions of Guanajuato and Oajaca, 412 men each; militia of Tabasco, 9 companies of free colored men, and one of cavalry of Spanish volunteers, 1,018 strong; 22 companies mixed of infantry and cavalry on the Mexican Gulf coasts; 2 companies of negroes and colored men of Vera Cruz; light cavalry regiments, Santiago de Querétaro and Príncipe; dragoon regiments, Puebla, San Luis, San Cárlos; dragoons de la Reina; lancers of Vera Cruz; dragoons of Michoacan; cavalry on the frontier of Sierra Gorda; dragoons on the frontier of San Luis de Colotlan, being 9 companies with 720 men; cavalry on the frontier of the colony of Nuevo Santander, being 6 companies with 360 men. In Yucatan, one battalion of volunteers of Mérida, another of whites of Campeche; 2 divisions of colored sharp-shooters of Mérida and Campeche, each division with 8 companies. *Colon, Juzgados Milit.*, ii. 527–8. In forming the urban companies of Vera Cruz it was agreed that when necessary the citizens should be armed, the ayuntamiento furnishing 500 men, and the real consulado 500 more, for whom the government provided 1,000 muskets. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 172–3; *Marquina, Instruc.* (1803), in *Instruc. Vir.*, 184. Humboldt, *Essai Polit.*, ii. 811–25; *Id., Versuch*, v. 30–51, 55, gives in 1804: regular force, 9,919, and militia, 22,277, adding that of the 32,196 the number of disciplined troops scarcely amounted to 8,000 or 10,000, of whom 3,000 or 4,000 had considerable military experience, namely, the cavalry stationed in Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, and Nueva Galicia, nearly all of whom were natives of the northern provinces—tall, robust mountaineers, accustomed to all weathers and hardships. Humboldt, *Tabla Esta-*

Let us now examine the special military organization of the provincias internas, some of which were at all times immediately dependent on the viceroyalty of New Spain, others being under a government of their own. The expenses incurred by the twenty presidios and three flying companies existing in 1721, amounted to 370,000 pesos per annum. But though the treasury had every year paid out the full amount, the soldiers were defrauded of a large portion of their pay.[24] Other abuses were also committed, such as employing the soldiers away from their presidios in working mines or herding cattle for their captains' profit. Officers had been sometimes despatched by the viceroys to inspect and report upon the presidios, but no advantage had been gained, and matters had gone from bad to worse till a complete demoralization prevailed. Moreover, as the population had in some parts increased, a number of the presidios had become

dística, MS., 65–6, a copy of which is said to have been left by the author in the archives of the viceroyalty, gives the whole force in 1803 as follows: regular troops 9,924, provincial militia 21,951, urban militia 1,059. The levy of recruits he declared to be excessive for the population. *Essai Polit.*, i. 273.

[24] June 27, 1608, the king decreed that the payment of the presidios should be punctual every four months. *Recop., Ind.*, i. 595–6, 612. The crown had from time to time issued orders tending to the efficiency of the service in the presidios, and providing for the welfare of the men. The following are some of them: Every officer or private soldier, before an expedition started, might with a proper modesty appear before his superior, and express his opinion, and any difficulties he might foresee. If his remarks were well founded they must be heeded; any neglect of the same made the superior amenable to a fine of 500 ducados. See royal decree of 1622. Vacancies occurring in the office of captain of presidios were to be provisionally filled by the captain-general; after which the names of three officers competent for the position were to be sent to the king accompanied with a statement of the services and qualifications of each; the appointment would then be made from the *terna*. Mulattoes, negroes, and mestizos were not to be accepted as soldiers in the presidios. No soldier was to be dismissed the service without a just cause. *Id.*, 597, 600–2. In 1688 and 1690 the presidios had been fully supplied with men, arms, and ammunition. Those on the northern coast had not been neglected. In former years each presidio had to send a well paid agent to Mexico for its supplies, who, after dancing attendance on and paying much reverence to the officials, obtained and took away the goods to his presidio, at the risk of being plundered on the way by Indian raiders. Under royal orders of 1643, 1663, 1664, and 1672, the viceroys were to attend to those supplies, the treasury officials having little to do in the matter. These injunctions had been overlooked. But in 1688 the *situados* were taken in coin to those presidios by the armada de barlovento. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 4; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 184–91.

unnecessary. Viceroy Casafuerte recommended the promotion of Colonel Pedro de Rivera to the rank of brigadier, and his appointment as special inspector and regulator of presidios, which was done by the sovereign in 1724. Accompanied by the lieutenant-colonel of engineers, Francisco Álvarez Barreiro, who was to make plans, Rivera proceeded on his mission. The task occupied him four years, during which time he journeyed three thousand leagues, and reorganized the presidios in the best possible manner. The government *Gazeta* of June 1728 mentions his return to Mexico from his arduous labors, when he made his report to the viceroy.[25]

In 1729 the number of presidios was fixed at twenty, that of New Mexico being the most distant, with seventy-seven men and three commissioned officers. On the 20th of April was issued the new reglamento, under which the annual expenditure for such troops was reduced from 444,883 pesos to 283,930 pesos; the prices of goods and provisions sold to the soldiers were fixed, and captains of presidios were required to reside permanently in their presidios. The law also prescribed the circumstances under which Indians might be aided against hostile tribes.[26]

The king, accepting the viceroy's suggestions, de-

[25] *Rivera, Diario y Derrotero*, 1–76. In October, 1727, the king had ordered the establishment of a presidio at the Real de Boca de Leones in Nuevo Leon with a corporal and fourteen men, which were later increased to 25. *New Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 245–7. In 1728 a full report was called for by the crown upon all the presidios, and the force each could rely on both paid and unpaid; also upon armament of all kinds, etc. *Id.*, 324–31.

[26] It also marked out the course of duty for each man in the presidio, and the discipline to be maintained. *Instruc. formada en virtud de Real Órden*, 9; *New Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 335–7; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 284; *Escudero, Son. y Sin.*, 61–2, 70; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 228. Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 177, speaking on the subject about 1742 gives the presidios then existing, namely: Nayarit, Durango, El Pasage, El Gallo, Mapimi, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolo, Conchos, Nuevo Mexico, El Paso, Janos, Fronteras, Sinaloa, Adais, Texas, Bahía del Espíritu Santo, San Antonio de Béjar, Rio del Norte, Coahuila, Cerralvo, Cadereita, and the force at Saltillo, with a total force of 846 officers, rank and file. In 1754 frontier presidios were ordered to have each four swivel guns, and 50 muskets with the requisite ammunition, lances, shields, etc. Sixteen articles were issued for their rule. Ditches, ramparts, and stockades were to be erected. *Instruc. Vireyes*, 29. In 1755 Engineer Cámaras Altas was sent to make a thorough map of the northern frontiers of

cided, November 26, 1757, that governors of frontier provinces should thereafter be military officers. Still another royal order of October 8, 1761, declared that inasmuch as the command of the presidial companies had fallen into the hands of traffickers instead of being held by true soldiers, the viceroy was to remove all captains of the former stamp without going through the formality of a court-martial or other procedure. A later one of January 11, 1764, regulated the prices of goods for presidios, greatly moderating those of the tariff of 1729. Other orders reiterated preceding ones in the sense of reforming the general regulation of presidios. Finally, in 1765, the whole matter was referred for a general report to the marqués de Rubí,[27] who discharged the duty in a satisfactory manner. He was again commissioned by the marqués de Croix to revisit the presidios. In a letter of May 24th from Pasage he reported a bad state of affairs, demanding a change in the system of presidios, and that they should be located to better advantage. Hence the regulation of 1772, which Brigadier Hugo O'Connor was directed to enforce, as governor and comandante inspector of the provinces. The reglamento gave the number and positions of the presidios, and the economical system of each, and prescribed the mode of managing funds; the policy to be observed toward the Indians; quality and condition of arms, ammunition, horses, accoutrements, and clothing of the soldiers; mode of providing commissions and promotions, reviews and police of each presidio; powers and duties of captains, subalterns, and rank and file of

Mexico and provinces outside. *Id.*, 97. The same year the king reiterated his order of 1748 about statements of arms and ammunition, and their condition being punctually forwarded him. *New Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 350.

[27] *New Méx., Cédulas*, MS., 353–8. Rubí was told that the presidios were in a state of confusion, dissension prevailing everywhere, and that a remedy of the evils was much needed. He visited those of Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Coahuila, and New Mexico in 1766, and that of Texas in 1767. His report to the crown, on his return, was the basis of reformatory measures, embodied in a new reglamento published by the marqués de Croix in 1771. *Morfi, Tex.*, 392–3.

the troops; and the mode of choosing habilitados and rendering them effective.

It will be unnecessary to dwell here on the presidios of the country north of Durango, as they will be fully treated of in other volumes.[28] The presidios of Monterey and Nayarit were suppressed, placing in lieu of the former two salvaguardias in each of the eight missions of Nuevo Leon, and seven salvaguardias in lieu of the latter.[29]

It was Rubí's report on the secure condition of Nuevo Leon that induced the suppression of the presidio of Monterey. It was ill-founded, for in 1774 the country was overrun by natives. The comandante of the presidios, Hugo O'Connor, came to the rescue, and a detachment was stationed at Punta de Lampazos,[30] which place was made stronger. Subsequently, in 1783, an attempt was made to increase the force in Nuevo Leon, but Colonel Juan de Ugalde, late governor of Coahuila, strenuously opposed it, as expensive, burdensome in every way, and useless, for Nuevo Leon being in the rear of Coahuila could be of no assistance to other provinces if assailed.[31] The people of Nuevo Leon, however, were all armed. In 1795 there were twenty-two companies of militia well equipped.[32] The total military force in 1786 in the

[28] *Hist. North Mex. States*, i.; *Hist. Cal.*, i.–v.; *Hist. New Mex. and Arizona*, passim, this series.

[29] The reglamento was carried out in Nayarit in 1773, a detachment of the Catalan volunteers placed there, and Pedro Alberni, then a subaltern, made a captain and comandante. A subaltern officer, sergeant, and fourteen privates were also stationed at the mesa de Tonati. *Reyl. é Instruc. Presid.*, 127–9; *Laba, Informe*, in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 208; *Nayarit, Informe de la Aud. de Guadal.*, in *Id.*, 75. In 1792–3 Jalisco and Nayarit were defended by nine companies of dragoons. The governor at San Luis Colotlan was ex officio their commander, and resided at Real de Bolaños. There were two adjutants, one with the governor, and the other at the mesa de Tonati as lieutenant-governor of the province of Nayarit. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 80.

[30] *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, ii. 812.

[31] *Ugalde, Doc.*, MS., 19–24. In 1786, Ugalde, as governor and comandante of Coahuila, Texas, Nuevo Leon, and Santander, materially reduced their force and offered to protect Saltillo and Parras. *Instruc., Ugarte*, 39–40.

[32] The people knew of the king and viceroy only by hearsay. Governors were sent out from Mexico every four or five years, who at the expiration of their terms remained in the country. It was not uncommon to see an ex-governor acting as alcalde or regidor. *Gonzalez, Apuntes*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3a ép., i. 238.

provincias internas, exclusive of the Californias, was 3,663 men, of which there were 300 in Nuevo Leon, and as many in Tamaulipas. The annual expense for all was estimated at 951,084 pesos.

The condition of the military in 1808, shortly before the political disturbances broke out, was essentially as follows: In the province of Mexico the viceroy held command. In Oajaca, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí, the forces were in charge of commanders of brigades. In the other provinces the respective intendentes were in charge; these officers in Guadalajara, Puebla, and Vera Cruz were also commanders of the brigades within their respective districts. The regular force now consisted of the viceroy's guard of honor; four regiments, namely, Corona, Nueva España, México, and Puebla, of which the last named was then in Habana, and one battalion, the Fijo de Vera Cruz, of infantry, with about 5,000 men; two regiments of dragoons, the España and México, with 500 men each; one corps of artillery with 720 men scattered in several places; a small number of engineers; two companies of light infantry and three fixed companies in the ports of Isla del Cármen, San Blas, and Acapulco.[33]

The main force consisted, as we have seen, of provincial militia, which was placed under arms only when needful. It was chiefly composed of country people and artisans, and caused no expense to the government. The regiments were distributed by districts, and the companies by towns. The horses of the mounted troops were confided to the care of the haciendas of each district. The officers were property-owners of the provinces. The honor was much coveted, and high prices were paid for a commission as colonel or lieutenant-colonel when the forces were first organized. In the central provinces, which were more thickly settled, and had a cold or temperate climate, were

[33] The total effective regular force at the disposal of the viceroyalty did not exceed 6,000 men. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 77–8.

organized seven infantry regiments of two battalions each, namely, Mexico, Puebla, Tlascala, Orizaba, Córdoba, Jalapa, Toluca, Celaya, and Valladolid. There were likewise three separate battalions, named respectively Guanajuato, Oajaca, and Guadalajara. Each battalion had an effective force of 825 men, the total being 14,000, to which were to be added the two urban battalions of Mexico and Puebla, having together 930 men.

The cavalry consisted of eight regiments, namely, Querétaro, Príncipe, Reina in Guanajuato, Puebla, San Luis, San Cárlos in the province of San Luis, Michoacan, or Pátzcuaro, and Aguas Calientes; each of which had four squadrons of 361 men in time of peace, and 517 in time of war, making a total of 4,936 dragoons. In the vicinity of Vera Cruz was a body of 1,000 lancers; there were three other bodies for the protection of the old frontiers of Sierra Gorda, Colotlan, and Nuevo Santander, with 1,320 men, and an urban squadron in Mexico with 200 men.

The troops for guarding the coasts were in detached companies at different places, forming mixed divisions of infantry and cavalry, with little discipline, and not even a uniform. They were useful, however, in their respective sections. Five of them were on the gulf border, and with the two companies of negroes and colored men of Vera Cruz made up a force of 3,400.[34] On the Pacific were seven companies consisting of 3,750 men. The total force of provincial militia, both infantry and cavalry, together with the seven companies of militia artillery at Vera Cruz and other points of the coasts, when complete and on a war footing, which never occurred, would have made 29,411 men;[35] but deducting 7,200 of the coast guard, who

[34] In June 1806 was living at the age of 90 years Antonio Santa Ana, who was decorated with a royal medal, and was captain of the company of blacks of Vera Cruz; a master mason by trade; he wrote a farce for the theatre that won a prize. *Diario, Mex.*, iii. 207.

[35] Another account gives the entire force of New Spain in time of peace in 1805 as 32,924 men. *Not. de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 24. The

were never taken from their sections, the effective force remaining was 22,211, which, added to 6,000 of the regular force, formed a total of 28,000 men whom the viceroy could place in the field. There were, besides, in Yucatan, one battalion of regular troops, a few regiments of provincials, and the necessary artillerymen. The disciplined militia and the coast divisions formed ten brigades, each having the military commandant at the head town of the district for its brigadier, excepting those of Mexico, Oajaca, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí which had their regular commanders.[36]

The organization of troops for defence against internal and external foes, however important, was not all that was needed. The defences of the ports and of the whole coast-line on both seas demanded attention, and constantly engaged that of the supreme national government as well as of the local authorities from the earliest days.[37] The port of Vera Cruz with

force of all organizations is set down in 1809, before the revolution, at 29,661. *Torrente, Rev. Hisp. Am., Introd.*, i. 19; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.*, i. 26.

[36] Most of the field and many of the company officers, in both the regular and militia regiments, were from Spain. The sergeants, corporals, and privates were natives of Mexico, taken chiefly from the various castas, the pure Indians being exempt. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 78–81; v. 956. We are told by a competent authority, however, that the country, in 1809, lacked muskets, bayonets, sabres, and other things for infantry and cavalry; it had not enough field-pieces, balls, grape, etc., for the artillery, nor tents. It was deficient in almost every material of war needed to organize a competent force fit to cope with the well provided armies of Europe. Some of them could at that time be obtained in the United States and Jamaica. Cannon and cannon balls and grape could be made in Mexico. *Queipo, Represent. al Real Acuerdo*, 129–30, 137.

[37] From 1570 to 1657 the crown was repeatedly issuing orders for the defence of the country and the improvement of the military service, and particularly of the management of fortresses on the coasts, and garrisons of presidios in towns or frontiers. Most of them are mere matter of routine, which it is unnecessary to give here. Among those which were of general interest may be mentioned: A royal order of May 7, 1570, made it incumbent on all residents at ports to have arms and horses, according to their means, ready to resist and repel foreign aggressions. Another of November 30, 1599, required that in time of danger no man, unless specially exempted by law, should fail to present himself for military service. One of March 26, 1627, prescribed that only military men, known to be possessed of experience in the defence of besieged fortresses, should be nominated for the position of alcaldes. Among the requirements from commanders of forts on the coast, good ones probably, but which often had not the desired effect, they were urged to be dis-

the isle of San Juan de Ulúa was the key of New Spain, and the object of special solicitude.[38] Efforts were made and means supplied in order to put the defences in a condition to resist attacks.[39] The formation of plans and the building of a new fortress were in charge of Captain Jaime Franck. Objection having been made to the work, the subject was laid before certain officials for their opinion.[40]

When a portion of the fortress was constructed, a small garrison was placed there under an officer who bore the title of *castellano*, subordinate to the governor of the town. In the course of years the title was changed to *teniente rey*, and the officer succeeded the governor at his death or absence. Both officers had high military rank, the governor having charge of the garrisons of Ulúa and Vera Cruz.[41]

The fortifications on San Juan de Ulúa were in 1767 strengthened with cannon brought from Spain.[42]

creet as well as energetic and brave, and thus make themselves feared, 'para cobrar reputacion, pues esto bastará á atemorizar los ánimos de los cosarios.' *Recop. Ind.*, i. 260–1, 567–617.

[38] From 1648 to 1673 the place was well supplied with means of defence Repairs were begun in 1671. The commander proposed a plan of fortification involving heavy expense, but affording great strength. It was referred to the king. After some changes of policy in regard to the garrison, it was decided finally in 1670 and 1671 to keep a force there of about 300 men. The white militia and the companies of free negroes and mulattoes were tolerably well disciplined. During the years above mentioned there were expended upon San Juan de Ulúa $403,278, besides $183,914 on other defences, and for men, war materials, etc. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 490–3. Money was being constantly spent on supplies for the defences. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 188–9.

[39] Sigüenza y Góngora was very sanguine in 1692, when he said that the new fortress of San Juan de Ulúa was in a good condition to defend the port, and all accomplished within a few months at a moderate expenditure. *Carta al Almirante*, MS., 39.

[40] Several of the persons consulted eluded the responsibility. The mathematician Sigüenza y Góngora recommended that no change should be made, considering the defences almost impregnable, though chiefly from the natural strength of the position. *Memorial*, in *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, i. 211, 223–39.

[41] Till about the middle of the 18th century the garrisons of the city and castle had been necessarily small, but always being gradually increased. In 1727 there were in the fort, besides the castellano, one major, one alférez, one surgeon, and 153 rank and file of infantry, one captain and 101 rank and file of artillerists. The captains were enjoined to swell their ranks with Spaniards from the mother country, and if possible with veterans, but as the sons of Spaniards born in Mexico could not be prudently excluded 'se permitia que en cada compañía pudiera haber catorce, y nada mas.' *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist.*, 384.

[42] The same year was put up in Tacubaya a factory for cannon; and the

In that year and the next Anton Lizardo was strongly fortified. At the same time was constructed the fortress of Perote, which cost no less than that of San Juan de Ulúa. The former was deemed necessary for the safe keeping of treasure when on the way for shipment to Spain, for if Vera Cruz were once in possession of an enemy, a dash on Orizaba might easily be made. In Perote were mounted six 24-pounders, eight 16-pounders, ten 12-pounders, and 33 pieces of calibre from 4 to 8; there was a complete supply of ammunition, the cost of conveying which had exceeded 40,000 pesos.[43]

The anxiety to make San Juan de Ulúa and the whole Vera Cruz coast impregnable if possible, was great, but the means were wanting. Among the many plans presented was one in 1774 which might have been acceptable had it not called for an excessive expenditure. One and a half million pesos the authors claimed would suffice; four to six millions, said others, would be consumed before reaching completion, besides the demand for a garrison so large that other important points would have to be utterly neglected. The king favored certain modifications, and in 1780 the matter was left to a commission[44] which presented a plan to guard the defences, including the coast on both sides, against foreign assaults, but it was not accepted. Several other schemes were recommended, but no extensive plan seems to have been adopted.[45]

next were cast some field pieces. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 6; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 141. The powder factory was in Chapultepec. At the end of the century it supplied large quantities of powder, not only to Mexico, but also to the Antilles, New Granada, Louisiana, and Florida. *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 135; *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 180–1; *Alzate, Gacetas*, iv. 349–55; *Gaz. Méx.* (1784–5), i. 228–30; *Diario, Méx.*, ii. 132; *Guia de Hac. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 129–40.

[43] As a warehouse for provisions and war material to aid Vera Cruz, and as a rendezvous for troops to keep a foreign enemy in check, Perote was, owing to its climate, very valuable; but as a fortress it was not worth much. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i. 527–8.

[44] *Carrion, Plan de Defensa*, MS., 404–591, in *Pinart, Col. Diario, Not.*, etc.

[45] The most favored was that of Lieutenant Colonel Pedro de Alonso, which

The use of the native militia of the coast, who were good lancers and inured to the climate, was strongly recommended, it being added that the regular troops might be stationed in cool localities, and the officers make themselves familiar with the country.[46] Finally, in 1800, the government was still engaged in providing for the security of Vera Cruz, largely supplying the fortress with provisions and war material,[47] and building an extensive hospital. The two cavalry regiments were reënforced, and barracks erected at Buenavista; but experience soon proved the place sickly, and the troops were removed after sustaining some loss of life.[48] A considerable number of armed launches and gunboats were also provided. In 1806, at the suggestion of the Spanish generalissimo, the príncipe de la Paz, viceroys and captain-generals in America were ordered by the king to ask for means of defence only in moderation, and they were to remind him at the end of each year, avoiding repetitions.[49] They were to employ the means at their disposal, bringing into moderate requisition whatever the country afforded. If they failed so to do, and reverses occurred, they would be held accountable, and the fact of not having been allowed what they had called for from the crown would not serve as an excuse. The half-witted Cárlos IV. was in this as

called for large supplies in and out of San Juan de Ulúa; and a garrison of 1670 men, including the governor and his staff, attachés of the government, and the military force, hospital, etc. *Alonso, Plan de Defensa*, MS., 508–48, in *Id.*

[46] *Costansó, Reconocim.*, MS., 594–614, in *Id.*

[47] In 1794 the armament of the fortress, town, and batteries of Alvarado and Mocambo consisted of 132 brass pieces of various calibres, 173 iron pieces, 17 brass and four iron mortars. Many of them were old-fashioned and should have been excluded. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i. 524–7; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 29–30. In 1799 the fortress had 120 cannons and three mortars, besides a handsome lower battery, built in the latest style, to defend the two channels to the north and south-east. *Estalla*, xxvii. 59.

[48] The climate of Vera Cruz was deadly for troops; and the force stationed in the nearest healthy towns, owing to distances and difficult roads, could not be counted on to meet a sudden attack. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 159–63, 166–71.

[49] 'Con una moderacion prudente lo q haga falta en su distrito...estas repeticiones hacen vulgares las cosas.' *Cedulario*, MS., iv. 24; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 503.

in everything the tool of his wily and avaricious counsellor.

Yucatan had not been neglected. Not only had troops been provided for her defence as early as 1645,[50] but in 1672 forts were ordered by the king to be built, and garrisons placed in them.[51] In 1690 the wall around Campeche had been in process of construction for several years. Early in the year thirty pieces of artillery of various calibres were mounted thereon.[52] The forts of Campeche were begun in 1692 and finished in 1769. Eight castles were successively erected. Spain at first furnished fifty-six poor pieces of iron of small calibre; but in 1739 and 1740 eighty-eight pieces of large size were sent, part of brass and part of iron.[53] The citadel of San Benito in Mérida had five small bulwarks on an artificial hill commanding the whole town. The artillery consisted of old 18-pounders.[54]

In the island of Tris in the laguna de Términos was established a presidio for which a regulation was issued in 1791. It had a governor commanding the forces.[55] In Tabasco was built in 1683 the castle of Santiago, which was garrisoned with a paid infantry company.[56] Acapulco, the chief Mexican port on the Pacific, was considered in 1642 sufficiently defended with its fortifications and garrison.[57]

[50] *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 204–5, 702–3; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 85; *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 187–8.

[51] The viceroy of New Spain was directed to afford all aid. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 495–6.

[52] *Sierra, Efemérides, Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 273.

[53] Spain in 1795 and 1808, and Mexico in 1827, increased the armament to over 200 pieces. *Villevêque, Descrip.*

[54] It had two inexhaustible wells of water, and warehouses with arms, etc. *Echánove, Cuadro Estud.*, 1813; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 362–3.

[55] The command consisted of one adjutant, one surgeon with his hospital and assistants, two chaplains, one paymaster and his assistant; one infantry company of 100 men and 3 officers; one dragoon company of 43 men and 3 officers; one officer and 30 artillerymen; 23 settlers, some invalid soldiers, one negro slave of the king's, and some mechanics. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 55, 1–56; *Hospital, Instruc.*, 1–15. In 1798 this presidio had 3 militia companies of 100 men each. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 174–5.

[56] There was also a company of colored men. *Chiap. y Yuc., Jurisdic. Eccles.*, 31–2.

[57] It had a governor commanding the garrison, who could call to his aid all men dwelling on the coast. *Palafox, Instruc.*, in *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 15.

In 1790 the same arrangement continued, the governor being also commandant of the fort.[58] This fort, called San Diego de Acapulco, of more modern construction, underwent in 1794 some repairs. It then had only ten brass and fifty-eight iron guns in good condition, and more that were unserviceable.[59] The provision of muskets, pistols, and side-arms was abundant.

The naval department at San Blas was established to aid the government in its efforts to occupy vacant coasts and islands adjoining its settled provinces, especially the west coast of North America. Arsenals, ship-yards, and warehouses were established. All orders given to expeditions passed through the hands of its chief.[60] It was, however, on the point of being abandoned, when Father Junípero Serra's suggestions in 1773, on its usefulness for supplying the Californias, led to its being continued and carefully sustained. Toward the end of the century the naval force consisted of three ships, two brigs, three schooners, and one sloop.[61] The personnel consisted of a naval commander, seven other naval officers, one comisario and his assistant, eight clerks, seven chaplains, six surgeons, thirteen sailing masters, seven artillerymen, and five hundred and five petty officers, seamen, and landsmen, besides a number of mechanics and laborers in the navy-yard. Conde de Revilla Gigedo during his rule strongly urged removal to Acapulco;[62] but it was not removed, and in 1803 remained at San Blas without change.[63] For defence, aside from its own garrison, it could rely on the forces in Nueva Galicia

[58] The garrison was more than doubled from 1766 to 1790. In the latter year it had three officers, 74 infantry, and 28 artillerymen. The supplies were punctually furnished. *Acapulco, Provision*, in *Vir. Instruc.*, MS., 2d ser., no. 2, 6–31; *Revilla-Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 32, 1–8. No change was made to 1800. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 171.

[59] Twenty-one brass guns were under way from Manila. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i. 528–30.

[60] His residence was at the port itself. *Greenhow's Hist.*, 112.

[61] In 1800 it had undergone a small change. One of the ships was lying useless at Manila. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 194–6.

[62] Looking for a better climate and other advantages. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i. 533–7.

[63] *Marquina, Instruc.*, in *Instruc. Vireyes*, 188.

and the provincias internas. The comandante de marina had, on his part, erected batteries along the coast for protection against pirates.

Before concluding this review of the military establishment in Mexico let us examine the other branches connected with the service. The pay department had been in charge of the oficiales reales till December 1786, when a royal ordinance intrusted the whole financial business of the army to military intendentes, and to the provincial intendentes within their respective provinces.[64] The total expenditure of presidial and other forces, transportation, etc., including the presidios of the Philippines, and naval vessels on the Pacific and elsewhere, paid out of the Mexican treasury, was, in 1758, 882,227 pesos.[65] In 1765–6, after the organization of the military forces, the yearly expense was 626,776 pesos.[66] The outlay

[64] *Intendentes, Real Ordenanza*, 347–407.

[65] *Certif. de las Mercedes*, MS., 33–56.

[66] Comandante-general's pay, $18,000; three mariscales de campo, $24,000; engineers, $5,800; detached officers, $13,620; 4 aides de camp, $2,424. The rest went for pay and allowances of the organized bodies of troops. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 402. A royal order of January 17, 1791, made clearer a former one of August 6, 1776, in the sense that all pay and allowances of officers serving in America should be in *pesos fuertes de América* (eight reales de plata to each peso); those coming from Spain to have their pay reckoned from the day of leaving port. Back pay due in Spain and made good in America to be at the rate of Spain, calculating each peso fuerte at two *escudos de vellon*. The Spain rate to be allowed any officer of America who was in Europe on leave, or for any other purpose. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., vi. 63–64. Under various royal orders, officers of the army, below the grade of general, who had held military governments in America by special royal appointment, not at their solicitation, were to be retained with the pay of their rank, and if possible employed; but if no longer needed in America were allowed 12 months' extra pay of their grade. General officers were excluded from that benefit, because when not in actual command or office they were allowed their full pay *en cuartel. Id.*, 75–78. Under a law of 1781 men of the rank and file who had served 25 or 35 years, and continued in the service, received not only the allowances awarded to shorter terms, but also the full pay of their rank. Drummers, fifers, timbrel-players, and trumpeters who had served 35 years could not obtain the brevet of alférez, but in lieu thereof they received $14⅜. All such allowances ceased when the men were promoted to officers; this under a royal order of February 1, 1788. Other laws favored veterans who reënlisted. A regulation of 1810 established the extra allowance of 112½ reales per month and the grade of first sergeant for privates honorably serving 30 consecutive years, and the brevet rank of lieutenant with a retired pension of 260 reales monthly for those who served honorably 40 consecutive years. Still another royal order of July 8, 1811, permitted the latter to continue in service if they were able-bodied. *Mex. Cuad. de Formularios*, 40.

was largely augmented by the cost of the defences of the port of Vera Cruz, the depot at Perote, and the foundry at Tacubaya. The expense at Vera Cruz closely approached $1,500,000, and that at Anton Lizardo exceeded $1,250,000. I have no record of the rest.

The expense, in 1789, for troops, including $98,316 for the naval station of San Blas, is stated to have been $2,594,681[67] out of a total paid by the treasury during the year of $3,424,995. The military budget for 1805 had risen to $3,500,000, to which must be added $500,000 more for arsenals, fortifications, etc.[68] In 1809 the outlay is given at the same round figures, four million dollars.[69] A regular system of pensions had also been established in Mexico and the rest of America to conform with that of old Spain, except in the amounts. A royal order of September 29, 1761, authorized the foundation of the *montepío militar*, out of which was to be paid to the widows and orphans, or, should there be none, to the mothers of army or navy officers serving and dying in America, a yearly allowance, according to the pay of the officer at the time of decease. In 1773 were issued rules for the uniform observance of that decree, and the rates of yearly allowance, as well as the amount to be deducted from each officer's pay to swell the montepío fund, were fixed.[70]

[67] The presidial salaries are set down at only $153,707. *Not. de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 40. An official account of 1786 gives the expense for the military forces in the provincias internas (without the Californias or the Pacific ports) at $951,084. *Estado general que manifiesta, etc.*, MS. The commandant of a presidio could not dispose of his company's funds without the sanction of the habilitado, who on his part could do nothing to the prejudice of any member of the company, and was obliged to supply the men with goods at rates that neither he nor they had any power to alter. Purchases were made by the habilitado in public, and with the intervention of the ayudante inspector, so that it was not easy to monopolize effects and prices. The effects were often bought at 20 per cent below the fixed rates of the presidios. *Velasco, Son.*, 98; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 394.

[68] The cost for 3099 men in the provincias internas is not given; it is probably included in the $1,200,000 given as the cost of the presidios. *Not. de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 24.

[69] Military force, $1,800,000; San Cárlos de Perote, $200,000; fortifications and unforeseen, $2,000,000. *Torrente, Rev. Hisp. Am., Introd.*, i. 19.

[70] The following were the allowances according to rank: captain-general,

To swell the fund of the montepío militar the following deductions were made from each officer's pay from the time when he first entered the service: half a month's pay retained once; eight maravedís de plata fuerte out of every peso fuerte; the increase of pay for the first month in the case of officers promoted to higher rank and the amount of the whole month's salary in the case of officers and officials newly employed.[71] With the view of creating a *fondo de inválidos*, from which invalided officers and soldiers were to draw pensions, it was ordered by the crown January 14, 1775,[72] that a deduction of eight maravedís de plata should be made from the pay and extra allowances of officers and men in actual service.

The *jurisdiccion eclesiástica castrense*, or the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the army and navy of Spain and her Indies, was under the *vicario general de los reales ejércitos y armadas*, an office annexed to that of the *patriarca de las Indias y capellan mayor* of the

$1,125; lieutenant-general, $750; mariscal de campo or rear admiral, $625; brigadier and colonel, $500; lieutenant-colonel, $375; sargento mayor, or major, $319; captain, $188; adjutant, $169; lieutenant, $120; sub-lieutenant or alférez, $94. The same privilege was awarded to the widows and orphans, or mothers of civil officials belonging to the pay department of the army or navy. The following exceptions were established. Widows, orphans, or mothers of officers who, after the foundation of the montepío, married with a rank below that of a full captain in the army, or a teniente de fragata in the navy, had no claim to the allowance, unless their husbands, fathers, or sons had died in battle; in this event those heirs were entitled to the pay. The same rule applied to officials connected with the pay department of the navy who had not attained the grade of a purser of a ship of the line. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 27. An order of February 21, 1789, the widows, etc., of officers who married after being sixty years old. *Gaz. Méx.* (1788–9), iii. 363.

[71] Agreeably to the royal order of April 20, 1761, establishing the montepío militar. *Real Declaracion*, in *Reales Ordenes*, ii. 305–31. The montepío was not founded in New Spain till February, 1765. It was done with the fund accumulated by taking from each officer one whole month's pay, and 2½ per cent from his running pay; to that were added $2,000 annually, taken from the *fondo de vacantes mayores y menores;* widows and orphans received one fourth of the pay their husbands or fathers obtained at the time of their death. Later all excesses collected under the 2½ per cent were reimbursed. The income of the fund till 1792 was $362,381; the out-go $119,692. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., 5–8. The eight maravedís taken from every dollar of an officer or official's pay were to be also deducted from all other allowances he might have from the treasury, under royal orders of 1779, 1788, and 1791. No such discount could be made from persons enjoying pensions from the montepío fund. *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., vi. 68–72.

[72] Further explanations were issued in October, 1791. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., 67–68, 72.

sovereign by the brief of Pope Clement XIII. issued in 1762, with special powers and privileges renewable every seven years. It was exercised in the Indies by *tenientes vicarios generales*, which title was usually, though not necessarily, conferred on the diocesan bishops by the vicario general. To do away with all doubts and disputes on the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the pope on June 12, 1807, referring to and confirming all previous briefs pertinent to the subject, placed, at the king's request, under the exclusive control of the vicario general, and detached from that of the ordinaries, all persons, clergymen included, belonging to the military service in any of its branches, and all who held the fuero militar, with their families, employés, or servants. The followers of the army, and all individuals subject to military rule, forts, fortresses, castles, schools and colleges, hospitals, factories, arsenals, navy-yards, war-ships, and transports were placed under the same jurisdiction.[73]

The judiciary system in its connection with the service also deserves attention. By royal orders of 1606, 1616, 1617, 1633, and 1634, the commandants of castles and forts were clothed with judicial powers over all causes, civil or criminal, of the troops and people within their respective commands. Appeals were allowed to the governing captain-generals.

Militia officers and men, while in active service, had the privilege of fuero militar. Neither the audiencias nor the alcaldes del crímen could intervene in their civil or criminal trials, which had to be adjudicated upon, in the first and second instances, by the captain-generals, or comandantes generales; and appeals from their decisions went to the junta de guerra de Indias in Spain.[74] Still, any person, possessed of that privilege, if found committing an offence against the general laws, or soon after, might be arrested by

[73] And every place or building permanently applied to the uses of the army and navy. *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, vi. 190–205; *Méx., Providencias Diocesanas*, MS., 20, 21, 33–35, 68, 69, 106; *Real Ord.*, Eno. 21, 1791 (with autog. sign of King Cárlos IV. and sec.), in *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 34.

a juez ordinario, but he must be forthwith surrendered to the 'juez de su fuero.'[75]

A supreme court of military justice, under the name of *supremo consejo de guerra*, was created, or rather the court formerly existing was reorganized in November 1773,[76] the king retaining for himself the presidency of it. In later times the administration of justice under the fuero militar was subdivided in minor courts, one for each branch of the military service.[77]

Persons possessed of the fuero militar preferred to fight or litigate in their own camp, having little respect or regard for any authority but their own, and committing offences that might not have occurred if punishment by the common courts had been certain. The question of fuero, not the military one alone, for there were others, has been in Spanish countries a great evil in the body politic, until completely eradicated, as will afterward appear in the course of this history.

[74] The fuero militar could be waived, however, under a law of December 31, 1642, by officers and men, in contracts or deeds of conveyance. *Recop. Ind.*, 605–11.

[75] *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 22. In 1790 it was declared that servants of military men employed in their country estates, factories, or business, wholly foreign to the military service, were not entitled to the fuero militar. *Id.*, no. 26.

[76] *Reales Órdenes*, ii. 1–17.

[77] All such causes were, however, under the almost exclusive jurisdiction of the viceroy as captain-general, who, by and with the advice of an *auditor de guerra*, who was usually one of the oidores of the audiencia, adjudicated in the premises. In appeals, which were made to the captain-general himself, he associated another justice with the auditor de guerra. In affairs of navy persons there was first in Vera Cruz a *juzgado de matrícula* presided over by the governor of Vera Cruz; later, a *juzgado de marina* was established for such cases. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes*, 388–91.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS.

1720–1810.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN MEXICO—LAST SERVICES—MORAL CONDITION—SQUABBLES ABOUT TITHES, AND THE CONSEQUENCES—THE SITUATION IN MEXICO AND THE WORLD IN 1750—MEMBERS, HOUSES, AND MISSIONS IN MEXICO IN 1767—CONVERTS MADE—UNSUCCESSFUL RENUNCIATION OF MISSIONS—CLOUDS PORTENTOUS OF DISASTER—PERSECUTION IN PORTUGAL AND FRANCE—OBLOQUY AND REFUTATION—EXPULSION FROM SPANISH DOMINIONS AND OTHER NATIONS—CAUSES THEREFOR—HOW EFFECTED IN MEXICO—SUFFERINGS OF THE EXILES—HARSH TREATMENT—MEANS OF SUPPORT—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN MEXICO QUELLED—RELENTLESS PUNISHMENT OF THE LEADERS—PAPAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY—LATER MODERATION—THE ORDER RESTORED AND READMITTED IN MEXICO TO BE AGAIN EXPELLED.

WE come now to one of those episodes in the history of intellectual development which occasionally startle us from our contemplation of the more usual monotony of facts; in this instance an episode which causes us to wonder at a state of human society that could evolve such phenomena. There are few events in the annals of the race, very few upon its later pages, wherein is so displayed the mighty power of one over the many, not of one mind over the will of the many, as frequently occurs in the great currents of superstition, but the arbitrary and unjust domination, the iron tyranny of one will over the minds and bodies of millions. In the midst of its palmiest days, at a time when its wealth and influence are almost limitless, the church throws a faint, almost imperceptible scowl at the state, and instantly one of her most powerful divisions is hurled hence, and dissipated to the winds; and this in a Catholic country, by a Catholic monarch,

and in defiance of the pope of Rome. It was during the administration of the marqués de Croix that New Spain, as well as the other dominions of the Spanish crown, was subjected by Cárlos III., their king, to this catastrophe which brought to thousands humiliation and distress.

I have given, with sufficient detail, the origin and progress in Mexico of the society of Jesus to the end of the seventeenth century. The order continued to spread during the next hundred years, and its hold on the country was such that, to all appearances, no power could shake it so long as it pursued its established policy.[1] In 1732 the Jesuits entered the field of Guanajuato, and took initiatory steps toward founding a college in the city of that name. The site was determined, and the appurtenances received in September,[2] but it was not until 1744 that the royal authorization was obtained.[3] The corner-stone was laid in 1747, fifty thousand pesos having been secured, besides four haciendas valued at double that sum.[4] The church of the college was consecrated in 1765. There was at Leon in Guanajuato a *beaterio* of Jesuit women for the education of girls, the only one in America. In Michoacan the order had a mission in San Juan Puruándiro of the district of Patzcuaro.[5] The college of San Javier was given to the society by the bishop of Michoacan. In Jalisco, the conversion of the natives of Nayarit was taken in hand by the Jesuits in 1720.[6] They labored in that barren field

[1] The society's extraordinary privileges had been at various periods—1708 to 1757—renewed by the papal court, the last extension being for twenty years. *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 518–625.

[2] It is stated that as early as 1616 the people there had asked for Jesuits; and there was a tradition that for fifteen days before a priest named Vidal visited the place, the form of a Jesuit was seen in the pulpit of the parish church. Vidal vanquished and drove out the devil, who had declared that he would prevent the Jesuit entry. *Lazcano, Vida del P. Oviedo*, 270–5.

[3] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 241–3, 284–6.

[4] As many as 500 miners helped at the work on certain days without wages, and yet the college and its magnificent temple cost over half a million pesos. *Romero, Mich.*, 160–1.

[5] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 28.

[6] When these people earnestly asked for them. They had since 1635 re-

amidst difficulties and hardships. Much of the trouble arose from the conduct of the whites, including the troops of the presidio, whose captain could not control them.[7]

The moral condition of the province seems to have been satisfactory to the general of the order in 1747, as he so expressed himself to the provincial in Mexico, who in his turn made it known to his subjects, in his letter enjoining the strictest discipline, in order that the general's words should be sustained.[8] The question of payment of tithes by the society on its estates had been for several years a cause of contention between it and the archbishop, in which the real audiencia sided with the latter. In December, 1734, the jueces hacedores of the archdiocese passed a decree, wherein, after noticing the decrease in the amount paid by the managers of the haciendas owned by the society in New Spain and the Philippines, the collection was provided of the full tithes due for that year by the aforesaid estates. The judges also published *censuras* against their managers and several other members of the society, even though it had an appeal pending before the audiencia. The provincial refused to accede to the demand, and pretended to pay little or no heed to the censuras.[9] However, in Oc-

fused christianity, and in 1713 declined to listen to the Franciscan friar Antonio Margil, and even struck his face with a fox. *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 173.

[7] The troops were made up of bad men who countenanced the Indians in their idolatrous and other evil practices, to gain their good-will, and thereby get them to work on their farms, and to show them where the good mines were. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 238–9. It is said that in the Nayarit missions, whilst the Jesuits had them the Indians were confessed only in articulo mortis, frequently through an interpreter. *Maséres, Informe*, in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 209.

[8] 'Y que si ay, como en comunidad de hombres, sv mal necessario, se corrigen, y se dan las penitencias.' *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 43, 1–11.

[9] It was claimed that the censuras had no value whatever *in foro conscientiæ;* that they had no power over members of the order of Jesus, because it was not subject to the authority decreeing them, but directly to that of the holy see; that as they were null and void *in foro interno et externo*, they imposed no obligation of asking for or accepting absolution *ad huc ad cautelam.* It was also alleged that a royal order of October 4, 1705, pursuant to a papal bull of October 10, 1704, had forbidden the ordinaries of Mexico, Central America, and the Philippines from issuing excommunications against mem-

tober 1735, the provincial proposed to the audiencia a temporary arrangement, which was rejected May 12, 1736, on two grounds: first, that the provincial had insulted the archbishop-viceroy and the members of the audiencia; and second, that he had paid no respect to the censuras issued against the priests administering the haciendas of the society. It was ordered that the collection of the whole tithes for 1734 should be made, and that a copy of the proceedings should be forwarded to the royal council at Madrid.[10] The provincial had objected to the second order to pay the decimal tax, entering a solemn protest against it, and adding that as it would not be decent for his people to use other weapons than those of reason, the collector of tithes would need no armed force to effect his purpose, but only assistants to measure, count, and weigh.[11]

The subject having been duly considered in the king's council, it was decreed[12] that the payment of the tithes should be enforced, and censures, if necessary, applied. The society was required, under that decree, to produce sworn statements of the produce of its estates subject to tithes; afterward, if it had any exceptions to make, to send them to the royal

bers of the regular orders, except in such cases as the council of Trent and certain papal bulls then in force, authorized them. *Segura, Defensa Canónica,* MS., 1–203. The author of this work, Father Nicolás de Segura, being the præpositus of the casa profesa in Mexico, in 1743, was discovered dead by strangulation, upon his bed, the morning of the 8th of March. The lay brother who acted as door-keeper said, 'En el monte está quien el monte quema.' Five days later, on the 13th, at daybreak, the sententious brother was also found dead by strangulation. Some time after it was reported that the author of those deeds, another lay-brother, had been discovered, confined, and afterward taken to Rome. The affair was hushed up and remained a mystery ever after. *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, x. 376–7.

[10] *Auttos Secrettos*, in *Mex. Doc. Eccles.*, MS., no. 1, 1–82. See also *Diezmos de Ind.*, nos. iv., ix., xii.–xiv.

[11] The concluding words of the document are characteristic, conveying as they do malignancy under the garb of humble submission. It was to be understood, he said, that the assent by the manager of an estate to the demand for one out of every ten, would be like that of a peaceable unarmed traveller patiently submitting to necessity when stopped on his way, and forced to surrender his goods. *Barba, Respuesta,* in *Segura, Defensa Canónica,* MS., 211–14.

[12] June 16, 1736. *Diezmos, Real Cédula,* official copy, 1–15.

council. The audiencia in Mexico decreed October 8, 1736, the fulfilment of the royal order.

The matter did not stop here. The Jesuits were showing a marked disposition toward the acquisition of worldly wealth, and no more fondness for paying taxes than have most corporations. But finding that they could not escape the infliction, they did the next best thing: they paid as little as possible. In the reign of Fernando VI., through Father Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, they made with that sovereign in January 1750 a contract of compromise for the tithes, under which they acquired privileges and facilities denied to other religious orders. They were thereby privileged to pay one out of every thirty-one, instead of one out of every ten. This concession was not only an unfair discrimination against the other religiosos, and in fact against all other producers, but had been actually obtained under a false representation of the quality and quantity of the crops. As a natural consequence, the ecclesiastical chapters of other religious orders in due time represented the facts to Fernando's successor, Cárlos III., who referred them to his council; and though the pleas of the attorney of the society of Jesus were duly weighed, the crown's fiscales found them wanting, and asked that the so-called *transaccion*, having been obtained on false pretences, should be declared null, whether it was looked upon as a compromise or as a favor, for the right of the crown to the tithes recognized no privileges either anterior or posterior granted by the holy see. Thereupon they insisted that the Jesuits should be in future compelled to pay tithes like other producers. The attention of the council was also called to the studied policy of the Jesuit society in delaying the conclusion of this tithes question for over a century, to the injury of the royal treasury. The council, composed of eleven members, stood six to five in favor of submitting the case to the supreme court of justice. The king then called a council of members drawn from

the councils of Castile, the inquisition, órdenes, and hacienda or exchequer, to which were also invited several distinguished theologians who took part in the deliberations. Of the eleven members constituting this council, ten cast their votes for the annulment of the compromise, and thus it was declared in the royal decree of December 4, 1766. The Jesuits were then required to pay thereafter one per decem upon all the produce of their haciendas, ranchos, and *ingenios*, or sugar plantations.[13]

The society of Jesus on the 31st of August, 1750, had in the province of New Spain, which included Guatemala, Cuba, and Florida, 625 members, of whom 382 were ordained priests. About one half of them were natives of America, and the larger portion of the latter were born in Mexico.[14] In the summer of 1767, when disaster overtook the society, there were in the province of New Spain 418 priests, 137 *escolares*, and 123 coadjutors, making a total of 678, of whom 464 were natives of America, 153 from Spain, and 61 foreigners.[15] The society had in the province one casa profesa in the city of Mexico, 23 colleges, one house of probation, eight *convictus et seminaria*, and five residences. It had taken root in every province of the country, controlling 103 missions with 104 priests, besides one visitador-general of missions and his associate.[16] In 1766 the provincial, Father Francisco Ceballos, had, after due delib-

[13] The viceroy had the orders published in Mexico, and endeavored to execute them, but the Jesuits again opposed a resistance. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 408–9.

[14] In the Spanish dominions, including all America and the Philippines, there were 5,167, of whom 2,774 were priests; in Portugal, 1,754, of whom 927 were priests; in France, 1,542, of whom about half were priests. In the world, 22,642, of whom 11,345 were ordained priests. *Cat. Personarum et Domiciliarum* (1–21); *Comp. Jesus, Col. Gen.*, 24.

[15] *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 4–70. The neophytes converted and directed by the order in Mexico were 122,000; in the rest of America, 191,000; in the Philippines, etc., 165,000; making a total of 478,000. To that number must be added the neophytes in the Portuguese possessions. *Boero*, note, in *Expulsion des Jésuites*, 220.

[16] In Upper Pimería, 8; Sonora, 18; Sinaloa, 16; Chinipas, 7; Taraumara, 13; Tepehuane, 12; Piastla, 10; Nayarit, 6; Lower California, 13. *Cat. Personarum et Domicil.* (1–21). All existed in 1767.

eration, solemnly relinquished to the viceroy all the missions, more especially those in California, offering to establish others among the heathen whenever desired. This must have been put forth as a test, with a full conviction that the surrender could not and would not be accepted. And so it proved. The viceroy called a council, consisting of oidores, the auditor de guerra, and the fiscal, who asked the opinions of the bishops and governors of the regions where the missions were situated. The bishops and most of the governors objected to the renunciation, stating their reasons. The viceroy then referred the matter to the crown.[17]

This great association, notwithstanding its wealth and almost unlimited sway over the Roman Catholic mind and conscience, was now to undergo a great calamity. Persecution, dire and relentless, was at hand. On the 27th of February, 1767, King Cárlos III., after a consultation with his intimate counsellors, and for reasons that he reserved in his royal breast, issued a mandate to his minister of state, the conde de Aranda, for the expulsion from his dominions in Europe, America, and Asia of all the members of the society of Jesus,[18] that is to say, ordained

[17] Meanwhile the California missionaries asked to be at least relieved of the two southern missions, which were troublesome, overtasked, and less fruitful, particularly since the opening of mines. The request was not granted. *Clavigero, Storia Cal.*, ii. 169–70.

[18] The order had been expelled from the dominions of King José I. of Portugal, by a royal decree of September 3, 1759, in which the Jesuits were declared traitors and rebels, and the society's estates confiscated. On the same date of the previous year the king was shot at and wounded in the public streets, and the Jesuits were accused of being at the bottom of a plot; three of their number were imprisoned, and the chief among them suffered death, against the express disapproval of the pope. The expulsion was said to be the work of the minister of state, marqués de Pombal, the first to raise the standard of persecution, who had resolved to reform the church, bringing its members under the control of the royal government; to accomplish which he committed numerous acts of despotism and cruelty, notably those against the Jesuits. So was asserted by their friends. The expulsion from Portugal was followed by the suppression of the order in France. A decree of the parliament of August 6, 1762, declared it inadmissible in any civilized state, because of its hostility to natural rights, as well as to spiritual and temporal authority. The society should be dissolved and its property confiscated. Other decrees were passed, and finally, King Louis XV., in November 1764,

priests, lay-brothers, or coadjutors who had taken the first vow, and novices who refused to abandon the society, together with sequestration of their estates.[19] The order was confirmed by the pragmatic sanction of April 2d, published the same day, making known the royal action in the premises, and that the exiled would be allowed, out of the income of the suppressed society's property, a yearly pension of one hundred pesos to each ordained priest, and ninety pesos to each lay-brother, the foreign born and those of immoral conduct being excepted. It was strictly forbidden them to write anything savoring of rebellion against the royal act, under penalty, in the event of violation of that clause, if it were only by a single member, of the forfeiture of the pensions of all his brethren. Nor was this all. Any Jesuit who should, without the king's express leave, return to the Spanish dominions under any pretext whatsoever, even that of having resigned from the society and being absolved of its vows, would be treated as a proscript, incurring if a layman the penalty of death, and if a priest that of confinement, at the option of the ordinaries.[20]

extinguished the order, permitting its members to reside in France subject to the ordinaries, and submissive to the laws of the kingdom, though later they were forced to quit the country. The suppression was the result, as the partisans of the Jesuits alleged, of palace intrigues. Madame de Pompadour, the king's mistress, entertained a great animosity to the order, because of the opposition of one or more of its members to her residence at court, and brought her influence to bear upon the king, the minister, duc de Choiseul, and other men, all affiliated in the new school of philosophers, to accomplish the ruin of the society of Jesus. It is not my purpose, it being not within the scope of this work, to enter into a full disquisition of the actual causes that prompted the policy of these two prominent sons of the Roman church, the kings of France and Portugal, nor into the history of their negotiations on the subject with the head of the church. The question is fully treated by a number of writers, to whom I must refer the reader. Among them may be mentioned: *Expulsion des Jesuites; Encyclopædia Britannica; Dictionnaire de la Conversation; Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos; Id., Expatriacion*, in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus; Beaufort, Histoire des Papes; Alaman, Disertaciones; Mendo, Crisis Comp. Jesus* (i.–xiii.), and 1–284.

[19] Subsequent decrees prescribed the mode of disposing of the property. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 336–40.

[20] Aiders and abettors, and persons knowing of such arrivals who failed to make them known to the authorities, incurred the penalties prescribed in the

The causes prompting the Spanish sovereign to adopt so extreme a measure, very much against his feelings[21] as we have been told by some friends of the victims, were, as I have said, reserved to himself. It has been asserted that the grounds on which the council based its advice were purposely or otherwise removed from sight, thus not enabling us to judge with any degree of certainty what it was that had biassed the king's mind; and fault has been found with his reticence in a case calling, in his judgment, for so severe a punishment. But if that record is lost, the causes are extant in another equally important document, of which I possess a copy and will take notice in this connection.

A measure of such magnitude affecting so vitally the interests of the church, could not have been consummated by a faithful Catholic and high-minded king and gentleman, such as Cárlos III., without apprising the Roman pontiff of the intention, and perhaps of some of his motives. He dutifully discharged that obligation. His action met with opposition on the part of Clement XIII., who felt both distressed and indignant; indeed, the destruction of a religious order from which the papacy derived so much support and so large a revenue, could but be unpalatable, aside from other considerations, such as the possibility of the pensions being suddenly stopped, and the pope's treasury becoming burdened with the maintenance of the poverty-stricken. His Holiness made up his mind not to receive the ejected Jesuits in his dominions.[22] Still, Cárlos was a powerful monarch, and a stubborn one, upon whom the fulminations of the vatican would fall harmless; conciliation was then the

royal rescript. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 1–2, 36–73; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 337; *Col. Real Decreto*, Feb. 27, 1767, in *Reales Ord.*, v. 226–39.

[21] He has not been included among persecutors out of extreme charity for his blindness. *Expulsion des Jésuites*, pref. He acted 'siguiendo agenos influjos.' *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 83.

[22] This is made to appear in the official correspondence of the duc de Choiseul, and the marquis d'Aubeterre, French ambassador at Rome. *Expulsion des Jésuites*, 398–438.

only available recourse. It was thought that he might be amenable to papal reasoning; that something might be gained by a friendly interference to obtain a revocation, or at least a suspension of the obnoxious decree. The plan was tried and failed. Indeed the pope's brief of April 16th, overpraising the virtues and other merits of the Jesuits, at that particular time, and bespeaking favor for them, was a blunder; at all events, it did not mend matters.

The king submitted the brief for advice to his council, which on the 30th of the same month met in extra session, and after minutely reviewing its contents, expressed the opinion that the pope had no business to interfere in a matter so entirely temporal in its nature, and of the king's exclusive province; and that no power on earth had any right to call him to account for his decision thereon, much less after he had, from pure courtesy, advised the pope of his action in the premises. The council, furthermore, not recognizing in the Jesuits the merits ascribed to them, but on the contrary many serious faults that made them dangerous, could see no reason why the sovereign should abandon or even modify his order.[23] It concluded

[23] It has been said that the real reason was that Clement XIII. and his minister Cardinal Torregiani had seen through the motives of the enemies of public order and opposed them with all their might. *Schœll, Cours d'Hist.*, in *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 305. The king's council said, the hand of the Jesuit general, Lorenzo Ricci, could be detected in the brief, he being the confessor and spiritual adviser of the cardinal, with an influence potential. It charged the Jesuits with the introduction of false doctrines in the church and corruption of morals, probably referring to what has been published under the title of secret instructions of the Jesuits, of which I have a copy, but whose authenticity I have no means of verifying. It accused them of being promoters and accomplices in several riots, rebellions, and regicides in various kingdoms of Europe, as evidenced in solemn decisions standing against them in courts of justice; of being the persecutors of bishops, and keeping prelates, chapters, orders, universities, etc., in turmoil by banding themselves as to have their own opinions and schemes prevail over those of other respectable corporations or persons: 'assi sedio â conoser la Compañia desde qe se fundo; y assi se hallaba quando V. M. se sirviô por su Rl. Decreto de 24 de Febrero mandarla extrañar de sus Dominios.' The necessity was denied of the society's existence; and even its usefulness was greatly doubted, as it had tolerated superstition in America; and in the Philippines caused a revolt of the natives in favor of the English; and everywhere its members had made themselves the actual sovereigns; 'y en todas las Yndias, como en el Paraguay, Moros, Maynas y Orinoco, California, Sinaloa, Sonora, Pigmería, Nayarit, Tayanularit,

that the presence of the Jesuits in the Spanish dominions was extremely prejudicial, through their complicity in traitorous attempts, grasping and seditious spirit, fanaticism, disobedience, and intolerable pride. The unanimous decision of the members, the fiscales concurring, was that no discussion of the subject with the papal court should be entered into, and a mere acknowledgment of the receipt of the brief should be returned in answer.

Without discussing the merits of the charges preferred against the society for its conduct in Europe, or attempting to deny its worldliness in the acquisition of property and its selfish efforts to escape the burdens weighing upon other members of the church and the body politic in America, and without laying particular stress on its overbearing deportment, several instances of which have been recorded in the course of this history, it must be confessed that the Jesuits maintained, if not perfect purity of conduct, at least a degree of virtue that made them the exceptional members of a church which had at that time, but for them and a few other honorable exceptions, almost become an exemplar of vice. At all hours and seasons they were found performing the offices of religion and charity. The service of God in their churches was reverent and dignified. They spread education among all classes; their libraries were open to all. They

y otras naciones de Yndias, se han apoderado de la soberania.' It had treated Spaniards as enemies, depriving them of trade, and teaching them horrible things against the king's service, of all which the pope was ignorant. Even the spiritual care of the missions had been neglected by the Jesuits, according to their own confession in their intimate correspondence. Other charges were enumerated, one of the most serious being that the society had worked to bring about in Spain a change in the government to suit itself. *Consulta del Consejo*, in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 6, 1–9. According to *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 315–17, the king was induced to believe that the Jesuits had promoted a riot that occurred, with the purpose of deposing him, to prove which seditious papers were produced to him of such a nature that they could not be divulged without compromising the dignity of the crown and the decorum of the royal family. It was also asserted that Cárlos III. was chagrined at the Jesuits' opposition to a darling project of his, namely, the canonization of Juan Palafox, former bishop of Puebla and viceroy of Mexico, and of Brother Sebastian del Niño Jesus, who foretold him that he would be king of Spain, when he was not the heir presumptive.

incessantly taught the natives religion in its true spirit, as well as the mode of earning an honest living. Among the most notable instances, in support of this last assertion, are those of Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Lower California, where their efforts in the conversion of the natives were marked by perseverance and disinterestedness, united with love for humanity and progress.[24] Had the Jesuits been left alone, it is doubtful whether the Spanish American provinces had revolted so soon, for they were devoted servants of the crown, and had great influence with all classes—too great to suit royalty, but such as after all might have saved royalty in this quarter.

Never was the king's absolute power made so manifest as upon this occasion, when he determined to crush at one blow the most powerful association in his dominions. The conde de Aranda, clothed with royal authority,[25] on the 20th of March circulated his orders, which contained minute instructions prepared by Campomanes, the fiscal of the royal council. Everything had been foreseen, time and distances calculated, so that the society should be stricken without fail at one and the same moment, on the night between the 2d and 3d of April. A later order of March 28th hastened the execution by two days in Madrid and neighboring places, and it was carried out on the night of the 31st of March. When the inhabitants awoke the next morning they learned with astonishment that the Jesuits were already several leagues

[24] Two distinguished officers of rank in the Spanish royal navy, Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa, in a secret report to the crown upon affairs of South America, equally applicable to Mexico, had nothing but words of commendation of the Jesuits and their work. *Juan* and *Ulloa, Not. Secretas*, in *Quart. Rev.*, xxxv. 333–4. Azara, an adversary of the Jesuits, admits that they used their supreme authority over the missions with admirable moderation and mildness. Magarinos Cervantes, a liberal and judicious Spaniard, says that under Jesuit influence the administration of missions rose to the highest grade of prosperity, and as soon as it fell into other hands they were ruined. Art. *Ducrue*, in *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, ix. 240–1. Such statements are borne out by those of many other writers; Brigadier Diego Albear, Gonzalo de Doblás, lieutenant-governor of Buenos Ayres, the traveller Pagés, who were eye-witnesses, Robertson, Raynal, Chateaubriand, Humboldt, etc.

[25] *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 387–8.

from Madrid, on their way to the ports at which they were to be embarked. It was done with the utmost secrecy, and even the officers charged with the duty, though many of them were doubtless friends, relatives, and supporters of the victims, dared not disobey.[26] To other parts of the Spanish dominions strict orders had been transmitted, and dates exactly fixed for the arrest of every member of the society of Jesus. Troops were at hand to aid the authorities should necessity arise.

Let us now return to New Spain and see how the order was executed; and let us mark carefully the method of it, for it is full of interest and instruction. Early in the evening of the 24th of June 1767, the viceroy, marqués de Croix, received in the palace the audiencia, the archbishop of Mexico, and the rest of the high officials, whom he had summoned to a meeting for the consideration of an important and confidential affair of state. Croix then produced a sealed package which he had received from the supreme government. Upon removing the outer envelope there was found another, upon which was written the following words: "So pena de la vida, no abrireis esta pliego hasta el 24 de Junio á la caida de la tarde."[27] This cover being removed there were found instructions concerning the measures to be adopted in the arrest of the Jesuits, naming the men who were to do the work, and telling how they should do it. On removing the last wrapper the full order was found expressed in the following terms: "I invest you with my whole authority and royal power that you shall forthwith repair with an armed force—*á mano armada*—to the houses of the Jesuits. You will seize the persons of all of them, and despatch them within twenty-four hours as prisoners to the port of Vera Cruz, where they will be embarked on vessels pro-

[26] *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 82–4.

[27] Meaning, 'under the penalty of death you will not open this despatch till the 24th of June at nightfall.'

vided for that purpose. At the very moment of such arrest you will cause to be sealed the records of said houses, and the papers of such persons, without allowing them to remove anything but their prayer-books, and such garments as are absolutely necessary for the journey. If after the embarkation there should be found in that district a single Jesuit, even if ill or dying, you shall suffer the penalty of death. Yo el Rey," these last words being the sovereign's autograph signature, and meaning I, the king.[28]

Pursuant to this command the viceroy gave his orders; and on the 25th[29] of June, a little before daybreak, the Jesuits were arrested in their residences, and their papers[30] and effects seized. In the casa profesa the notification was made by José Areche, fiscal of the audiencia, to the father præpositus, the provincial, Salvador Gándara, being then absent in Querétaro, and the other members, all of whom humbly submitted, knelt down, and prayed.[31]

[28] *Dávila, J. M., P. Salvador Gándara*, in *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 547.

[29] Some modern authorities by mistake say it was on the 20th. *Zerecero, Mem. Rev. Mex.*, 442; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, iii. 264.

[30] Father Joseph Och repudiates the idea that anything detrimental to the Jesuits was found in their papers, but he made haste to destroy all the writings in his possession at the first opportunity. He denies the imputation that there was anything secret about the system or relations of the Jesuits, but perhaps forgets himself when he admits that many persons would have given $1,000 to speak to some of them when confined, and exults over the fact that one man actually did smuggle himself in under the pretence of being a doctor. *Och, Reise*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*, 94–6; *Och, Joseph, Nachrichten von seinen Reisen, 1757 bis 1767*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*. Halle, 1809. Och was a Jesuit priest who came to Mexico in 1756; soon after he was assigned to a mission in Pimería, and remained there till 1767, when he returned in ill-health to Mexico. He was one of the Jesuits expelled from the country, and seems to have been a sociable, jolly priest, and not over pious. His autograph memoirs contain much information on the country and its inhabitants, but little on missions. In treating of the enemies of his order he indulges freely in sarcasm, relating several exaggerated and even unsavory stories in reviling such government officials as had a hand in the expulsion. The memoirs were given by Abbot Franz Huberti to Murr, who published them, as he tells us, reforming them to suit the public taste. Father Och died of apoplexy in the Jesuit college of Würzburg early in July 1773, and only a few days before the suppression of his order.

[31] The commissioner having demanded the consumption of the consecrated hosts in the ciborium previous to forming an inventory and seizing the sacred vases, Father Iragorri inquired if the Jesuits present desired to take the communion, and all so expressed their wish. *Bustamante, Expatriacion*, in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 302; *Id., Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 2. Father Diego José Abad, a Tarasco Indian, uttered harsh remarks in Tarascan to

From that moment the Jesuits were kept confined in their colleges in Mexico, and troops were stationed in the crossings of the streets leading to them.

That same day the viceroy published an edict to all the inhabitants "de este imperio," notifying them of the king's peremptory order for the expulsion of the Jesuits, which he had put into execution. He warned all the king's vassals, without exception, of their duty to respect and obey his ever just decisions, which they were bound to venerate and aid to carry out with the utmost fidelity, or incur his Majesty's displeasure, and the severest punishment, should they by word of mouth or writing manifest any disapproval or hostility to the measure.[32] The people were told once for all that they were born to obey and hold their peace.[33]

On the 28th the Jesuits were conveyed in coaches strongly guarded by troops to Vera Cruz. At Guadalupe they were allowed by José de Galvez, the visitador, who superintended the proceedings, to enter the santuario, where they sent up prayers to heaven for the happiness of a people who had ever idolized them. Large crowds of sorrowful friends surrounded the carriages. The entry into Jalapa resembled a triumphal march, though it was attended by so much bitterness. The throng in the streets was so large that the troops in some places had to open a way with the but-ends of their muskets.[34] The exiles from the capital and neighboring parts finally arrived in Vera Cruz, where they were gradually joined by their brethren from other provinces, who had been arrested and treated in the same manner as themselves. Dur-

Father Iragorri. Areche then said to him: 'Father, were you to swear in Basque, you and your interlocutor must, whether it be to your liking or not, visit distant lands, and make your racket to people that do not know Indians as we do.' After which he confined Abad in a cell, and placed two sentries over him. *Zerecero, Mem. Rev. Mex.*, 442.

[32] 'Me veré precissado á usar del último rigor, y de execucion militar.' *Disposiciones Varias*, iv. 67.

[33] 'De una vez para lo venidero deben saber los súbditos de el gran Monarca que ocupa el Trono de España, que nacieron para callar, y obedecer, y no para discurrir, ni opinar en los altos assumptos del Govierno.' *Id.*

[34] *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 137–40.

ing the sojourn of the Jesuits in that port thirty-four of them died.

On the 24th[35] of October the government provided the requisite ships, and on that day the Jesuits embarked for Habana.[36] Four days out there was a violent gale which dispersed the convoy, and nearly caused the destruction of all. November 13th they reached Habana, and were kindly treated by the governor captain-general, their condition being truly pitiable. After recruiting their strength, having lost a few more members, they were reëmbarked December 23d for Cádiz, where they arrived the 30th of the following March.[37] They were then taken to the puerto de Santa María, and together with many others placed in an asylum. In the middle of June, 1768, having lost fifteen of their brethren by disease at Santa María, they were reëmbarked, those from Mexico numbering now about 528, for the Roman states, where they arrived only to be refused admission.[38] The unfortunate exiles were then obliged to wander about the Mediterranean, suffering for the necessaries of life, closely confined in the ships, and subject to the harsh treatment of the commander, till they were finally given refuge in Corsica. But as this island was the next year ceded to France,[39] they had to transfer themselves to Genoa, whence they eventually reached the papal states. In Naples and Parma, whose sovereigns depended on the king of Spain, the Jesuits met with no hospitality.

[35] Och's *Reise*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*, 79–138, gives the dates of embarkation as the 22d and 23d.

[36] It seems that ten priests, one escolar, and three coadjutors were after all permitted to remain in America, probably for advanced age and infirmities. Among them were fathers Francisco Chavez, José María Estrada, and Regis Salazar, kept in confinement in Puebla, and the first named eventually taken to Mexico. Eighteen novices abandoned the order in America, and 28 priests were allowed to remain in Spain. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 88–90.

[37] The barque *Bizarra*, with the provincial, Father Salvador de la Gándara, was driven upon the coast of Portugal, where she was on the brink of destruction. *Bustamante, Expatriacion*, in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 303; *Id., Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 3.

[38] *Expulsion des Jésuites*, 446.

[39] The duc de Choiseul would not let them stay there. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 319–20.

Nearly all writers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, even those who justify the act of expulsion, condemn the arbitrary and cruel manner of its execution. The Jesuits were arrested and violently handled, as if they had been guilty of heinous crimes, and without trial were driven from their homes and country, exposed to want,[40] and compelled to live in Italy under pain of forfeiting the pittance allowed them for their support out of the millions that had been ruthlessly taken from them.[41]

Returning again to Mexico, we shall see what occurred there. On the 18th of July 1767 the viceroy and audiencia issued an edict for the sequestration of the temporalities of the Jesuits, again warning the people to be obedient and submissive to the king's orders.[42] The expulsion of the society from Mexico was felt in various ways. It was a heavy blow to the

[40] This was in violation of the king's order, which expressly said that they should be well treated: 'Se les tratará en la execucion con la mayor decencia, atencion, humanidad y asistencia.' *Comp. Jesus, Col. Gen.*, 2.

[41] All the sovereigns of the Bourbon family demanded *vi et armis* of Pope Clement XIII. that he should abolish the society of Jesus forever, but he never acceded to the demand, and death came to relieve him of his responsibilities in 1768. His successor, Ganganelli, who took the name of Clement XIV., was a Franciscan. He at once set to work to restore harmony with the Catholic sovereigns, and was successful. But the sovereigns before mentioned being joined by Austria, and by the grand master of Malta—the last named had, April 22, 1768, exiled the Jesuits from his dominions, allowing annually to each eighty Roman scuti—insisted on the abolition of the obnoxious society, and even made demonstrations to force compliance. The pope at last submitting to the inevitable, on the 21st of July 1773, upon the plea that the society could no longer be useful, issued the famous bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*, for its extinction. *Clemente XIV., Bula*, 1–52; *Reales Órdenes*, v. 260-89; *Beaufort, Hist. de los Papas*, v. 330. After Clement's death, in September 1774, Pius VI. confirmed all the prohibitions against objecting to the suppression: 'imponiéndose perpetuo silencio en el asunto;' all violations were to be punished for disobedience and contempt of the mandates of the pope and the king, and any disturbance of the public peace and high treason. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 338. Jesuits residing in Prussia and Russia, engaged in the education of Roman Catholics, remained with the consent of the respective sovereigns, Frederick II. and Catherine II.

[42] March 14, 1768, was published another edict embodying a royal order of November 11, 1767, which forbade the return of Jesuits, under any name, character, or pretext, to the Spanish dominions, without the king's special leave. *Disposiciones Varias*, iv., nos. 68 and 69. April 3, 1769, the viceroy made known other orders of the king and council to suppress from the universities and colleges every chair called *Jesuítica;* and no texts of the order or recommended by it were to be thereafter used. In this he was seconded by the bishops. *Id.*, nos. 70–72; *Croix, Real Cédula*, Ag. 12, 1768; *Fabian, Col. de Providencias*, 455–61.

feelings of the people, because of the affection they bore it, and of the degradation inflicted on them by the assurance that they were mere serfs, born to obey, and not to think about, much less dispute, the acts of their master. Some persons, doubting the truth of the mandate, ventured to expostulate, and suffered for it.[43]

But in destroying what the royal government considered an evil which must be eradicated at all hazards,

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even against the dearest traditions of the people, every preparation had been made to confront any possible attempts at rebellion. The fact should not be lost sight

[43] A canon of Mexico, Francisco Javier de Esnaurrizar, for free utterances in private, was shut up in San Juan de Ulúa. Doctor Antonio Lopez Portillo, accused of being the author of a hostile article, was sent to Spain, and because of his great learning, then deemed very dangerous, was never permitted to return to his country. *Bustamante, Expatriacion*, in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 305; *Id., Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 5. In Jalisco the nuns sided with the Jesuits, and some fanatical prophecies were made in favor of the fathers' return. The bishop of the diocese in 1768 reproved

of that the natives of Spanish descent, being mostly attached to the Jesuits, and at the same time displeased at the preference shown by the government to subjects from Spain, in open violation of the right and privileges given the former in the laws of the Indies, were indignant at the treatment the Jesuits had met with, and which could be regarded as nothing less than rank despotism. In and near the capital, where the government had great military resources, the discontented could not openly resent the insult. But in the more distant parts the people imprudently gave vent to their feelings, and this in overt acts, planning a dangerous conspiracy against the Spaniards from Europe, and the government. There is no means of ascertaining what was its real scope, but it is believed that in Guanajuato, Michoacan, San Luis Potosí, and Querétaro, those who were engaged in it purposed to break the connection with Spain, and establish in Mexico a monarchy with a Mexican dynasty. The plan had been matured with great secrecy, but owing to an imprudent act the revolt broke out prematurely in the town of Apatzingan, seconded in Uruapan, and followed up in Pátzcuaro, Guanajuato, San Luis de la Paz, and other places. The pretext alleged was the king's rescript for the expulsion of the Jesuits. Everywhere was heard the cry of mueran! mueran! There were constant violations of law and order; life and property became insecure. The motto was "nuevo rey y nueva ley." The creation of a nobility and other hare-brained projects was contemplated; but nothing was done toward accomplishing the national independence except the removal from the court-rooms and

them, quoting the words of the royal cédula. *Rivas y Velasco, Carta Pastoral*, passim. The government itself violated the order for silence, by publishing a pamphlet which pretended to give chronologically the offences of the society from its installation. A pastoral of the bishop of Puebla of October 28, 1767, was severely criticised by one Sambeli, who used abusive language against the government, accusing it and its agents of robbery, and assuring the king that he would get no profit from the Jesuits' estates, because 'á los ministros que arduvieron en la danza se les ha pegado mucho en las uñas' .... 'quien hurta á ladron gana cien años de perdon.' *Fabian, Col. de Providencias*, 231–93; *Lexarza, Diligencias*, in *Pap. de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 4, 1–4.

other public places of the king's portraits, coats of arms, etc. Nor did the conspirators even attempt to restore order among their followers. When this state of things became known in Mexico, the viceroy clothed the visitador José de Galvez with full powers to crush the rebellion, and punish the leaders. Galvez appointed commissioners to investigate, under his direction, the cases of treason, reserving for his own more particular scrutiny those in Valladolid, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí. There was fighting in several places, Indians taking a prominent part, and, as might be expected, the disorganized rebels were soon defeated, the punishment of the leaders being both swift and severe.[44]

The Spanish and American Jesuits, to the number of about six thousand, residing in the pontifical capital and legations, were punctually paid their pensions. Some years later, in 1784, a royal order declared that they had a right to inherit and possess real and personal property, but this was subject to restrictions.[45]

[44] *Galvez, Informe del Visitador*, MS., 11–48, 54–81; *Galvez, Informe Gen.*, 138–9; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. ii. 62–4; *Iturribarría*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog. Boletin*, vii. 289–90; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 66; *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, x. 313. Upward of ninety persons perished on the scaffold, after undergoing the most cruel torture, and their limbs, exposed to view in high roads and public places, remained without burial for a long time. Many others were senteneed to cruel cudgelings, or to hard labor in chain-gangs, and not a few to imprisonment for life. *Mora, Rev. Méj.*, iii. 265–70; *El Indicador de la fed. Mex.*, iii. 151–4. The visitador not only hanged some of the rioters of Guanajuato, but laid a yearly tribute of $8,000 on the city, which proceeding told against the Spanish government in 1810. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus* (footnote), iii. 244. That odious tribute was paid by the *tribunal de mineria* every year till September 12, 1810, when Intendente Riaño, to propitiate the goodwill of the people and avert the revolution, repealed it. *Romero, Mich.*, 161.

[45] To prevent the removal from the Spanish dominions of the proceeds of such estates, they were to be administered by the nearest relatives of the heirs, without the privilege of selling, and with the obligation of investing moneys and other effects so as to obtain incomes therefrom. Ex-coadjutors, if unmarried, were to receive one half the income during their lifetime; if married, two thirds; the other half or third, as the case might be, was for the administrator of the estate. The same rule applied to novices. The children of ex-coadjutors or ex-novices were allowed to reside in the Spanish dominions, by first obtaining, should there be no objection to their personal behavior, a special passport from the crown. Ordained priests were allowed one half the income; at their death the estates were to go to their legal heirs *ab intestato*. Whenever an ex-Jesuit acquired by inheritance an income exceeding $200 a year, his pension from the crown was to cease. *Reales Órdenes*, v. 412–17.

In 1796, with the invasion of the pope's states, the remaining Jesuits became dispersed, and the few Americans returned to their respective countries. Some of them had their pensions doubled and trebled, and received other compensations. But the privilege of living in their native country did not last long. The Spanish government, controlled by Godoy, the favorite of King Cárlos IV., caused the last survivors to be confined in convents.[46]

The deputies from America and the Philippines to the national córtes in Spain, presented several petitions for the restoration of the society of Jesus in the Indies. The eleventh and last was on the 16th of December 1810, and was ratified on the 31st of the same month by new members from Mexico. The reasons[47] adduced were the great importance of the society in promoting science, and the progress of missions which introduced and spread the Christian faith among the

[46] *Bustamante, Expatriacion,* in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus,* iii. 304; *Id., Suplem.,* in *Cavo, Tres Siglos,* iii. 4. Father Rafael de Célis, a native of Vera Cruz, wrote in 1786 a catalogue of the province of Mexico containing biographical data, and showing the date of death of each member till the time of his own demise. The list was continued by Father Pedro Marquez. Only 99 were alive at the beginning of the 19th century; and in 1820, 96 of them were already dead. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo,* 3–202; *Gaz. Mex.* (1798–9), ix. 85–7. It is well known that several of the exiled Jesuits wrote voluminous works, for which the learned world has given them due credit. Among such writers were several natives of New Spain, from whose productions I have often quoted in the course of this work. Their names and writings will be duly noticed elsewhere. Others had won themselves in the eighteenth century an honorable and revered name in Mexico, for their virtues and apostolic zeal; namely, Antonio de Hordoñana, Francisco Chavez, Francisco Javier Solchaga, Juan Villavicencio; Francis Herman Glandorff, a native of Westphalia, the great apostle of Taraumara, who was compared with Saint Francis Xavier, and died August 9, 1763; Juan Francisco Iragorri, the 'santo americano;' Francisco Javier Gomez; Juan Perez, of whom Father Oviedo said that a man of approved spirit saw 'subir su alma de la cama al cielo, sin pasar por el purgatorio'—seeing the soul fly up is certainly a dramatic form of expression. Perez died in March, 1780; he was noted for the charitable care he took of insane females. Then there were Agustin Arriola, Manuel Alvarez, Juan Carnero, who foretold the day of his death; José de Guevara, Cristóbal Flores, Salvador de la Gándara, Manuel Arce, Pedro Canton, Juan Antonio de Oviedo, Juan Mayora, and Agustin Marquez. Excepting Glandorff, Gomez, Perez, and Alvarez, the above named were born in New Spain. *Mayora, Rel.,* 1–78; *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.,* i.–x. passim; *Jesus, Cat. Comp.,* 200; *Lazcano, Vida del P. Oviedo,* 1–582; *Pap. de Jesuitas,* MS., no. 20, 1–31; *Castañiza, Rel.,* frontispiece.

[47] The new deputies asked for their consideration, 'con la preferencia que demandan las Américas, y la urgencia de que somos testigos.' *Bustamante, Defensa Comp. Jesus,* 15–16.

Indians. Nothing was done, however, till Pius VII., by bull of August 7, 1814, reinstated the society. Fernando VII. issued his exequatur September 17, 1815, appointing a board to restore, as far as possible, the sequestered property. The royal order was executed in Mexico, the solemn installation of the Jesuits being made May 19, 1819, at the college of San Ildefonso, which was delivered to fathers José María Castañiza, Antonio Barroso, and Pedro Canton, natives of Mexico, and members of the late society.[48] But the persecuted society was not long to enjoy peace. It was again expelled by a decree of the Spanish córtes of 1820, which was carried out in New Spain in January 1821.[49] The disposal made of the society's property and missions will appear in connection with financial and general church affairs, treated of separately in this volume.

The first attempt to record the labors of the Jesuit order in America was the *Historia de la Provincia de la compañia de Jesus de Nueva España*, by Francisco de Florencia, one of the society, published in Mexico in 1694. This was a mere beginning, however, for although the author evidently intended to complete the work it was never extended beyond the first volume. The period covered is the decade beginning in 1571, during which the Jesuit establishments at Mexico, Pátzcuaro, and Oajaca were founded. Beyond the facts connected with these establishments, and the lives of the founders and first two provincials of the order in Mexico, the historical data are meagre. The arrangement is faulty, the dates for many important events are wanting, and the style is that common to the monkish chroniclers of the fourteenth century. The most extensive account of Florencia's life is given by Beristain. According to this author he was born in Florida in 1620, studied in the college of San Ildefonso of Mexico, and in 1643 took the Jesuit habit. Having successfully occupied the chairs of philosophy and theology in the Jesuit college of San Pedro y San Pablo, acquiring considerable fame in the capital as a preacher, and having held several important commissions in connection with the inquisition, he was appointed in 1688 procurator of his province at Madrid and Rome. Subsequently he filled for several years the office of procurator-general at Seville of all the provinces in the Indies. He finally returned to Mexico, where he died in his seventy-fifth year.

Of his numerous writings, which are wholly of a religious character, and some of which have passed through several editions, his fame rests chiefly on

[48] Father Canton had been quietly living in the country since 1808. *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iv. 176.

[49] *Id.*, 177; *Id., Defensa Comp. Jesus*, 17.

the work already cited, and the *Zodiaco Mariano*, Mex., 1755, a posthumous work of considerable importance for the ecclesiastical history of Spanish North America, in which the details are narrated with great fulness, with names, dates, and circumstances, and with authorities and bibliographical citations. Nicolás Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova*, i. 426, makes no mention of these two works, only two of his earlier and less important publications being cited. Of the author he says 'tum Roma, tum Hispali omnium Indicarum provinciarum procurator.' Alcedo, *Bib. Am.*, MS., i. 400–1, who follows Antonio, adds to the latter's list two more works of the same class. While Beristain's list of this author's works is very complete, Sabin gives some valuable information relative to the various editions.

Florencia's incompleted task was destined to be continued by one greater than he, but who, like him, was also fated to leave the work unfinished. His successor, Francisco Javier Alegre, was born in 1729 at Vera Cruz, where he received his early education and studied Latin. Thence he passed to Puebla, where, having distinguished himself in the study of philosophy and the other branches taught at that period, he began a course of canonical law at the capital. On the 19th of March 1794 he took the habit at the Jesuit college of Tepozotlan. During his novitiate he committed to memory the works of St Francis of Sales, and the ascetic writings of Friar Luis de Granada and others, and, after professing, diligently devoted himself to the study of the Latin writers of the golden age. Later he dedicated himself with such earnestness to the study of theology that his astonishing progress in this science gained for him the applause of his companions, but so affected his health as to compel his transfer to Habana. There he taught philosophy, and perfected himself in Greek, mathematics, and the modern languages. Seven years later he passed to the Jesuit college recently opened in Mérida, Yucatan, where after a few years, his superiors recognizing his fitness for the work, he was called to Mexico to continue the history of the society.

Availing himself of the work of Florencia, the valuable writings of Ribas, Kino, Fray Martin Perez, Friar Ignacio Trysk, and an immense mass of annual reports and private correspondence, he described in a simple but correct and elegant style the extensive labors of his order from their establishment in Florida in 1566 to about 1765, when its members had already completed the conquest of the north-western provinces of New Spain. Two volumes in manuscript had thus far been completed, when two years later the further continuation of the work was prevented by the expulsion of the society. Having, with the majority of his exiled companions, taken up his residence at Bologna, he continued his studies and teachings, published a translation of the Iliad, wrote *Alexandriada*, a poem on the conquest of Tyre by Alexander, and finished fourteen books on *Elementos de Geometria*, and four lectures on *Secciones Cónicas*. Here also he wrote the most famous of his works, the *Instituciones Teológicas*, consisting of eighteen books in seven volumes, and published a year after his death, which occurred August 16, 1788, near Bologna. In all, he wrote twenty works, which are enumerated by Beristain, *Bib. Hisp.-Am.*, i. 54. Alegre's early studies are evident in his various works, his good taste and judgment being everywhere apparent. His expressions against the enemies of the society are moderate, and

the space given to religious rhapsodies and accounts of miracles not excessive. His *Historia de la Compañia*, the best work of its kind left by the Jesuits, and invaluable for the history of the north-west provinces of Mexico, remained unpublished until 1841, when it was rescued from oblivion by the efforts of the celebrated Mexican writer, Cárlos María Bustamante. In May of this year a bill to permit the re-establishment of the Jesuits in Mexico was laid before congress and supported, among others, by Bustamante, who sought to influence the public in their favor by the publication of this work. It was issued in 1841–2, in 3 vols. with notes and a portrait of the author.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MEXICO UNDER A REORGANIZED SYSTEM.

1769-1790.

Separate Government for the Provincias Internas—Intendencias of Provinces—Changes Effected and Final Establishment—Viceroy and Archbishop Alonso Nuñez de Haro—His High Character and Previous Record—Extraordinary Honors Conferred on Him by the Crown—His Death and Burial—Calamitous Visitations—Epidemics and Earthquakes—Their Effect on the Ignorant—Viceroy Manuel Antonio Florez—His Previous Career—War against the Apaches—English and Russians Watched in the Pacific—General Policy of This Ruler—Resignation, and Cause of It—Special Favor Shown Him by the Crown—His Departure for Spain—Obsequies of and Mourning for Cárlos III.—Grand Proclamation of Cárlos IV.—Honors to Royal Personages.

The expediency of reorganizing the government of New Spain was one of the primary questions that engaged the attention of the visitador general, José de Galvez, during his sojourn in the country. In accord with Viceroy de Croix, who ruled for the king at the time, he formed and laid before the crown a plan for its better administration, which was approved and ordered to be carried out. That plan provided among other things for the creation of a government, comandancia general, and superintendencia de hacienda, entirely independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain, in the *provincias internas,* so called, including Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias, together with Coahuila, Texas, and New Mexico; the new governor to have also the *patronato real,* a prerogative that will be fully treated of in another part of this volume. Though clothed likewise with judicial pow-

ers, the governor was practically relieved from the duties attendant thereon by the process of referring to the audiencia of Guadalajara all judicial matters coming to him on appeal. Thus he was enabled to devote a large portion of his attention to military and financial affairs with perfect independence of any New World authority. Full particulars upon this new organization are given in another subdivision of my work.[1] Suffice it to add here that after this part of the plan had undergone several changes, a final arrangement was made under royal decrees of the 23d and 24th of November, 1792, with the reorganization of a comandancia general de provincias internas, comprising Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, Texas, and Coahuila, independent of the viceroy.[2] The two Californias, Nuevo Leon, and the colony of Nuevo Santander were attached to the viceroyalty of New Spain. This last arrangement went into effect in 1793, and was still in force in the early years of the present century.[3]

The other part of the plan adopted by the crown in 1769 upon the joint recommendation of the marqués de Croix and Visitador general Galvez, on the 15th of January, 1768, for an entire change in the organization of the government, was that of suppressing the corregidores and alcaldes mayores, of whom there were about two hundred in the districts of the audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara. These officials were deemed prejudicial, for the reason that having to support themselves, to pay off the debts contracted for obtaining their office, and to retire with a fortune, they resorted to any means to secure these ends.[4] Viceroy Linares gave them a bad char-

[1] *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., this series.

[2] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., 545–6; *Instruc. Vireyes*, 201.

[3] *Real Órden*, May 30, 1804, in *Mayer's MSS.*, no. 3; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 5.

[4] 'No perdonan comunmente arbitrio, por injusto ó extraordinario que sea.' *Galvez, Informe*, 17–18.

acter early in the century,[5] regarding them as a miserable set for the most part, bent on plunder and other malefeasances.

The plan proposed was the creation of intendencias in Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Oajaca, Valladolid, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Nueva Galicia, Durango, Sonora, and Sinaloa, New Mexico, and the Californias, with a gobernador intendente at the head of each, charged with the four important branches of the public service, namely, government and police, justice, treasury, and war. Excepting those of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, and Sonora, they were to have also the patronato real.[6] Viceroy Bucareli could not see the advantage of these intendentes, with so many and enlarged powers, feeling certain that they never could efficiently perform their manifold duties, owing mainly to the difficulty in procuring competent subordinates for the sub-districts of the vast extent of territory assigned to each intendencia. He preferred to see reforms introduced more slowly.

The scheme seems to have lain dormant till toward the end of 1786, when by a royal ordinance countersigned by José de Galvez, as *ministro universal de Indias*, New Spain, including Yucatan and Nueva Galicia, was divided into twelve intendencias, namely, one intendencia general for the province of Mexico, and the intendencias of Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Durango, Sonora, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mérida, Oajaca, Valladolid, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí, taking the names of their capitals, and each having at its head a gobernador intendente. The head towns and residences of such officers were made the seats of corregimientos, a rank that several of them had not before. Under this ordinance the alcaldes mayores were dis-

[5] He pithily said of them, 'desde el ingreso de su empleo faltan á Dios, en el juramento que quiebran; al rey, en los repartimientos que hacen; y al comun de los naturales, en la forma con que los tiranizan.' *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 13.

[6] *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 371–87; *Intendentes, Real Órd.*, 410; *Deleña, Recop.*, ii. 86; *Villarrcel, Justa Repulsa*, MS., 2; *Rivera, Gob. Méx.*, i. 428.

continued, and subdelegados, alcaldes ordinarios, and asesores were created; the last named must needs be learned in the law, acting as legal advisers of their chiefs in all matters, and as jueces letrados. This plan was considered by the supreme government as the best adapted to the condition of America, combining unity and centralization of authority, with dependence of each official upon a higher one till the highest was reached, namely, the viceroy or captain-general, who with the audiencia had ample superior authority for all cases of justice, government, and war; while the superintendente de hacienda, with his *junta superior*, amply provided for all fiscal exigencies.

But the system involved innovations of a radical character, such as could but meet with disapprobation among a large class. Every one took a different view of the matter, according to his convictions, prejudices, or interests. Indeed, few thought well of the change, and some even foretold a complete subversion of New Spain if the *ordenanza de intendencias* were actually put in practice.[7] This was done, how-

[7] The interference with the viceroy's powers was one of the objectionable points. Since the enactment of the law of December 15, 1588, confirmed by Felipe III. July 19, 1614, the viceroy's authority or functions had remained untouched; and now, it was claimed, the regulation virtually lowered him to a mere provincial governor and captain-general; in political affairs he was reduced to little more than an alcalde ordinario, and even much of his military authority was curtailed and transferred to the intendentes. As for the administration of justice and of the finances, it was taken away from him altogether. The abolition of the alcaldes mayores to be replaced by subdelegados, alcaldes ordinarios, and asesores was looked upon as a deliberate blow struck at the administration of justice and police by diverting these two branches from the old channels. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 543–4; *Villarroel, Justa Repulsa*, 33–7, 42–8, 76–7.

In the *Enfermedades políticas que padece la Capital de esta Nueva España en casi todos los Cuerpos de que se compone*, Mex. 1785–7, MS., 4to, 4 vols., the author, Hipólito Villarroel, gives a review of the administrative system of New Spain in all its branches, pointing out alleged defects, and suggesting remedies. The corrupt condition of the government in the capital, and the consequent degenerate morals of its inhabitants, occupy much of his attention. Some facts are also given in regard to the condition of the Indians within and without the capital, and on the character, manners and customs, and race mixtures of the inhabitants. The workings of the courts of justice, particularly those of the tribunal de la acordada, and tribunal de minería, laws for the suppression of intemperance and gambling, and the state of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, are made to appear. Volumes i. and iii. entitled as above are divided into five parts. They were published, with a few unimportant verbal changes by Cárlos M. Bustamante, under the

ever, to the great chagrin of cavillers. Early in 1787 arrived in New Spain several of the intendentes appointed for the provinces. A royal order of October 25, 1787, required such officials to produce their commissions to the viceroy, who would endorse them, place the appointees in office, and notify the audiencia of the fact. The intendentes had to apprise the viceroy of the persons appointed by them as subdelegados, and this was also made known to the audiencia of Mexico.[8] Like all radical measures in government, the present one did not work well at first. After three years' experience the new system was found defective in many points, and loud were the laments and predictions of calamity.[9] Some trifling changes had been effected, one of which was that of annexing the superintendencia general to the viceregal office. Many of the other intendencias had been filled with men of ability and integrity, but of little or no administrative experience, and entirely ignorant of the country's peculiar needs. This was a serious mistake which caused the many defects of the system to be still more glaring. Constant suggestions were made to the king for reforms, but they all remained unheeded.[10] The

title of *México por Dentro y Fuera, bajo el gobierno de los vireyes, ó sea Enfermedades políticas*, etc. Mex., 1831, 8vo, 183. Vol. iv., bearing the title of *Justa Repulsa del Reglamento de Intendencias*, given as an appendix to the foregoing work, is taken up chiefly with strictures on that ordinance. These manuscripts are probably original, and the signatures of Villarroel appended to them with a rúbrica, in his own handwriting. Bustamante, in a criticism of the work in No. 24 of his periodical *La Voz de la Patria*, speaks of the author as one who had a thorough knowledge of the state of New Spain, and of his belief that Viceroy Revilla Gigedo had it before him when he formed his wise instructions for his successors; adding likewise that many of the reforms there recommended by Villarroel were from time to time adopted.

[8] Intendentes residing within the district of the audiencia of Guadalajara, had to notify it of the appointed subdelegados. March 21, 1793, the king ordained that such intendentes should take the official oath before that court. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 5–6; *Cédulario*, MS., iii. 10–11. *Antoneli* in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2a ep., ii. 338.

[9] The necessity of amending some of the articles of the regulation and suppressing others had been represented to the crown. *Flores, Instruc.* 15–18, in *Linares, Instruc.*, MS.

[10] Viceroy Revilla Gigedo recommended that some of the intendencias, such as Guadalajara, Vera Cruz, and Yucatan, should be intrusted to military officers of high rank, like mariscales de campo and brigadiers; others to colonels; and the rest might be placed in charge of civilians. He also suggested the creation of one intendencia for the four eastern provincias internas, one for

intendencia of Guadalajara, one of the most important, that city being the seat of an audiencia, an episcopal see, and a university, was placed in charge of a high military officer,[11] the brigadier Jacobo de Ugarte y Loyola, who on the 14th of March, 1791, assumed the duties of his offices.[12] Another extensive intendencia was that of Vera Cruz[13] with a length of two hundred and ten leagues, and a width of from twenty-five to thirty leagues.

In 1804, and from that time to the end of the Spanish domination, the country was divided into twelve intendencias, to wit: Sonora and Sinaloa, Durango, Zacatecas, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato, Valladolid, Mexico, Oajaca, Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Mérida; besides the three provinces of New Mexico, Antigua California, and Nueva California.[14]

The intendentes, acting in some provinces as governors and in others as corregidores, had the ordinary royal jurisdiction, subject respectively to the superior government and the courts of justice. As regards Yucatan there was some difference; the gobernador intendente was subject to the viceroy, audiencia, and superintendente de hacienda of New Spain, in mat-

Chihuahua, and one for Tabasco; the last to be in charge of a military man. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., 80–110.

[11] The intendencia was bounded on the north by Nueva Viscaya, on the south by that of Valladolid, on the west by Sonora and the Pacific Ocean, on the east by Zacatecas and Guanajuato. *Descripcion*, etc., in *Col. de Diarios*, etc., MS., 241.

[12] He called himself comandante general, presidente, gobernardor intendente of the provinces comprised within the kingdom of Nueva Galicia. *Ugarte y Loyola, Relacion*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ep. iii. 307, 314.

[13] It had on the east, Yucatan and the gulf of Mexico; on the west the intendencias of Oajaca, Puebla, and Mexico; on the north, the colonies of Nuevo Santander, later known as Tamaulipas. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 150–1.

[14] The following shows the area and population of each intendencia in 1803: Sonora and Sinaloa, 19,143 square leagues, pop. 121,400; Durango, 16,873 sq. l., pop. 159,700; Zacatecas, 2,355 sq. l., pop. 153,300; Guadalajara, 9,612 sq. l., pop. 630,500; San Luis Potosí, 27,821 sq. l., pop. 331,900; Guanajuato, 911 sq. l., pop. 517,300; Valladolid, 3,447 sq. l., pop. 376,400; Mexico, 5,927 sq. l., pop. 1,511,900; Puebla, 2,696 sq. l., pop. 813,300; Vera Cruz, 4,141 sq. l., pop. 156,000; Oajaca, 4,447 sq. l., pop. 534,800; Mérida, 5,977 sq. l., pop. 465,800. Adding the three provinces: New Mexico, 5,709 sq. l., pop. 40,200; Antigua California, 7,295 sq. l., pop. 9,000; Nueva California, 2,125 sq. l., pop. 15,600. Totals, 118,478 sq. l., pop. 5,837,100. *Humboldt, Versuch*, i. no. 3, 14–245; *Id., Essai Polit.*, 145–60.

ters of government, judiciary, and finances, respectively; but was independent in his military position, being clothed with the title of captain-general. The expediency of creating the office of intendente corregidor for the province of Mexico was suggested to the crown by several viceroys.[15]

Soon after the king's government learned of the death of Viceroy Galvez, it sent out a temporary appointment to Doctor Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta,[16] a member of the royal council, and archbishop of Mexico, who thus became the fiftieth viceroy.[17] The archbishop was a native of Villagarcía, of the diocese of Cuenca in Spain, born on the 31st of October 1729. He began his literary studies in the university of Toledo, and finished them at Bologna, where he subsequently was rector of the college of San Clemente. Later he became professor of theology, and a doctor of divinity of the last named college, and of the university of Ávila. This honor he received when only eighteen years of age. Haro was a great linguist, having a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, and Latin, and being able to converse and write with as much ease and perfection in Italian and French[18] as in his native tongue. When still very young he paid a visit to Rome, and Benedict XIV. was so much pleased with his erudition that he specially recommended him to the royal prince Luis de Borbon, cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, and primate of Spain. In after years Doctor Haro filled several high ecclesiastical positions, acquiring an enviable reputation for learning and pulpit eloquence,

[15] *Marquina, Instruc. al Vir. Iturrigaray, 1803*, in *Instruc. Vireyes*, 204.

[16] *Disposiciones Varias*, iii. 43; *Alzate, Gaz.*, ii. 412, iii. 3. I possess his autograph signature in *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., v. 4, and in *Doc. Ecles., Mex.*, MS., no. 7.

[17] There is nothing to explain why the audiencia, without having offended, was slighted. The only reason that may be adduced is that the marqués de Sonora meant the appointment of Haro to be a mark of esteem for the high honor and consideration he had extended to his nephew.

[18] *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 199–200. A distinguished author and theologian. *Gaz. Mex.* (1800–1), x. 137–8.

until in 1771 Cárlos III. nominated him to succeed Lorenzana as archbishop of Mexico. The pope, Clement XIV., on issuing his confirmatory bulls, granted the new appointee more powers, indulgences, and favors than any of his predecessors ever had, and the congregation de propaganda fide trusted him with a delicate commission.

The new prelate arrived in Vera Cruz the 12th of September, 1772; he was consecrated in Puebla on the 13th, and on the 22d assumed the government of the archdiocese, devoting from that time his talents and energies to the faithful discharge of his duties, and soon winning for himself the respect and love of his flock. Among the tasks that he completed under the king's special instructions were the by-laws for the foundling-house in Mexico, which his predecessor had been unable to do. For this and for the monthly pension of two hundred pesos which he bestowed on that establishment, the king manifested his satisfaction. With the royal approval he founded in the old novitiate house of the Jesuits in Tepozotlan an ecclesiastic college, amply endowing it. The college was in many respects superior to any institution of the kind in the mother country.

During the desolating epidemic of 1779 he seconded the viceroy in every way, making most generous provision for the indigent sick; and while the scourge lasted, one year and four months, he supported at his own cost a well provided hospital with 400 beds.[19]

[19] At the end of that calamity Haro resolved to make the hospital, named San Andrés, a permanent establishment, and between Sept. 26, 1784, and Feb. 10, 1790, he expended upon it nearly $460,000 without asking any aid. The same large-hearted philanthropy was again shown by him during the small-pox epidemic of 1797, as president of the chief board of charity; he then gave $12,000 to the above named hospital, and $12,000 more for the indigent that could not go to it. He specially rewarded priests who became prominent in affording spiritual and material relief to the sick poor. To his activity and pious zeal was due the rapid construction of the new convent of Capuchin nuns in the town of Guadalupe with every improvement and convenience for children and their teachers. To that work Haro contributed upwards of $43,000 in four years, besides liberally giving toward its support till his death. *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 201. This author refers for his information to *Flores, Resúmen hist. de la vida, conducta pastoral y política* of Archbishop Haro.

In 1785 serious injury befell the country from heavy frosts. Haro, in conjunction with the conde de Galvez, rendered all possible aid, placing at the disposal of the curates in the tierra caliente, Huasteca, and the Sierra, nearly $100,000 to be distributed among the ruined agriculturists. The results were so satisfactory that the prelate not only won the gratitude of those benefited, but also the king's warmest commendations and thanks.[20]

With such a record Haro y Peralta was certainly entitled to the mark of confidence reposed in him in being called to the temporary rule over New Spain by the royal order of February 25, 1787. He took possession of the office on the 8th of May,[21] and held it until the 16th of August of the same year. Within his short rule he brought to an end all the affairs that the former viceroy had left pending at his death, and likewise all those that from day to day were submitted to his consideration for despatch. He forwarded Doctor Sesse's plan of a botanic garden, and resolved the difficult matter of the intendencias, from which much benefit to the native race was expected. In this he encountered some trouble, but managed to calm the excited passions of those whose interests were injured by the innovation; and while the royal behests were fully carried out, the dignity of the ruler was also upheld.[22] He placed in Habana and La Guaira large amounts of money for the purchase of negroes from the English dealers. He declined to draw his salary. He discharged the viceregal as he had the pastoral duties, with tact and uprightness, his fine education and elegant manners aiding at all times to enhance the merit of his acts.

[20] A royal order of May 19, 1786, says that the king's heart was filled with joy on seeing how munificently his vassals had been succored. He was fully satisfied that Haro's appointment to Mexico had been a most judicious one.

[21] The baton of command was delivered him at the top of the stairs in the corridors of the palace; thence he went to the hall of the real acuerdo, where he took the oath of office administered by the secretary of the audiencia, José Mariano Villaseca. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1786–7), ii. 354; *Gomez, Diario*, 211–13.

[22] *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 130.

The king in council, wishing to reward his efficiency and rectitude, directed that, after his surrender of the viceregal office and its appendages to his successor, there should he continued to him the address of Excelentísimo é Ilustrísimo Señor, and the honors of a captain-general, the viceroy's guard paying him during the rest of his life the same honors as when he held the office of viceroy. And this was done, although his successor was churlish enough to make objection. Not content with that, the king conferred on him the grand cross of the royal and distinguished order of Cárlos III. The seat in the royal council must have been given him at a much earlier date.[23]

The archbishop's course and exemplary life throughout his twenty-eight years of service had made him highly esteemed at court, as was evident in upward of one hundred and ten royal cédulas, letters, and other writings, from the king's ministers and council, which conveyed the approval of some act, and the appreciation of his merits.[24] After a year's painful illness the prelate died on the 26th of May, 1800, at the age of seventy years, an event that caused the deepest sorrow throughout all classes. He was the

[23] Among the printed works of that period in which he is mentioned with these honors is *Xaroscharó, Josefa, Version parafrástica.* The archbishop's efforts and large donations were not confined to benevolent, religious, and educational purposes. For the construction of a dockyard on the Alvarado River he gave $80,000; for the wars against France and England, $100,000 and $90,000 respectively; for printing the work entitled *Flora Americana*, $2,000; for a statue of Cárlos IV., $6,000; besides other considerable sums, including $37,000 for enlarging the archiepiscopal palace, and $24,000 in aid of the poor stricken by small-pox in 1797. None of the above contributions includes the annual and monthly alms he gave, nor his large presents to his cathedral church, nor the cost of gold and silver medals that he caused to be struck and sent to Spain to commemorate Cárlos IV.'s elevation to the throne. During his episcopacy Haro confirmed in parishes of his archdiocese nearly 700,000 persons, and ordained 11,197 priests, of whom 6,958 were secular and 4,239 regular of the several religious orders. *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 203–5.

[24] *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 461; *Id., Hist. Jalapa*, 149; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 77–8. Bustamante, who was not given to glorifying the men who held power during the Spanish domination, does full justice to the purity of purpose and valuable services to Mexico of this distinguished man: 'Su memoria será suave á la posteridad, excitará sentimientos de justa gratitud y alabanza.' *Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 193. 'Pastor espiritual, el mas celoso y caritativo ejemplo de Padre de todos.' *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 55.

twenty-fifth archbishop of Mexico, and his funeral was marked by the usual pomp.[25]

New Spain during the eighteenth century was visited by calamities in various forms—epidemics, of which I have spoken elsewhere, storms and floods,[26] and last, and yet more destructive and terrorizing, earthquakes, the severest of which were probably those experienced between the 28th of March and the 17th of April, 1787,[27] in the city of Mexico and

[25] *Del Barrio, Panegírico Oratio; Cándamo, G. G., Sermon de honras; Casaus, R., Oracion fúnebre; Nuñez, Ild., Relacion de la fún. cerem.*

[26] In 1762 the city of Guanajuato had a flood brought on by heavy rains, which destroyed her best buildings, temples, mines, etc. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 8. Snow fell in Mexico—a very rare phenomenon—the 2d of February, 1767, doing some damage. *Alzate, Gacetas*, ii. 311. An inundation in Guanajuato July 27, 1780, made it necessary to raise the level of the greater part of that city, and many fine edifices were accordingly buried. *Romero, Mich.*, 159. From 15th to 20th December, 1783, Teutitlan del Valle had heavy storms of sleet—a strange spectacle for that region—which did great damage among the flocks of sheep and grain-fields. They were followed on the 21st by a tremendous rain, half an hour before which a subterranean rumbling was heard which filled the people thereabout with fear. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1784–5), i. 10.

[27] The 10th of March, 1727, was a fatal day for Oajaca City, which was visited by terrific shocks. Many buildings were thrown down, and others so much injured that they had to be demolished. The 18th had been fixed for public prayers and a procession, when in its midst a still more violent shock than any preceding occurred, frightening and dispersing the people; fortunately, there was no loss of life. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 226–7. On the 4th of April, 1768, at about 6:30 in the morning, the city of Mexico had a shock; no record existed of any previous one of like force. The fountains were half emptied by the earth's vibrations. It lasted over seven minutes. Not a building, large or small, but showed the ravages caused by the unwelcome visitor. The shock was also felt in the town of Natividad Ixtlala; the ground opened, and out of the fissure, which was of about 12 inches in width, and of great depth, rushed a stormy wind for a while. *Alzate, Gacetas*, ii. 27–35, 445, 448. In August, 1773, a severe earthquake so damaged several bridges in and about Mexico City that guards were placed to prevent the passage of laden vehicles. April 21, 1776, the city was again scourged in the same manner. The archbishop fled to Guadalupe; the viceroy bivouacked in his garden; the wealthiest citizens abandoned their houses, some sleeping outside of the city in their coaches, others in the ranchos of the suburbs. The people generally betook themselves to prayer and penitence. The shocks in Mexico lasted 20 days, and in other parts about 50. The havoc to buildings everywhere was great. Acapulco was almost entirely destroyed. Even small houses were thrown down, and just back of the town, part of a hill top slid away. *Escamilla, Noticias Curiosas de Guat.*, 40; *Masson, Olla Podrida*, 90. The following year, at about 12:18 in the night of the 8th–9th of October a terrific shock lasting ninety seconds visited Antigua Vera Cruz, very much damaging the church, which had not been repaired yet in 1782. *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, MS., i. no. 2, 1–52. Again, in 1784 on the 13th of January, Guanajuato was greatly shaken. The shocks lasted till early in February; they had been preceded by such terrific subterranean noises that the people, fear-

other places, and more particularly felt in its effects at the port of Acapulco. On the 28th of March, at about seventeen minutes past eleven in the morning, the capital felt some of the severest shocks that ever befell that city. They lasted nearly six minutes, and the vibrations from north to south with some inclination to the north-west were so heavy as to cause much injury to the buildings. A repetition of the shocks occurred at 12:15, sometimes from east to west, and at others from north to south. During the rest of the day five more took place.

In Oajaca City the effects were, if possible, more alarming. The first shock was very strong at 11:15; the second being no less severe, the endangered citizens rushed to the plaza mayor as a place affording some safety. The damage to buildings was at once seen. The new and strongly built casas reales showed large cracks in the walls, and some of the cornices had fallen. The prisoners in the jail, some two hundred and twenty, implored removal, which was attended to with the requisite precautions. Measures were promptly taken by the authorities for the protection of life and property, and to avoid unnecessary confusion. During the whole of that day and the 29th the quaking of the earth ceased only at short intervals. It continued with increasing force on the 30th till 11:30 in the morning, when it stopped, but only to begin anew more severely at four in the afternoon. A more tremendous shock than the first one of the 28th took place at 11 o'clock that night, and

ing that a volcano was on the point of breaking out, fled in confusion, leaving most of their valuables behind. All the efforts of the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastic, to check the exodus were unavailing, and finally, 200 men were put under arms to keep the inhabitants in. After a month the noise ceased; it had been like that of a heavy wagon on a gravel road, terminating in a loud detonation. Then the self-exiled returned to their homes to suffer from want of food, which traders had feared to bring. Some supposed the noise to have been caused by large rocks that disengaged themselves from some mountain-top near by. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1784–5), i. 15, 16, 18–19, 27; *Martinez, Sermon de Gracias*, 1–23; *Romero, Mich.*, 168–9; *Dicc. Univ. Hist. Geog.*, iii. 720–1; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 641–2. On the 23th of July of the same year, in the city of Mexico was felt a strong vibration. *Alzate, Gacetas*, iv. 381.

injured still more the casas reales and other edifices. This dreadful state of things continued till daybreak on the 31st, when only a slight motion was felt. In the afternoon at five o'clock, after a violent hurricane, there fell a heavy rain. A rumor was circulated that the San Felipe hill, distant about three miles from the city, and supposed to be filled with water, had burst open, and so great was the terror which seized the people, that they fled in the direction of other hills. It was only with much difficulty that the authorities convinced them of their mistake and induced them to return. The motion of the earth ceased

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on the 3d of April, when opportunity was offered to inspect the damages. Besides the royal houses, the cathedral, the convents of La Merced and San Francisco, and many other fine buildings had greatly suffered. Nearly all the families had sought shelter under tents raised by them in the plazas and open fields near the city. Fortunately there were no casualties, and, thanks to the timely measures adopted, no scarcity of food, or robberies.[28]

[28] The audiencia, then governing the kingdom, and the local authorities at the respective places had prayers made to heaven for mercy and the cessation of the scourge. *Gaz. de Méx.* (1786–7), ii. 327–31; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 226; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, ii. 107.

From Acapulco the commander of the fort reported a strange action of the sea, which receded and then advanced, without forming high waves, at mid-day; after two o'clock, it would recede ten feet in four minutes, and rise again the same distance in six minutes. Over one hundred yards of beach were left bare each time the waters retired. At four in the afternoon the sea rose twelve feet, overflowing the

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pier and some houses. The royal treasure was removed to the hospital, and the merchants removed their goods for safety. This alarming action of the ocean lasted twenty-four hours, the agitation of the waters becoming less and less after five o'clock. A large quantity of live-stock was carried off by the sea. The earthquakes with their consequent damages were also experienced in Teutitlan del Valle. In Vera Cruz, Chilapa, and many other places the people were sub-

jected to the same alarms, but no serious damage seems to have been done to property.

Imaginary afflictions were not wanting. A brilliant meteor was observed about seven o'clock in the evening of the 24th of January, 1678, running from west to east, and made the city lights look pale and sickly; it disappeared after passing the meridian, previous to which it threw out sparks of a red color similar to those of a rocket. No report was heard in Mexico, but the people of Tacubaya and other places asserted that they had clearly heard it, and felt much alarmed. Between seven and eight in the evening of November 14, 1789,[29] an aurora borealis was seen, which covered a large portion of the hemisphere on the north side. Surely the end of all things was at hand. The heavenly fire attained its greatest intensity an hour later, when red and yellow light glared threateningly. In yet another hour it had disappeared, leaving New Spain unscorched.

The fifty-first viceroy, Manuel Antonio Florez,[30] was a lieutenant-general, or vice-admiral of the royal navy, a knight of the order of Calatrava, and commander of Molinos and Laguna-rota of the same order. He arrived at Vera Cruz on the line of battle ship *San Julian*, after a voyage of fifty-six days, on the 18th of July, 1787, bringing his family, one of whom was Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Florez, who had the appointment of *castellano*, or commandant of the fort at Acapulco.[31]

[29] *Alzate, Gacetas*, i. 231–4; iv. 445; *Gaz. de Méj.* (1788–9), iii. 432–3; *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 140.

[30] The list of his names as appearing at the head of all his edicts, were, besides the above, Maldonado Martinez de Angulo y Bodquin. I possess several of the *rúbricas* or scrolls that he usually added to his signature. During his rule the king, to relieve him of much labor, allowed that he should affix only his *media firma*, that is to say, his first surname with the scroll, to public documents that were neither warrants nor orders in any way involving payment of moneys out of the royal treasury, nor original despatches to the sovereign, his ministers or council. *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 65, ii. 11. *Cédulario*, MS., i. 154.

[31] This officer resigned that command after a while. He married in Mexico a lady of the Teran family. In later years he became conde de Casa-

The tidings of the viceroy's arrival at the port reached the capital on the 21st. On the 14th of August the real acuerdo paid its last official visit to Archbishop Haro, as viceroy. The latter on the 16th surrendered the baton to his successor at the town of San Cristóbal de Ecatepec, where, as well as in Guadalupe, the incoming viceroy was splendidly entertained. On the 17th he entered the city of Mexico amid salvos of artillery and the enthusiastic, hearty greeting of the people, the troops lining both sides of the procession.[32] He proceeded direct to the council chamber, where, his three commissions as viceroy-governor, president of the audiencia, and captain-general having been read, the oath of office was solemnly administered to him. The rest of that day and night and the two following ones were spent in receiving and returning visits of ceremony, in attending banquets, and general amusement.[33]

On the 21st the late viceroy was closeted in consultation on public affairs with Florez nearly three hours. The business of the ministerio general de Indias having become in 1787 extensive and complicated, the king resolved to divide it, placing judicial and ecclesiastic affairs in charge of one department, and the military and financial together with commerce and navigation in that of another; a secretary of state presiding over each of the departments. Viceroy Florez had filled the same position in Santa Fé de Bogotá, and was therefore familiar with its powers and duties; but in Mexico he found a complete change in the system of administration, owing to the establishment of the intendencias and the creation of a *superintendente delegado de hacienda* in the person of Fernando Mangino, former chief of the mint, by

Florez, viceroy of Buenos Aires, and ambassador at the French court. From him descended one of the first families of Mexico. *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 79.

[32] He allowed the halberdiers who rode by the side of his coach to go without their halberds, only with sword in hand. This was a favor. *Gomez, Diario*, 278–80.

[33] *Gaz. de Mex.* (1786–7), ii. 397–8.

which the viceregal functions had been very much curtailed, in fact, reduced to but little else than presiding over the audiencia, and directing military matters. Without complaint, however, he devoted his attention to this latter branch of the royal service, introducing many improvements, and employing the forces to the best advantage.

After the death of the once powerful José de Galvez, marqués de Sonora, the policy of the king's government underwent a change. The superintendency of the exchequer was again given to the viceroy,[34] and Mangino was called to the royal council. The crown, heeding the clamor from the frontier provinces and the viceroy's urgent advice, empowered him to wage a relentless war upon the wild tribes. Florez, accordingly, in 1788 and 1789 made constant warfare against the Apaches, Lipans, and Mescaleros until they were subdued, the peace lasting for many years.[35] The viceroy promoted the officers who had rendered efficient service in the campaign, not forgetting the rank and file, to whom deserved rewards were given. He was now compelled to look after the expeditions sent to the Pacific by the English and Americans, and to watch the Russians in California. He gave strict orders to the governor of this province, the commandants at San Blas and Acapulco, and the other local authorities on the Pacific, and requested the president of Guatemala to arrest, if possible, all such exploring ships and their crews as came within their respective jurisdictions. During this rule two exploring expeditions were despatched from San Blas to the Northwest Coast. Full details on these matters are given in other parts of this history. Florez did not confine himself to war; he favored letters, and was a friend to the scientific and literary men of Mexico. He endeavored to carry out the

[34] *Flores, Instruc.*, in *Instrucciones Vir.*, 119.

[35] *Real Orden*, March 11, 1788, in *Mayer's MSS.*, no. 1; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 71; *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 82.

project of creating a botanic garden, together with an institute for lectures, a library, etc., but the heavy expenditure that must be incurred checked these enterprises.

At this time the treasury had much trouble in meeting the outflow resulting from various causes beyond Florez' control. In 1787 the revenue had decreased considerably, and left a deficit of nearly one million dollars, though Florez had remitted ten millions. Being unable to finish the palace of Chapultepec he recommended that it should be sold, or that the surplus from the liquor revenue should be applied to its completion. The old palace at the foot of the hill was now a mass of ruins. The health of the viceroy had been bad during the most of the time of his administration. He suffered from hypochondria, which restricted his efforts.[36] Consequently, on the 26th of September, 1788, he petitioned the king to relieve him of his office and permit his return to Spain. This was granted in a royal order of February 22, 1789, with the condition that he should remain in Mexico till his successor arrived.[37] The crown, however, in order to show its appreciation of Florez' services in Mexico, relieved him from the usual residencia, and directed that six months' pay of a viceroy should be placed at his disposal from the royal treasury, to take him back to Spain.[38] He accordingly left Mexico on the 5th of October for Guadalupe, refusing the honors paid to viceroys on such occasions.[39] After delivering the command to his successor, on the 19th he started for Vera Cruz, remaining in Jalapa till November, when he embarked for Spain on the ship of the line *San Roman*.

[36] *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 56.

[37] Alaman believes that his son's marriage into a family permanently settled in Mexico, contributed not a little to the prompt acceptance of the resignation; the policy of the government being opposed to high officials or their immediate connections relating themselves so closely with permanent settlers in the country where they held office.

[38] *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 82.

[39] *Gomez, Diario*, 326–7.

The death of Cárlos III., which occurred the 14th of December, 1788, was officially announced in Mexico the 23d of March in the following year. The viceroy, as well as the ayuntamiento, calling itself "cabildo, justicia y regimiento de esta imperial corte, cabeza de todos los Reinos y Provincias de la Nueva España," on the same day directed solemn obsequies, and public prayers for the soul of the deceased monarch; all citizens and dwellers in the country excepting dependants, servants, and Indians, were to wear mourning, provided at their own expense, during six months. The Indians were exempted on account of poverty, and left to use such signs of sorrow as they wished, or their small means allowed.[40] The preliminary ceremonies took place at 9.30 in the morning of the same day and of the next at the cathedral, followed by others at the parish and conventual churches, till 9 o'clock in the night of the 24th. Immediately after the announcement of the death, five guns were fired, followed by one every fifteen minutes. The balconies of the government and other principal buildings were dressed with damask, its bright color being relieved by black crape. The 26th and 27th of May were fixed by the viceroy, audiencia, and archbishop for the obsequies. These were held with the greatest possible magnificence, the archbishop officiating, and the viceroy and other authorities of all ranks attending them, the military also taking a prominent part. The ceremonies were repeated with much solemnity at the Santo Domingo convent in Mexico, and at all the chief cities and towns in the country.[41]

Soon after the death of Cárlos III. his son Cárlos IV. ascended the throne, having been duly recognized as the rightful successor. Viceroy Florez had been

[40] *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 66; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 79–80.

[41] *Gaz. de Méx.* (1788–9), iii. 278–9, 302–3, 324–5; *Reales Exequias en la Sta Catedral*, 1–13, and i.–xxxiv. 1–29; *Cárlos III., Reales Exequias*, May 26–7, 1789; *Cárlos III., Reales Ex. en Guadalajara; Cárlos III., Reales Ex. en Puebla.*

duly apprised of this fact on the 23d of December 1788, the king manifesting a wish that the expenses to be incurred at the festivities to celebrate his accession should be moderate, so as to relieve his faithful vassals from unnecessary burdens. The proclamation of the new king was first officially made in Mexico on the 27th of December 1789,[42] and on the 23d of January 1790 the intendente-corregidor published an edict to notify the people of the capital that from the 25th to the 28th of January, and from the 1st to the 7th of February feasts were to be held. The programme included high mass and other religious rites, swearing allegiance to the sovereign, banquets, balls, public illuminations, fireworks, bull fights, and tournaments. Befitting literary exercises were held at the university.

The ceremonies of recognition, and the consequent festivities, were repeated in all the large towns, and the people everywhere gave themselves up to rejoicing.[43] Several other times during the century had the people of Mexico an opportunity to make manifest their loyalty to the crown. In 1789 and 1791, upon the birth of princesses, and in 1796 on the occurrence of the royal marriages, te deums, salutes, and amusements were in order.[44]

[42] A royal order of September 18, 1789, reduced the number of occasions that the audiencia was bound to attend church feasts and other ceremonies. It also reiterated the royal order of March 14, 1785, forbidding the second entry by viceroys. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 85–6.

[43] *Gaz. de Méx.* (1790–1), iv. 18–19, 26, 30, 33–4, 36–8, 41–43; *Univ. de Méx., Obras de elogüencia*, several pages; *Plancarte, J., Sermon de Gracias*, 1–26; *Cárlos IV., Breve Rel. de las Func.*, 1–17, and a cut; *Peñuelas, P. Sermon*, 1–14; *Limon, Ildef. Gomez, Sermon*, 1–30. *Registro Yucateco*, ii. 213–19, gives from an unpublished manuscript an account of the feasts that took place the 21st, 22d, and 23d of April, 1790, in Campeche.

[44] *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, nos. 3, 4, and 47. In 1796 the king granted a general pardon to all minor offenders against the laws. *Cedulario*, MS., i. 204.

CHAPTER XXV.

ADMINISTRATION OF VICEROY REVILLA GIGEDO THE YOUNGER.

1789–1794.

ANCIENT AND MODERN POPULATION OF NEW SPAIN AND THE CAPITAL—CHAPULTEPEC—PALACE OF VICEROY GALVEZ—MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CAPITAL—REFORMS MADE BY THE VICEROY—APPEARANCE OF THE CITY IN 1800—PROMINENT BUILDINGS—AND OTHER OBJECTS OF NOTE—NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS—ARRIVAL OF REVILLA GIGEDO—CRIMES AND QUICK JUSTICE—MILITARY REFORMS—INDIAN DISTURBANCES—THE VICEROY'S LETTER-BOX—FORMATION OF OFFICIAL ARCHIVES—INTENDENCIAS—EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON NEW SPAIN—RECALL OF THE VICEROY—UNJUST PERSECUTION—HIS FINAL VINDICATION.

ACCORDING to a census taken in 1790, by order of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo the younger, the population of the intendencia of Mexico then exceeded 1,500,000, and that of the capital was little short of 113,000;[1] and yet it is probable that the latter estimate was little more than one third of the number of inhabitants that peopled Tenochtitlan immediately before

[1] 112,926, according to the tabular statement of this census in *Gaceta Mex.*, v. 8. It was considered, however, that this count fell short by about one sixth. Humboldt, basing his calculation on this census, estimates the population at the beginning of this century at 137,000. Of these 2,500 were Europeans, 65,000 Spanish creoles, 33,000 native Indians, 26,500 mestizos, and 10,000 mulattoes. It is probable that this estimate is not too high, though the population of the city was fluctuating, being influenced by floods, political disturbances, and other causes. Moreover, at certain times the capital would be overrun with vagrants, while at others it would be almost free from them. Consult *Humboldt, Tab. Estad.*, MS., 7–40; *Id., Essai Pol.*, i. 194–8; *Cancelada, Ruina*, 73–7; *Guia de Forasteros, 1797*, 197–8; *Zúñiga y O., Calend.*, 149–50; *Mex., Not. Ciud.*, 178–80; *Guerra, Rev. de N. Esp.*, i. 31, 335; *Abeja, Poblana*, 75; *Ortiz, Mex. Ind. Libre*, 79–80; *Mex. Ord. Division*, passim; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 8. Russell, *Hist. Amer.*, i. 389 (London, 1778), places the population at 80,000.

the conquest. It is, of course, impossible to give the population of the ancient capital with any approach to accuracy; and, apart from the records of the chroniclers, we can but draw our conclusions from the number of warriors whom Cuitlahuatzin and Quauhtemotzin arrayed against the Spaniards and their allies, from the remains of walls and buildings, and from what we can ascertain of the circumference of the city.[2]

From the 4th of July 1523, on which date, it will be remembered, a coat of arms was presented to the capital of New Spain in consideration of its being "tan insigne y noble,"[3] until the close of the eighteenth century the growth in population had not been remarkable. Cortés in a letter dated October 15, 1524,[4] intimates, as we have seen, that there were then 30,000 vecinos, although this number doubtless included many non-residents, while Gomara, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, makes mention of two thousand Spanish settlers alone,[5] and Torquemada, who describes events that occurred thirty years later, places the number of Spanish households as high as seven thousand, and of native families at eight thousand. Allowing for exaggeration, it must be said, therefore, that the progress of the metropolis in this particular was much smaller than that of many of the old-world capitals during a similar period, and far less than has been made within two or three decades by many cities on this continent.

It requires no slight exercise of faith to believe that the modern capital which is now distant about a league from the shore of the lake, was built on the

[2] As already stated in my *Native Races*, ii. 560–61, the number of houses is variously given at from 30,000 in *Ayalon* to 120,000 in *Torquemada;* and according to the most reliable estimates the population may be set down at about 300,000.

[3] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 17, this series. A description of the foundation and early growth of the city is given in the opening chapter of that volume.

[4] *Cartas*, 309.

[5] *Hist. Mex.*, 236.

site "where," as Humboldt says, "stood old Tenochtitlan, with its numerous teocallis, which rose toward the sky like minarets, surrounded by water and causeways, built upon islands covered with vegetation, and with the constant movement of thousands of boats on the surface of the lake." The main cause that contributed to dry up the lakes round the city, is the drainage work of Huehuetoca, of which mention has been made in its place.[6] The destruction of the forests in the valley of Mexico, occasioned by the vast consumption of lumber needed to rebuild the city and for other purposes, of course helped to cause a shrinkage in the volume of water.

Chapultepec, a historic spot in Aztec as well as New Spain history,[7] alone retained its former beauty. After the conquest the Spanish commander stationed there a small garrison of Tlascaltecs, and from that time it became a favorite place of resort for the Spaniards, as it had formerly been of the Mexican emperors.[8] Viceroy Luis Velasco dedicated "to his sovereign this forest, beautiful place for public recreation," and placed there two greyhounds that had been brought from Spain by Archbishop Montúfar. These multiplied so rapidly that the species after some years became quite common throughout New Spain.

The viceroy Galvez chose the heights of Chapultepec on which to build a palace for himself and his successors.[9] The design of the structure was somewhat remarkable. The side facing Mexico was fortified with walls and buttresses capable of supporting cannon, though built as though merely for architectural

[6] Page 7 et seq., this vol.

[7] See *Native Races*, ii. 166–7; iii. 298; iv. 502; v. 295–7, 321–4, 330–1, 340.

[8] The palace which the Montezumas built there was used as a powder factory, and was blown up in 1784, with the loss of forty-seven lives. See *Galvan, Calendario*, 1838; *Mex. Gaceta*, Dec. 1, 1784, supl.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 54; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.* (tom. ii. lib. iii. cap. viii., German ed.) On June 5, 1728, the city council issued a license to Juan Diaz del Real, to establish there a house to furnish refreshments to visitors who 'fueran á holgar, pan ó vino é otros mantenimientos.' *Icazbalceta, Notas*, in *Salazar, Mex. en 1554*, 256–7.

[9] The crown disapproved of the enormous expense, but too late. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 105–6.

adornment. On the north were ditches and wide souterrains large enough to contain stores for several months.[10] When Galvez was wrongfully suspected of treason, it was thought that the palace was intended to serve him as a last retreat and place of defence, should European troops be sent against him. The structure remained unfinished until devoted to other uses after the independence, and its beauty was marred by the addition of an astronomical observatory. From this point is obtained a fine view of the valley, and of the city of Mexico with its towering spires and prominent structures encircled with gardens, orchards, country villas, and shaded causeways.[11]

At the time of Revilla Gigedo's arrival as viceroy of New Spain in 1789, the capital appears to have been in a demoralized condition morally and socially. "It had been converted," says Bustamante, "into a receptacle for immoral persons, coming from all parts of the country, and hiding with greater security in the capital than thieves in their forest haunts and dens; they act with impunity knowing that there is no police to interfere with their conduct." And in no very flattering language this writer laments that the city was not the capital of a flourishing empire, but "a cesspool, filthy and pestiferous, with its centre in the principal square."

Indeed, this plaza presented a singular appearance. Notwithstanding the orders issued after the riot of 1692, its surface was covered with booths and stands of every description and filled with half-naked hucksters. The gallows and the pillory occupied a prominent place in front of the viceregal palace to the right, and the execution of criminals could be witnessed by many thousands of spectators. A column, poorly constructed and crowned by a statue of Fer-

[10] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 202.

[11] More particulars concerning Chapultepec may be found in *Revilla Gigedo, Residencia*, MS., 374–85; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 128; *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 137; *Ternaux-Comp.*, sér. ii. tom. v. 273; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 31–5, 385; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 190 et seq.

nando VI. rose in the centre of the square, and on one side was the graveyard of the cathedral. The interior of the viceregal palace, which was never closed, was also filled with hucksters' booths, and along the sides of its walls flowed the drainage canal which received the offal of the city. The police system was in keeping with the condition of the plaza; there were no watchmen or guardians of the peace, nor any other means to assure safety than the occasional few patrols of alcaldes or citizens; there were no street lights, and at night it was necessary to carry torches or lanterns; the pavements were neglected, and through the middle of the streets ran open gutters loaded with filth. Nevertheless, comparing the condition of the capital with that of many of the principal European cities in the eighteenth century, the contrast is not very marked.

Revilla Gigedo comprehended the immediate necessity of reform. He recognized that the prevailing abuses were caused by the indolence and criminal neglect of former rulers, whose principal aim seemed always to have been the accumulation of riches which they might enjoy on their return to Spain. He suppressed the festivities at his reception; the palace and the plaza were deprived of their filthy booths; working men were compelled to appear in more decent dress; public baths and market-places were overhauled and regulated; a system of lighting the streets was inaugurated, the paving of streets was recommenced, and an effective fire brigade was organized. A multitude of other useful measures was adopted during the administration of this able and energetic ruler. Among them was a reduction in the number of feast days which clogged the regular course of traffic and commerce, and increased the natural indolence of the masses. A foundling institute was also erected to check the crime of child-murder, which had become very prevalent.

This was not all. Not a single elementary free

school is said to have existed at the time in the capital or in the provinces, and nearly all the other institutions of learning were under the charge of friars, generally ignorant and cruel, while the female institutes were directed by women whose mode of teaching consisted in narrating ridiculous stories of saints, calculated to develop the superstition of the listeners. Of useful knowledge, a little reading and writing were sufficient.[12] Even the school of mining, so celebrated in after years, was only an institute in name. It lacked professors, instruments, and apparatus, and its utility was questionable. All these matters received the attention of the viceroy. At the same time he established a new police system and remodelled the administration of justice. Great changes were soon apparent, and the labors of Revilla Gigedo became of lasting benefit to New Spain, particularly to the capital.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, at the close of the eighteenth century Mexico was the largest city in America, and one of the finest built by Europeans on either hemisphere. From north to south it measured one league, and three fourths of a league from east to west. It was encircled by a ditch, or navigable canal, which served at the same time as a drain and military defence, and prevented goods from being introduced except by the causeways and gates, thus serving as a protection to the customs department. The buildings were plain and elegant, not overladen with ornament, and not disfigured by the uncouth galleries and balconies so common to other Spanish cities. The material of which they were mainly constructed—tetzontli and a peculiar kind of porphyry[13]—gave them an aspect of solidity and splen-

[12] Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 476, whose facilities to ascertain historical data concerning the city of Mexico may be considered fully as ample as those of Zamacois, supports the statement made in the text. The latter author, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 683, takes umbrage at this, claiming that many elementary institutions existed in the country at the time, particularly for orphans, in which tuition and maintenance were given gratuitously.

[13] The porous amygdaloid called tetzontli, and a porphyry of vitreous felspar without any quartz.

dor. The most prominent architectural structure in the city was then, as it is now, the cathedral; and as to the palace of the viceroys, it was said that no edifice in Madrid could compare with it in size.[14] Adjoining, and on the side fronting toward the palace of the archbishop, stood the mint, a large and imposing structure. The custom-house, fronting on the plaza Santo Domingo, was also a fine edifice. The botanic garden in one of the courts of the viceregal palace, though small, was famous for its collection of rare plants, and of such as were important to industry and commerce. Here Viceroy Bucareli would pitch his tent during certain seasons of the year, receive visitors day and night, and transact his business.

Another large building was the tobacco factory, in which more than five thousand persons were employed. A structure of historical interest was the famous acordada building, erected during Bucareli's administration, and situated between the alameda and the paseo bearing that viceroy's name.[15] The municipality buildings were also of imposing proportions, situated on the principal plaza and facing the *parian*,[16] which had taken the place of the baratillo and occupied an area of a hundred and forty varas. Other edifices of note were the college of San Ildefonso, and the mining school with its physical, mechanical, and mineralogical collections; the university building and public library, and the academy of fine arts with its collection of gypsum casts; the celebrated hospices, and the buildings of the inquisition. The least favored of all the public buildings was the theatre.[17]

The principal entrances to the city were those of Guadalupe, Angeles, Traspana, Chapultepec, San

[14] 'No hay en Madrid edificio comparable en extension con el palacio del Virey.' *Estalla*, xxvi. 278.

[15] *Id.*, 279.

[16] See *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Teatro*, i. 53–61; *Mex., Not. Ciudad Mex.*, 8 et seq.; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Libre*, 485 et seq.; *Estalla*, xxvi. 281.

[17] 'El coliseo ó teatro es indigno de México, y no se puede ponderar su deformidad sino afirmando que es abominable el edificio, y lo peor es que amenaza desplomarse.' *Ortiz, Mex. Ind. Libre*, 497.

Anton, and San Lázaro. The two magnificent aqueducts which enter by way of Traspana and Chapultepec and supply the city with water, have been described elsewhere.

The so-called *paseos*, or public walks, were the delight of the Mexican population. The most beautiful of them was the famed alameda, which had no equal in Spain. The paseo of Iztacalco was another favorite resort, and lay on the banks of a canal of that name. By this route and the canal of Chalco hundreds of canoes brought daily into the city building material, provisions, vegetables, fruit, and flowers in great quantities, until in time the canals were filled up in the central part of the capital; particularly when the streets became raised in consequence of the deposits left by inundations. The greater part of the vegetables and flowers were raised on the famous chinampas, or floating gardens; their number, however, was daily diminishing. In the paseo of Bucareli an object of just admiration was the colossal equestrian statue of Cárlos IV., first erected on the principal square, but in later years removed to this place of recreation. This piece of American art was executed by the order and at the expense of Viceroy Branciforte. It was of bronze and in one piece, modelled, cast, and erected by the celebrated Mexican sculptor Manuel Tolsa. Humboldt, who was present at the unveiling of the monument, says that, except the statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, there was nothing of the kind in Europe to equal it in beauty and purity of design.[18]

Among the convents the most prominent was that of the Franciscans, which in the year 1800 enjoyed an income from alms alone of more than a hundred thousand pesos. Of the churches remarkable for splendor, elegance, and beauty of design those of San Agustin, Santo Domingo, San Pablo, Soledad, Jesus María, and Santa Teresa were the most noteworthy. In this

[18] See *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i.

connection may be mentioned an image of the virgin worshipped under the name of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, to which miraculous powers were attributed. This was among the images brought to Mexico by the soldiers of Cortés. It belonged to one Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte, to whom it had been given by his brother, who said it had aided him greatly in his campaigns in Italy and Germany. The image was at first placed in a temple hastily built, and from that time became an object of veneration to Spaniards and Indians, on account of favors said to have been conferred on the public and on individuals in times of calamity. In 1574, as before mentioned, a church was founded for its reception, where four festivals were celebrated yearly—those of the nativity, purification, incarnation, and conception. Many great marks of favor were recorded, after the building of this temple; particularly in times of drought, storm, epidemic, earthquake, inundation, and famine. Down to 1696 the image had been solemnly carried in procession to the city as often as fifteen times.[19]

Of all the viceroys of New Spain, the fifty-second, Don Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, conde de Revilla Gigedo, was one of the most able.

[19]The first solemn occasion was in 1577, 'para dar remedio á la epidemia del cocolistli.' *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 31–2. In 1810, after the first war of independence broke out, it was brought to and placed in the cathedral. The viceroy laid at its feet his baton, and declared the virgin 'generala' of the royalist troops, decorating the image with the insignia of that rank. The patriots, on the other hand, bestowed the rank of captain-general on their favorite, the image of the virgin of Guadalupe. Thus was the virgin under different names called on to lead the two hostile armies. *Vetancvrt, Prov. S. Evang.*, 128–32. For description and particulars concerning the city of Mexico at different periods, see *Ogilby's America*, 86, 243; *Gage's Survey*, 87–150; *Sammlung, Reiseb.*, 453–78; *Vetancvrt, Ciudad Mex.*, 1–5; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego, Mex.*, 234; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 128; *Tratado, Mex.*, pt. v. 28–45; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 42–5; *Dávila, Cont.*, MS., 302; *Torquemada*, i. 298–304; *Cepeda, Rel.*, in *Boucher*, vi. 154; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 7–8, 11; *Villa-Señor, Teatro*, i. 53–61; *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.* 137; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 202–4; *Revilla Gigedo, Resid.*, MS., 374–85; *Viagero Univ.*, 190 et seq; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Lib.*, 485–535; *Orozco y Berra, Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 159–222; *Pagés*, in *Berenger, Col. Voy.*, vi. 44–6; *Correal, Voy.* (Paris ed.), i. 50–60; *Mex. Not., Ciud. Mex.*, 8–188; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 382–4.

After being appointed captain of the viceregal guard under his father, who was a former viceroy, he served with distinction as lieutenant-colonel of the Spanish guards at the siege of Gibraltar. Landing at Vera Cruz on October 8, 1789, the baton of office was delivered to him at Guadalupe[20] on the 16th of the same month.

The count was the man needed for the occasion. One morning, about a week after his arrival, it was found that the house of a wealthy merchant, named Joaquin Dongo, had been broken into by burglars, money and valuables stolen, and all the members of the household, eleven in number, assassinated. The criminals were executed on November 7th, a fortnight after the commission of the deed. Never before, except in the days of Velazquez and other officials of the santa hermandad and acordada, had justice been administered with such despatch.

For many years before the viceroy's arrival a celebrated bandit named Pillo Madera had been the terror of the community. The authorities either would or could not bring the miscreant to justice. His astuteness and audacity were as great as those of any of his famous colleagues in Italy, and his band of cut-throats had never been surpassed in ferocity and cruelty. Madera alone had committed twenty-eight highway robberies and seven assassinations. The new ruler made short work of the matter: in 1791 Pillo Madera was captured and hanged.

During Revilla Gigedo's administration war was declared with France. Although there was little fear of invasion the viceroy made all needful preparations. A regiment of dragoons was sent to Durango to protect the borders of the provincias internas; the militia on the north coast was prepared for efficient service,

[20] He was originally appointed viceroy of Buenos Ayres; but in consequence of the resignation of Florez, he was ordered to proceed to New Spain. See *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 82.

and the fortifications of San Juan de Ulúa strengthened; the garrison of Vera Cruz was reënforced, and the king's treasure, ready for shipment, removed to a safe distance. All this was accomplished at little expense.

The condition of the army occupied the viceroy's special attention and a reconstruction was proposed according to orders issued in January, 1792. The regular troops and the militia were in a demoralized condition, and their insubordination gave such serious cause of offence that they were put under strict regulations, and a portion of the latter disbanded. These measures caused dissatisfaction, particularly among the creoles, and it is claimed that the reduction in the militia was one of the few errors of Revilla Gigedo's administration. Bustamante says that he gave a fatal blow to this branch of the service, destroying and unmaking what had been established with much care and labor since the time of Viceroy Cruíllas. In his instructions to Branciforte, the count claimed, however, that in the enlistment of provincials there seemed to have been no other purpose than to defraud the king's treasury, for such troops were unreliable in action.[21]

The immediate consequence of this measure was that native tribes committed depredations in the eastern provinces. Many colonists were assassinated in Coahuila, the Indians penetrating to within the confines of Saltillo, driving off cattle, and winning over the presidio of San Juan de Rio Grande. Still greater disturbances occurred in the colony of Nuevo Santander, where in the settlements of Laredo, Revilla, and Mier, twenty-five Spaniards were killed between March and July, 1791.

[21] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 147. Bustamante, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 104, says that the viceroy believed them to be no match for foreign troops in case of invasion. The viceroy reduced the militia in order to increase the royal revenue; for while serving, the Indian was exempt from the payment of tribute, ceasing to enjoy this privilege as soon as discharged. *Id.*, *Id.*, 105. The Spanish government disapproved of the count's measures, and decrees were subsequently issued for the reconstruction of the militia, during Branciforte's administration.

Another source of dissatisfaction among the officials of the capital was the viceroy's order that a letter-box should be placed in one of the halls of the palace, into which any person having cause for grievance might deposit a written statement of the facts for his information. He knew well that the complaints of the people seldom came to the ears of the ruler, and that the abuses committed by those who surrounded him, were carefully concealed by the courtiers whose interest it was to represent everything in the most favorable light for themselves. This matter exposed the viceroy to insult through anonymous communications, and many an honest official was wrongfully accused by some hidden foe. This, however, Revilla Gigedo had undoubtedly anticipated. Wise enough to disregard vilifications of this kind, he received, on the other hand, many important suggestions from well meaning and loyal citizens, who denounced actual abuses, and disclosed the true state of affairs in the kingdom. The secret information no doubt enabled him to inaugurate many useful measures, of which the instructions to his successor give ample proof, and which otherwise might not have been suggested. The officials, however, who were thus attacked from an unknown quarter, and often with sufficient cause, continued loud in their denunciation of the practice, as directly favoring a system of espionage unworthy of the high station and dignity of a viceroy. Though it may have been a dangerous practice, Revilla Gigedo made good use of it.[22]

The dispositions of the viceroy made necessary a change in the system of arranging, classifying, and preserving official documents, which had received little or no attention on the part of his predecessors, the secretaries generally using their own judgment

[22] 'Se ha querido decir que por este medio se autorizaba el espionage; confieso que es peligroso cuando el gefe no sabe hacer buen uso de él, y que semejante un veneno aprovecha ó mata segun el profesor que lo ministra. En Revilla Gigedo obró los buenos efectos.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 105.

and consulting their own convenience in the matter.[23] Revilla Gigedo therefore determined to form general archives in which were deposited all documents of importance pertaining to the tribunals and other branches of administration, without any expense to the crown.[24]

The intendencias established by his predecessor continued unchanged during his administration, except that he ordered the intendencia of San Luis Potosí to comprise the territories of Coahuila and Texas, the intendente himself to act as subdelegate in regard to all contentions arising on questions of exchequer and war. In accordance with instructions from the crown commissioners were sent to explore the portion of Texas near the confines of Louisiana to determine whether it were convenient to extend the limits of the latter territory to the river Sabinas.[25]

While the viceroy, faithful to his trust, was improving the condition of New Spain, the tempest of the French revolution was raging in its greatest fury, and Louis XVI. was no more. Though most of the oidores were inimical to the viceroy, they vied with each other in representing to the people that the imprisonment and execution of the French monarch was a transgression against laws divine and human. Moreover the English colonies of North America had recently shaken off their allegiance. The authorities began to tremble; and to increase their alarm, from the mother country came secret reports that among the merchandise shipped to the colonies were numer-

[23] The reader will remember the loss of the valuable manuscripts, taken from Boturini during Fuenclara's administration, which could only be attributed to the carelessness of the secretaries.

[24] It was the custom of the viceroy to drop in unawares upon the government employés when they least expected him. In this manner he visited the tribunals, treasury, acordada, and other offices, where he had found the archives in dire confusion.

[25] The governor of Louisiana reminds us of the times of Nuño de Guzman. He was removed by the viceroy for having killed in cold blood five friendly Lipan Indians, who were on a visit at his own residence, and also for other grave offences.

ous articles, as snuff-boxes, watches, and even pieces of money, bearing the figure of a woman dressed in white, displaying a banner, and around her the inscription "Libertad Americana." The viceroy was enjoined to confiscate all of these articles that he could lay hands upon; and in order to prevent the revolutionary contagion from spreading to New Spain, the introduction and circulation of books, pamphlets, and papers, bearing on religious or political emancipation, were prohibited, and the greatest vigilance exercised by all the authorities to impede even private correspondence on matters relating to the French revolution. It was at this time also that Cárlos IV. issued his famous decree prohibiting French prisoners in New Spain from discussing public affairs pertaining to their country.

During his administration, Revilla Gigedo made other public improvements and did much to develop the commerce and industrial condition of New Spain. Botanical gardens were laid out in the suburbs of the capital; the drainage of the city received attention; mills were built for the manufacture of cotton, silk, hemp, linen; bridges were constructed; and the roads were repaired and improved, especially the one leading from Mexico to Vera Cruz. Mining and agriculture were also encouraged, and it is said that at this period the coinage averaged twenty-four millions of pesos a year against eighteen to twenty millions previously. The series of orders which the viceroy issued for these purposes are regarded with great interest even at the present day by students of political administration.[26]

But the expenses occasioned by these improvements were necessarily great, so much so, that the crown, always selfish and grasping with her colonies,

[26] See *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, passim; *Id., Instruc.*, MS., passim; *Dispos. Varias*, ii. 63; *Alvarez, Manif.*, 6; *Zuñiga y O., Calend.*, 35–7; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 144–9; *Doc. Ecles. Méx.*, MS., v. pt i.

began to put obstacles in the way; particularly as the viceroy had paid much attention to the moral and social progress of the community, and enlightenment was not particularly desired at this time. The home government having become displeased with his administration, his successor, the marqués de Branciforte, was appointed in 1794; thus he did not complete the five years of office for which it was intended that he should serve. It was ordered that his residencia be taken in secret by the new viceroy, and a public investigation proclaimed and concluded within forty days. The marquis refused to hold a secret residencia, alleging that it was necessary for Revilla Gigedo to depart for Spain previous to taking any steps in the matter. When he had sailed, his successor, knowing the cause of his removal, incited the ayuntamiento of Mexico to prefer numerous charges against him; but though the matter was not concluded for several years, he was finally acquitted, and the corregidores of Mexico were sentenced to pay all costs.[27]

[27] Notwithstanding apparently serious accusations against Revilla Gigedo, on his return to Spain he was appointed director-general of artillery by the king, who it seems believed him innocent. His death occurred May 12, 1799, before any decision was rendered concerning his residencia, and his last days were embittered by unjust persecution. When the sentence of the council of the Indies was finally pronounced, the truth became known, and the virtues and faithful services of this eminent ruler were duly appreciated, and his descendants made grandees of Spain of the first class. In connection with his reign may be mentioned an expedition despatched in January 1790, under Juan Eliza, to occupy the new establishment at Nootka on the northern coast of the Californias, with orders to explore the islands and places on the coast visited by Cook. One year later, in May 1791, the celebrated mariner Alexandro Malaspina touched at Acapulco on his voyage north, to investigate the existence of the north-west passage to the Atlantic, based on a narrative of the voyage of Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado in 1558, and said to have been recently discovered in private archives.

The following authorities have been consulted on matters concerning this administration: *Revilla Gigedo, Instruccion*, MS., passim; *Id., Bandos*, pts. i.–iii. xxi. xxiii. xxxiii.; *Id., Solemnes Exequias*, passim; *Id., Residencia*, MS., passim; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 66–94, 131–3; ii. 63; iii. 41; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 82; v. 133; *Cédularios*, i. 152; *Doc. Ecles. Mex.*, MS., v. pt. i. 2; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., i. 1st ser. 221; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 139–40; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 86–166; *Bustamante, Efem.*, i. passim; *Zuñiga y O., Calendario*, 35–7; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, pt. v. 312–13; *Estalla*, xxvi. 190 et seq; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 144–9; *Gomez, Diario*, 317–468; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 103–4, 732–4; x. 259–69; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 80–2.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FIFTY-THIRD AND FIFTY-FOURTH VICEROYS.

1794–1803.

VICEROY BRANCIFORTE—PREJUDICE AGAINST HIM—AND CAUSES THEREOF—PERSECUTION OF FRENCH RESIDENTS—ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA—SHAMEFUL TRAFFIC IN HONORS AND COMMISSIONS—A DEPELETED TREASURY—AUTO DE FÉ—PERSECUTION OF THE ENGLISH—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—RECALL OF BRANCIFORTE—ARRIVAL OF VICEROY AZANZA—MILITARY CHANGES—EFFECTS OF THE WAR WITH ENGLAND—GERMS OF REVOLUTION IN MEXICO—GUERRERO'S CONSPIRACY—FATE OF THE MALECONTENTS—THE MACHETE PLOT—INDIAN ASPIRATIONS TO ROYALTY—DISCOMFITURE OF NATIVE CONSPIRATORS—INTERNAL PROGRESS—STORMS AND EARTHQUAKES—RECALL OF THE VICEROY.

ON the 15th of June 1794 the marqués de Branciforte[1] arrived at Vera Cruz and took charge of the government about a month later. He was a native of Sicily, and belonged to the family of the princes of Carini. His rank of captain-general of the Spanish army, his grandeeship of Spain, and appointment as viceroy, he owed to his brother-in-law, Manuel Godoy, duke of Alcudia, and afterward known as the prince of peace. His administration was in strong contrast with that of his predecessor, and even before his arrival he gave proof of qualities which afterward made him one of the most unpopular rulers of New Spain. Although he received, besides his salary as viceroy and captain-general, an additional sum of twenty thousand pesos a year, he contrived that all his baggage and effects should pass through the custom-house at

[1] Don Miguel de la Grua Talamanca y Branciforte, marqués de Branciforte, was the fifty-third viceroy of New Spain. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 129; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 97; *Gomez, Diario*, 398, 410.

Vera Cruz without examination. This created the belief that he had brought a large quantity of valuable merchandise from Spain to dispose of in the colonies, and thus defraud the revenue.[2]

The marquis was invested with the order of the golden fleece by Cárlos IV. Vainglorious with this testimony of royal favor, he made haste to adorn his person with the badge, and lost no opportunity to display it before the public.[3] This demonstration of vanity became offensive to the people, and gave occasion for much satire and ridicule. Caricatures of the viceroy began to circulate, with a dead cat suspended from his neck instead of the lamb insignia of the order.[4] At a reception held in the palace he remained seated under a canopy during the usual ceremonies, though this pretension to royal homage had no precedent among the viceroys.[5]

The main object of the new viceroy was to enrich himself, by fair means or foul.[6] Rivera says that he undid all the benefit wrought by Revilla Gigedo.[7]

[2] Alaman, Rivera, Mayer, Arroniz, and other authorities make the same assertion; and Bustamante, who knew Branciforte personally, says: 'Con mucha anticipacion se previno por la córte que no se la registrase su equipage, que llegó dentro de poco, y esto dió luego á conocer que traía una riquirima factura de géneros preciosos para venderlos por altos precios, y comenzar á hacer su fortuna, objecto principal con que se le enviaba.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 166. Zamacois, who, for some reason, seems anxious to screen the memory of this viceroy, here makes but a mild apology in saying, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 692, 'No me atreveré yo á decir que las sospechas descansaban en un hecho positivo, ni quiero inclinar el ánimo del lector á un desfavorable concepto hácia el nuevo gobernante.'

[3] 'Sin demora se lo puso, y con él se presentó á lucirlo aquella noche en el teatro.' *Gomez, Diario*, 414.

[4] 'El pueblo explicaba su enojo, no solo con las hablillas, sino tambien con las caricaturas. Cuando le vino el toison de oro, pintaron á Branciforte con el collar puesto, pero en lugar del cordero con que termina este collar, le pusieron un *gato*.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 173.

[5] 'These trifles,' says Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 697, 'which perhaps in another would have passed unnoticed, were considered censurable in Branciforte, as the people were already prejudiced against him because of his being a foreigner.'

[6] 'Su principal objeto fué enriquecer, y el intermedio que se valió para ello fue D. Francisco Perez Soñanes, conde de Contramina, que era el canal por donde se conseguian todas las gracias á precio de dinero.' *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 83; *Lacunza, Dicc. Hist.*, 530–1; *Respuesta*, in *Pap. Var.*, 17–18.

[7] 'Fué corruptor de la severa y benéfica administracion de Revillagigedo, así como reemplazó en la Metrópoli D. Manuel Godoy á los ministros ilustrados de Cárlos III.' *Rivera, Gob.*, i. 488; see also *Id., Hist. Jal.*, i. 177–8, 187.

His efforts at dissimulation were of no avail, and merely showed him in a baser light; for his character was but a blending of subtle astuteness and hypocrisy. Adoration of the royal family, and veneration for the virgin of Guadalupe, were ever on his lips. Every Saturday, and every twelfth day of the month, he would appear at the sanctuary; and a veiled image of the virgin was placed on the balcony of the palace.[8]

The war between France and Spain still continued, and one of the first acts of the viceroy was to confiscate the possessions of all Frenchmen living in Louisiana and New Spain.[9] His pretext was that French settlers were spreading revolutionary doctrines throughout the country, and casting aspersions on the virtue of Queen Louisa in connection with his brother-in-law. The viceroy raised the force of militia to its former strength, though for what purpose save to fill his own pockets does not appear. At that time commissions were much sought after by the sons of the noble and wealthy. It was notorious, says Bustamante, that he appointed as his representative the count of Contramina, at whose house favors, offices, and commissions were dispensed to the highest bidder. There was not a stripling of means or family in the kingdom who did not long to wear an epaulette. Newly appointed officers were required to contribute sums of money, ostensibly for the purpose of procuring arms and accoutrements for the troops, though it is asserted that none were purchased from the proceeds of these contributions.[10] It was also notorious

[8] When he took occasion to speak of the king, 'se enternecia, hacia pucheritos, exhalaba suspiros, y parecia entrar en tiernos deliquios; sobre todo, cuando referia las piedades de sus benignas manos, y de sus católicos pechos.'

[9] Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 705, who 'supposes' that after the treaty of Basil, July 22, 1795, those who were expelled from Mexico recovered their own, is in error. *Persecution of French*, in *Respuesta*, *Pap. Var.*, 17–18.

[10] 'No hemos visto llegar un fusil de Europa con esta contribucion, y únicamente consta en la correspondencia ministerial, que solo habia ocho mil fusiles útiles en Perote, y que los cuerpos levantados no tenian armamento.' *Cavo*, *Tres Siglos*, iii. 169. The muskets here mentioned were probably those

at the time that soon after his arrival Branciforte had sold the office of subdelegate of Villa Alta to one Francisco Ruiz de Concjares for the sum of forty thousand pesos.

Though during the administration of Revilla Gigedo, nearly one hundred and ten millions of pesos had been coined in the Mexican mint, the exorbitant demands of the crown had always kept the colonial treasury depleted. Moreover the duties on sugar and other commodities had been repealed. In order to replenish the royal coffers and his own, the viceroy now enforced an order which required all intendentes to deposit ten thousand pesos as security, this sum being retained until their residencia was taken.

Rumors of war between Spain and the United States were at this time afloat because of the hostile attitude of the latter country concerning the province of Louisiana. But the matter soon ended in a treaty of friendship signed at San Lorenzo in October 1795.[11]

After the conclusion of peace between Spain and France, Branciforte received orders from the crown to release the French prisoners, whereupon Branciforte delivered them over to the inquisition. Among those persecuted were Juan Lauset, and Estévan Morell; the latter a professor of medicine, licensed by the medical faculty of Mexico. He escaped torture by committing suicide; but sentence must be pronounced and executed nevertheless. On the 9th of August 1795 an auto de fé was celebrated, in which the dead physician was condemned as a confirmed heretic, deist, and materialist, "voluntary" suicide, and "apparent atheist."[12]

which arrived during Revilla Gigedo's rule. Other authors agree as to the shameful sale of offices and commissions, while Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 697–8, as usual, endeavors to create the impression that Branciforte's conduct was strictly honorable.

[11] Boundaries and navigation were regulated; the treaty was signed by Thomas Pinckney on the part of the United States, and by the favorite Godoy for Spain. North Americans were prohibited from entering the territory of New Spain. See *Guerra entre Mex. y los E. U.*, 3–5.

[12] These facts are taken from the secret archives of the viceroys, where all the correspondence is found between Branciforte and the inquisition concern-

On the declaration of war between England and Spain in 1796 all intercourse between the two nations ceased, and the English who resided in New Spain shared the fate of the French during the war which terminated the previous year. The colonial forces were increased, and Branciforte concentrated his army, eight thousand strong, between Orizaba, Córdoba, Jalapa, Perote, and Encero,[13] with head-quarters at Orizaba. He strengthened the fortifications at San Juan de Ulúa, and provisioned that fortress for a six months' siege. All the batteries on the coast were put in a state of defence, and several gun-boats were constructed. The commander of the fortress at Acapulco was directed to complete the organization of the militia on that coast, to call to his aid the companies at Zacatula, to reënforce the infantry garrison and his artillery detachment, and to mount guns of the heaviest calibre. The naval commander at San Blas received orders to the same effect, and was instructed to coöperate with the commander-general of the provincias internas and the intendente of Guadalajara.[14]

In the midst of these warlike preparations Branciforte received notice that his successor had been appointed. The excitement during the preparations for war gave him an opportunity to leave the capital in 1797, under pretext of taking command of the

ing the persecution of foreigners. Though Zamacois profusely copies Alaman, he perhaps intentionally suppresses the statement of this author, *Hist. Mej.*, i. 127–8, 'que el virey marques de Branciforte excitase repetidamente el zelo, no muy tibio por cierto, de la inquisicion para no dejarlas (seditious doctrines) echar raiz, persiguiendo de acuerdo ambas autoridades á los franceses ... muchos de los cuales fueron llevados á las cárceles de la inquisicion, otros á la de la corte, y todos con muy pocas excepciones obligados á salir del reino.' Why Zamacois should have omitted to notice these statements of his favorite author against Branciforte is not clear.

[13] The army consisted of the militia regiments of Mexico, Tlascala, Toluca, Tres Villas, Celaya, Oajaca, and Valladolid, together with a cavalry force. *Guia de Forasteros* (1797), 156–83; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, i. 179.

[14] The particulars of these preparations may be found in *Branciforte, Marques de, Instruccion*, MS. (Mex. 1797), p. 47. This manuscript comprises a review of Branciforte's administration; progress in various branches of government, condition of treasury, revenue, army defenses, with suggestions for their continuation, and a brief account of the condition of the Californias.

troops at Orizaba. His stay at that town, where he was surrounded by his creatures, was marked by a series of disgraceful orgies, and when in May 1798, he embarked for Spain, he took with him nearly five millions of pesos in gold and silver, the greater portion of which belonged to him. Never had the people of New Spain complained so bitterly and with so good cause, as against this viceroy, who in after years deserted his sovereign in the hour of his sorest need.[15]

The new viceroy, Don Miguel José de Azanza, assumed office on the 31st of May 1798, and as he was known to be a man of ability and character, his public reception in the capital on the 10th of July following, was enthusiastic.[16] He showed himself worthy of the good opinion of the people, and secured their confidence and respect by one of the earliest measures of his administration. Having determined that the exigencies of the war with England did not require a standing army of eight or ten thousand men, he at once dissolved the military encampments formed by Branciforte, which had been maintained at a monthly expense of over sixty thousand pesos.[17] This heavy tax on the colonial treasury had long been a burden on the people, and the withdrawal of so large a number of men from industrial pursuits necessarily retarded the progress of the country. He took all needful precautions, however, to provide for the coast defences, and ordered gun-boats to be built, two of which were stationed in the River Alvarado.

The continuation of the war with England again necessitated heavy contributions from the Spanish

[15] To serve Joseph Bonaparte, when king of Spain.

[16] Azanza, the fifty-fourth viceroy of New Spain, was born in Navarre, in 1746, and came to Mexico for the first time at the age of seventeen, with an uncle, who filled several important government positions. In 1781 he was a captain at the siege of Gibraltar, and afterward filled various important diplomatic and military positions. He was appointed to the viceroyalty in 1796, but did not arrive until the time mentioned in the text. *Gomez, Diario*, 464, 468; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 311, 803; *Rivera, Gob.*, 496; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 176, 186–90; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 84.

[17] See *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 158.

subjects in the colonies, this time principally from those in the northern provinces, and danger was once more apprehended from the United States. Notwithstanding the recent treaty, it was believed that the government of the latter country was in sympathy with England, and would not prevent her from invading Spanish Florida and Louisiana, with a view to make herself master of the commerce of the West Indies.[18] It was also feared that the people of the United States might attempt to extend their possessions southward.[19]

Though Azanza had dissolved the encampments formed by his predecessor, it now became necessary to have at his disposal an effective force of troops. The brigadier-general, García Dávila, intendente of Vera Cruz, having returned from Habana, was ordered to Mexico to receive verbal instructions concerning the defence of the coast; Pedro Garibay, afterward viceroy, was appointed to the presidency of Guadalajara, and Felix de Calleja, who was destined to play an important part during the revolution in the service of the crown, and also as viceroy, was appointed to take charge of the brigade of San Luis Potosí.[20] During this time brigades were established throughout the country, to which the militia might be assigned for military training. Azanza also proposed measures to avoid the inconvenience caused by the almost independent control of the provincias internas by the comandante general, a matter which former viceroys had not been able satisfactorily to arrange.

[18] Without giving any authority for the statement, Rivera, *Gobernantes*, i. 497, says: 'El ministro Talleyrand dió la voz de alarma, espresando al embajador español en Paris los temores que abrigaba por la conducta de los Estados-Unidos, en cuyo congreso el oro y las intrigas del ministro Pitt habian ganado muchos adeptos.'

[19] Because of this mistrust, a number of English and Americans who had landed in California were arrested and shipped to San Blas and thence transferred to Vera Cruz. One of the prisoners died on the way, and another escaped.

[20] When Calleja first heard of the revolutionary outbreak at Dolores in 1810, he immediately concentrated his brigade—'organizó un ejército, y con él obtuvo las primeras ventajas del gobierno español.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 181.

The frontiers had not been extended; no Indians were being converted, nor were those provinces pacified. For these reasons it was considered advantageous that they should again be under the direct control of the viceroy.

The preparations made by the viceroy were a timely precaution. In 1799 war was declared with Russia. During the summer of this year several English privateers had molested the Mexican coast on the southern sea. They captured some valuable Spanish vessels, and cruised along the gulf of California to the north of the Colorado, touching at the southern part of the Peninsula, and at the María Islands, to procure fresh stores. The Spanish vessels at San Blas were powerless against them, and the English squadron even prevented the departure of the expedition which the captain-general of the provincias internas had prepared against the Indians on Tiburon Island.[21]

Foreign wars and expected invasion were not all that the authorities dreaded. The political horizon of New Spain became overcast, and germs of rebellion already began to appear. Ideas and opinions disrespectful to the authority of the king were here and there diffused among the people, and were no secret to those in command. This was particularly noticeable when some occurrence called forth the ancient rivalry between creole and Spaniard. Prosecutions for high treason became more frequent,[22] the first important case of the kind being that against Juan

[21] The brig *Activo*, schooner *Sutil*, and sloop *Horcasitas*, which were to go on the expedition, had to take refuge in Puerto Escondido. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 184–6. Azanza feared that the Russians might in conjunction with the English invade Alta California, where they had always been anxious to form settlements. The viceroy therefore asked the king to establish a naval force at Acapulco. It was thought impossible to establish forts and garrisons in California. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 184–6. At this time the coast of Tabasco and the Cármen presidio were harassed by corsairs, who did little damage, however, thanks to the activity of the governors.

[22] See the case against the agitator Rojas, who escaped from the clutches of the inquisition to New Orleans. *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 128.

Guerrero and his companions during the administration of Branciforte.[23]

The instigator and principals in this conspiracy were Europeans.[24] Their plan was to surprise the commander of the plaza by night in the capital, and with threats against his life, force him to put at their disposal a force of a hundred and fifty men from one of the regiments of the garrison. This accomplished, the city prisons and the acordada building, the latter alone containing eight hundred prisoners, were to be thrown open; the archbishop and the authorities were then to be secured, after which the mint, treasury, and the wealthy merchants were to be plundered. The banner of liberty was then to be unfurled on the palace, and the Indians released from paying tribute. Guerrero thought he might then possess himself of Vera Cruz by merely sending to that place an envoy; the port was to be opened to the ships of all nations, without permitting any to depart, lest news of the state of affairs should reach Spain, though he did not greatly fear that troops would arrive, as the attention of the mother country was absorbed in European affairs.

This plan Guerrero communicated to the presbyter Juan Vara, chaplain of the regiment de Corona, in Mexico, whom he offered to make archbishop in case of success. But Vara must impart the news of his prospective exaltation to a countryman, who in turn made haste to betray his friend by reporting the matter to the authorities. Guerrero was imprisoned on the 15th of September, and all his companions soon shared the same fate. With the exception of the presbyter, who managed to escape from San Juan de Ulúa, the

[23] See *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 177–80; *Bustamante, Medidas Pacif.*, MS., ii. 63–4; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 128–31; *Arrangoiz*, i. 33–4; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, i. 308–9.

[24] Guerrero was a native of Estepona in Granada, Spain, and had come to Mexico as purser of one of the ships from the Philippines. Having been left at Acapulco on account of sickness, he asked his pay from the authorities at Mexico, but was refused. Poverty then drove him to rebellion. *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 128–9.

conspirators, after eight years of investigation, were exiled to different parts of the world.[25]

While Guerrero and his friends were undergoing trial, another plot was discovered, which created much excitement at the time in the city of Mexico. This was the so-called "machete conspiracy" toward the end of 1799, instigated by Pedro Portilla, collector of duties of the city. His nephew, Isidoro Francisco de Aguirre, a former government employé at Guadalajara, to whom Portilla had confided the matter, believing him dissatisfied with the authorities, disclosed the affair to Viceroy Azanza. The conspirators numbered thirteen, and were either relatives or friends of the leader, some of them holding public positions. The object was much the same as that of Guerrero, but the project was in its conception impracticable. Without weighing the difficulties attending the execution of their plan the conspirators had provided themselves with no other arms than a number of machetes. Prisoners were to be liberated with whose aid they would make themselves masters of the palace and government offices; the authorities and all Europeans were to be imprisoned, and their possessions confiscated. The people should then be called upon to decide on the convocation of a congress like that of the United States, or other form of government.

Though the plot was ridiculous, Azanza did not undervalue its moral importance. "Although," he says to the king,[26] "the condition of the individuals who formed the project would cause me little anxiety, as neither for their position, faculties, nor talents were they fit to carry out a plan of that kind, yet by some

[25] Besides Guerrero and Father Vara there were José Rodriguez Valencia, a wig-maker, intended as ambassador to the United States; Antonio Reyes, a retired officer of dragoons; Mariano de la Torre, government official, and José Tamayo, master barber, who died in prison. According to Alaman, *Hist. Mej.*, i. 132, Guerrero had abandoned his purpose before his arrest. Nevertheless he was sentenced to six years of exile to Africa, after being kept in irons during the investigation. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 177–80; *Bustamante, Medidas, Pacif.*, MS., ii. 63–4; *Arrangoiz, Mex.*, i. 33–4.

[26] *Informe Reservado*, Nov. 30, 1799.

great misfortune there exist in America an ancient division and bitter enmity between Europeans and creoles, an enmity capable of producing the most fatal results, and which must ever be a source of apprehension to the government. I deemed it necessary to look seriously at this matter, and to take active steps to check the evil at the start."

During the night of November 9th, the conspirators were surprised "without noise or scandal," at their place of meeting, and imprisoned. The greatest care was taken to conceal from the public the motive for this proceeding, so as not to excite the rancor between the two classes. Though Azanza by this measure rooted out a conspiracy of which he affected to speak lightly,[27] it was understood that he foresaw the coming storm, and was desirous of leaving the country. The prisoners, who expected summary punishment, enjoyed the benefit of the delicate political situation of the country. According to the opinion of many, among whom was the oidor Guillermo de Aguirre, the day which should see a criminal of that class executed, would be the commencement of a reaction, the result of which would be the independence of New Spain. Several of the conspirators died in prison, and the others, it seems, were released by Azanza's successor.[28]

Azanza's judgment concerning the political fermentations was well founded. During the administration of his successor, Marquina, a conspiracy was discovered in Nueva Galicia among the natives, headed by an Indian named Mariano, son of the governor of Tlaxcala,[29] who had pretensions to royalty. His plan comprised nothing less than the reëstablishment of the ancient

[27] Qualifying it as 'de mala naturaleza, por la disposicion que habia en el pueblo á dividirse en los partidos de gachupines y criollos.' *Azanza, Informe al Rey*, Mex., Nov. 30, 1799; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 134.

[28] The principal, Portilla, was a man of some note after the independence. Particulars of the trial are in *Portilla, Representacion*, passim; See also *Azanza, Informe al Rey*, passim; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 132–4; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 182–3; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, iii. 292–4; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 715–17; x. 1364; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 396.

[29] Not the ancient city of Tlaxcala near Puebla, but one of the colonies of Tlaxcaltecs established in the interior.

Aztec empire, with himself as king; and being at a loss for a crown, he stole the one from the image of St Joseph in one of the churches at Tepic. Anonymous proclamations were circulated, and the would-be king was in communication with the Indian towns of Colotlan and Nayarit. It was supposed that the movement was encouraged by Count Miravalles of Mexico, who held large possessions in the vicinity of Tepic, and that everything was done with the knowledge and assistance of the English. The timorous viceroy had even conceived the absurd notion that the United States had a hand in the conspiracy. This time a woman, named Maldonado, divulged the names of the leaders, and the president of Guadalajara, José Fernando Abascal, reported the matter to the viceroy. At the same time Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo and Captain Leonardo Pintado were ordered out with forces against the Indians. Eighty-six persons were arrested by these two officers, and many others by the civil authorities, all of them being taken to Guadalajara. This conspiracy partook somewhat of a nihilistic character. It had been decided that during the festivities to the virgin of Guadalupe, her sanctuary near Mexico should be fired by means of explosives concealed in wax candles, to be donated by the natives on that day. During the confusion the palace of the viceroy was to be blown up, for which purpose it would be previously undermined at the four corners.[30] The most careful investigation in the matter did not bring to light sufficient evidence to convict any of the participants, which either proves that the viceroy dared not publicly inflict punishment for rebellion, or that the plan had been so astutely managed as to preclude the possibility of conviction. Many of the prisoners died in the hospital; among them José Gerónimo Perez, who had communicated with the Indians in the

[30] This was told to the woman Maldonado by the wife of one of the conspirators; it was also divulged by an unknown person passing through Tepic. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 135.

interior, and his wife, who had disclosed the affair to the woman Maldonado.[31]

In the mean while the Comanches continued their depredations, Laredo, Reinosa, Revilla, and other places being attacked at various times. Of not much avail were the measures dictated by commanders of presidios, and the count of Sierra Gorda, governor of Nuevo Santander. Though these outbreaks were of little importance in themselves, the concern which the government showed in regard to them is a proof that serious trouble was expected.

The European wars seem in one respect to have been rather an advantage to New Spain. The English fleets blockading Vera Cruz or cruising about the gulf were the cause of a great diminution of the silver export, preventing on the other hand the entry of merchandise from Spain. This necessarily promoted home industry and internal commerce, to which the surplus funds could be applied. Thus New Spain was made nearly dependent on herself for the time being, the commotions of the old world making the colony acquainted for the first time with the extent of her resources, and teaching her the value of an independent existence.[32]

During his short rule Azanza was too busy to give much attention to the formation of new settlements; but on the borders of the river Salado, in Nuevo Leon, he established a new colony under the name of Candelaria de Azanza, with a detachment of militia as a guard for protection against the savages who passed through those regions during their raids on the frontier. Of the calamities during this admin-

[31] In acknowledgment of his services during this conspiracy, president Abascal was made viceroy of Buenos Ayres, and then of Peru, where he received the title of marqués de la Concordia.

[32] Azanza gave much encouragement to the manufactures of silk, cotton, and wool. In the town of Cadereita alone there were more than two hundred looms, giving employment to over five hundred men. *Azanza, Relacion*, San Cristóbal, 1800. The uniforms of the whole army of New Spain were made from cloth manufactured at Querétaro.

istration, two are recorded as of note. In July 1799 a destructive hurricane swept over the port and city of Acapulco, causing much damage to life and property.[33] On the day of Saint John, March 8, 1800, one of the severest earthquakes on record was felt in the city of Mexico, extending with more or less force over many of the provinces. It commenced with an oscillation from east to west, thence changing its direction from north to south, and terminating with the circular motion observed at times in other earthquakes.[34] The greatest consternation prevailed for a time, but fortunately no lives were lost, and the damage to buildings was not so great as had been feared. The transit of coaches and wagons was prohibited, until it was ascertained by a board of engineers that the walls of the buildings throughout the city remained secure. Of an earthquake which occurred at Oajaca the next year, Carriedo says: "It happened at midnight, during a heavy rain; the people took to praying, the dogs to howling, and the priests to hearing confessions.[35]

While Azanza was beginning to enjoy the confidence of the people, it seems that his good qualities as a ruler were not appreciated by the home government, for without any apparent cause he suddenly lost favor at court, and his successor was appointed.[36] He was,

[33] See *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 92–3.

[34] The duration was over four minutes. In Guanajuato, where Bustamante was at the time, no shock was felt, but 'se notó una grande opacidad en la atmósfera, cosa rara en aquel cielo hermoso.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 182. Other shocks occurred in Oajaca the following year, in Vera Cruz and Orizaba in 1805, and more or less severe shocks during the next four or five years. See *Id., Id.*, 197–8; *Carriedo, Estudios*, ii. 107; *Orizaba, Occurrencias*, i.; *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 55; *Fossey, Mex.*, 398; *Cortina, Seismologia*, passim; *Diar., Mex.*, i. 303, 337; ii. 344; iii. 70–1, 153–4, 176; vii. 159; viii.; xiii.; *Gaz Mex.*, xiii. 263–4, 400, 411–16.

[35] *Estudios Hist.*, ii. 107.

[36] Alaman, *Hist. Méj.*, i. 134, assumes that Azanza was anxious to lay down the government on account of impending troubles in Mexico. Bustamante, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 185–6, affirms that the removal of the viceroy was the work of intrigue and barter between Godoy and Marquina. 'El virreinato se puso en venta en aquella córte (Madrid): dícese que se ofreció en ochenta mil pesos al Secretario Bonilla que residia en la córte, y se quedó sin él por no

however, only too glad to be removed from office. Shortly before his departure he married his cousin, the widow countess of Contramina; then removing to San Cristóbal, he delivered the government into the hands of his successor, and sailed for Spain. Nothing of the odium of his predecessor attached to this ruler, and the people of Mexico were unwilling to see him depart.

On his arrival at Madrid he received some honors at the hands of Cárlos IV., but remained away from court until, in 1808, he became minister under Ferdinand VII. Until that time Azanza seems always to have labored for the welfare of his country, but, like his predecessor, was afterward guilty of desertion, and took service under Joseph Bonaparte.[37]

The people of New Spain were again filled with forebodings of evil on the arrival of the new viceroy, for he was supposed to be another of the creatures of Godoy. The power of this misnamed prince of peace over the king, and his alleged paramour the queen, and his fatal influence on the destinies of Spain, had begun to cast a sombre shadow on the colonies. Félix Berenguer de Marquina took the customary oath in the capital[38] on the 30th of August 1800. He was not received in the city with the customary enthusiasm, the popular mind being strongly prejudiced against him. The audiencia, it seems, were even re-

haber encontrado un libramiento contra su yerno D. Lorenzo Guardamino, y se le confirió á D. Felix Berenguer de Marquina.'

[37] He died at Bordeaux on the 20th of June 1820, at the age of 80, poor, and bereft of all his offices and titles, but appreciated in civil life for his personal merits and virtues. See *Disposiciones Varias*, MS., i. 108, 140; *Agreda, Represent.*, MS., passim; *Spain, Manifiesto*, 66–100; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 201–5; *Rivera, Gob.*, i. 502; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 84–5. In *Azanza, Instruccion sobre las provincias de Nueva España*, MS. (Mex., April 29, 1800), are the instructions given by the viceroy to his successor. It also contains full information concerning the policy of Azanza's administration from 1798 to 1800, and a sketch of the general condition of New Spain for that period, with many details on mining, commerce, and military matters.

[38] Marquina, the fifty-fifth viceroy of New Spain, held the rank of rear-admiral in the royal navy. Of his earlier life very little is known. On his way to Mexico he was captured by the English near Cape Catoche and taken to Jamaica; he was allowed to proceed, however, to his destination with his secretary Bonilla.

luctant to recognize the authority of the new ruler, pretending that his papers were not in the customary form. The fact of his having been taken prisoner by the English during his voyage to New Spain created the belief that, as an officer of the royal navy, he had been obliged to promise not to take up arms against that nation during his administration, in order to secure his release. It was well known that while governor of the Mariana islands he had shown himself inimical to the audiencia of Manila, which matter came to the official knowledge of the oidores of Mexico. Hence they had reason to fear his authority, not being aware of the harmless character of the individual.[39] His interference with the right of the people to enjoy bull-fights by forbidding them from the very day of his reception, though humane and praiseworthy, increased his unpopularity. The ayuntamiento of Mexico claimed that in the festivities on this occasion they had expended a greater sum than the legal allowance for that purpose, and they must have the bull-fight customary on such occasions to cover the deficiency. Still, Marquina remained firm. "Such festivities," he tells the ayuntamiento, "contribute to the demoralization of the people, and ruin the heads of families by augmenting their expenses at a period when public misery is at its height." Then from his own means he paid seven thousand pesos to make good the difference. Nevertheless he was considered little better than a fool, for he was thought to lack ability to govern a great country,[40] and though kind of heart, his simplicity often exposed him to ridicule.[41]

[39] 'Se habia conducido con animosidad cuando fué Gobernador de Islas Marianas, y se tenia que obrase del mismo modo en México.' *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 192–3.

[40] This seems disproved however by the fact that subsequently Marquina was made viceroy of Buenos Aires, and then of Peru, where he obtained the title of marqués de la Concordia.

[41] He was fond of writing his decrees himself. At one time, when on a certain measure the assessor supported one view and the fiscal another, he thought to reconcile the two extremes by ending his decree with the words: 'As the fiscal claims and the assessor-general thinks, although it does not seem so to me—Marquina.' During a trip to Vera Cruz the senior oidor in

Another of Marquina's acts showing his humane disposition was the release of English prisoners at Vera Cruz. He had seen the Spanish prisoners suffer at Jaimaca, and by this generous step obtained the release of his countrymen from the governor of that island. Reforms were made in the police system, and strict measures were taken to enforce the ordinances passed by Revilla Gigedo and Azanza, by which the plebeians were prohibited to present themselves in public unless decently clad, all such offenders being thenceforth treated as vagrants. Though this measure was considered tyrannical, its enforcement meeting with great obstacles, it is claimed to have had a very salutary effect.[42] The regulations of the various guilds of Mexico excluded women, and prohibited them from engaging in any labor or industry of which they claimed a monopoly. Marquina's predecessor had fully recognized the injustice of this social tyranny, and declared by an ordinance of April 22, 1799, that women should be free to employ their time in any labor suited to their strength and the decorum of their sex.[43] This ordinance was now reiterated and enforced.

charge of the government took advantage of the viceroy's absence to give the people a bull-fight. On his return, Marquina, enraged, immediately issued a decree declaring that bull-fight null and void! The only public improvement made during his rule was a fountain, donated by the viceroy himself. For some reason it was without water and soon became a receptacle for filth and offal. One morning there was attached to it a placard with the following epigram:

'Para perpetua memoria
Nos dejó el Señor Marquina
Una pila en que se orina,
Y aquí se acaba su historia.'

[42] The reform was extended over the whole country. The guilds and cofradías were prohibited from receiving any person not decently dressed. In processions, or in the streets they passed, in the paseos, or at church festivals, no person was allowed with a 'manta, sábana, zarape,' or similar garment under pain of eight days' imprisonment. The same was enforced in regard to children in primary schools. This was in compliance with Azanza's recommendation that 'la vergonzosa desnudez del pueblo bajo ofende tanto la vista de la gente culta, y ocasiona muchos daños fisicos y morales, quise destruia enteramente este abuso pernicioso, tan comun en la Capital como en otras Ciudades del Reyno.' *Instrucciones*, MS., 60.

[43] 'Declaré por punto general que las mujeres pueden ocuparse en qualesquiera labores y manufacturas que sean compatibles con las fuerzas y decoro de su sexo.' *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 59. A similar decree with reference to

Reforms of a different nature and of more import had begun to mark the progress of the age. The Spanish government had issued laws tending to restrict the abuses committed by ecclesiastics in their capacity as confessors, who would induce repentant sinners, and persons on their death-bed, to make over to them their property, apparently for charitable purposes, to the injury of the lawful heirs and the state. The council of the Indies had therefore declared all such bequests void; but this had not the desired effect until Cárlos IV. forbade notaries to legalize such transactions in any form, or under any pretence whatever.

The English fleet continued to damage the commerce of New Spain and to blockade the harbor of Vera Cruz in sight of the fortress of Ulúa and the gun-boats. The poor construction of the latter never enabled them to do any harm to the more powerful enemy, who had control of the gulf of Mexico, and was ready to capture Spanish craft that might venture into or out of any port on the coast. Marquina repaired to Vera Cruz where a council was held as to the feasibility of sending out the naval forces to engage the enemy and oblige him to retire from the coast. The plan was disapproved, but on the 27th of the same month when an English frigate appeared in front of Vera Cruz, the four available craft in the harbor were sent out to engage her; they soon returned, however, not being in a condition to risk an attack. All the public treasure located in the port was transported to Jalapa for safety; provisions and ammunition were stored in Ulúa in expectation of an attack. Instructions also were given that if the place could not be held, the commander should cut his way through, and retreat toward the capital as best he might.

New Spain was issued by Cárlos III. in 1784; this was subsequently reformed and amplified by Cárlos IV.

As further precautions for defense Calleja was ordered to form a brigade of cavalry at San Luis Potosí; Nemecio Salcedo was appointed comandante general to govern the provincias internas, and the licentiate Antonio López de Santa Anna, the future general, was made subdelegate of Antigua Vera Cruz. Another appointment made by Marquina at this time was that of a corregidor for Querétaro, in the person of Don Miguel Dominguez, who, together with his wife, Josefa María Ortiz, became famous in the struggle for liberty during the revolution.

Among the most notable events during the administration of Marquina was the publication in Mexico in 1802, of the peace concluded with England, and a year previously of that with Portugal. The immediate effect was a fall in the prices of all commodities, and commerce received a new and vigorous impulse. Public treasure had accumulated, and Marquina shipped treasure to the amount of six million dollars to Habana and eighteen millions to Spain. Still the crown must have more gold, and a papal bull was obtained for the sale of new indulgences whereby all could be released from fasting during lent.

These exactions were more severe on the inhabitants as at the same time they were suffering from other calamities. During the latter portion of the viceroy's administration there occurred an extraordinary rainfall in Tamaulipas, lasting about two weeks, and inundating many towns and ranchos. In Lampazos some hundred dwellings were destroyed; the new town of Azanza was swept away, and the river Salado overspread its banks four leagues on either side. In Nuevo Santander all the northern settlements were under water, and the inhabitants of Reinosa abandoned the town on rafts. In the town of Santa Rosa in Coahuila, only seven dwellings were saved, and in Monclova two hundred houses were destroyed.[44]

[44] *Arch. Nac. Mex.*, tom. ccxi. carta dclxlviii.

Many expedients provided by Marquina were disapproved by the home government, especially in cases of appointments, a matter in which he always proceeded with the greatest care, to satisfy himself that he neglected not his duty to the crown.[45] The disappointment which he felt in not seeing his loyal intentions appreciated,[46] induced him early in 1802 to resign in disgust an office which he tried in vain to fill to the satisfaction of the people and his king. The resignation was promptly accepted, and in January, 1803, he delivered the baton of office into the hands of his successor. Although he was not a capable ruler, the government of New Spain had never been intrusted to purer hands, and his departure was regretted by many who had learned to respect in him the good qualities which had drawn forth the ridicule of the vulgar.

Never was an able viceroy more sorely needed at the head of affairs than at the opening of the nineteenth century. Discontent and impatience of home rule were openly expressed throughout the provinces, and the distant moaning of the storm which was soon to burst over Spanish America could already be distinctly heard. It was a favorite maxim of Revilla Gigedo the younger that the first duty of a Spaniard was gratitude to the mother country. It must be confessed, however, that she was an exceedingly selfish parent. The burden of excessive imposts, and the vexatious restrictions on commerce and industries, which became her settled policy, fell heavily on the colonies. Crowds of indolent and dishonest officials lived in luxury at the public expense, and helped themselves from the public purse. The viceroys at this time received a salary more than twice as large as

[45] 'Me parece que este punto lo he manejado con excesiva escrupulosidad, y estoy poseido de una interior satisfaccion de que he llenado mis deberes.' *Instruc., Vireyes*, 217.

[46] 'Sin embargo de este premeditado procedimiento... tuve el dolor de haber recibido en Agosto ultimo dos Reales Ordenes que no aprobaban el nombramiento que hice.' *Id.*

that of the presidents of the United States,[47] but this was small as compared with the profits of office, for not infrequently they retired with enormous fortunes acquired by stolen gains. Yet, as we have seen, the Spanish monarch and his representatives in New Spain often neglected to find means for the protection of the colonies from the raids of corsairs, and from invasion by foreign powers. So little confidence had the people in their rulers that even in the reign of Revilla Gigedo—one of the most able and energetic of all the viceroys—the presence of a fishing fleet in the gulf of Mexico threw the country into a panic.[48]

But other causes were also at work. The successful termination of the American war of independence, and the vast increase in material prosperity which ensued within less than a quarter of century; the marvellous change which the genius of the First Consul had wrought in the fortunes of the French republic; the feeble administration of Cárlos IV., who in the darkest hour of his country's distress still left the control of affairs in the hands of his crafty but incapable minister, Manuel de Godoy—all these events tended to foster the spirit of disloyalty among the people, who became every year more ripe for rebellion. Though the hour had not yet come, the term of Spain's long dominion in the New World was well nigh accomplished; her days were numbered, and already the handwriting was on the wall.

[47] The salary of the viceroys was now 60,000 pesos a year.

[48] It was at first supposed that the fleet was sent for the purpose of establishing a settlement or making raids on Spanish territory, but the alarm subsided when it was known that it had sailed from Boston. To prevent such expeditions in the future a royal decree was issued in September 1789 ordering a company to be established with the exclusive right to the gulf fisheries for twenty years, and with the privilege of trading and establishing colonies in America and Asia, the king furnishing troops and arms.

The bibliographic review at the close of the preceding volume may be said to include in its general features the present, by explaining the imperfect and scattered nature of the material from which I have had to cull the facts. Writers who have attempted to cover the entire field from the conquest to their own times are most unsatisfactory in their scanty outline, swelled now

and then by disproportionate details on some topic for which they happened to obtain special information, or with predilection for certain regions or subjects. In the latter respect the monk chroniclers excel; and intent as they are on their favorite theme, they sprinkle but scantily political and general information in a mass of theological verbiage, in extenuated accounts of mission labors in obscure districts, and in reciting the negative virtues of humble ascetics. Add to the want of historic method, the lack of judgment in selecting interesting matter, and in distinguishing truth from absurdity, the bias given by credulity and bigotry, the involved style, and other defects, and the confusion is complete. Not that I ever expected to find the subject much better presented; had it been so, my efforts were of less importance. I was, and am, fully aware of the necessity to go to the fountain-head for information, if I would rescue much valuable material cast aside by the unreflecting mind and which serves in its less tangible points at least to promote the philosophic treatment of the rest. The original sources lie not alone in the many collections of letters and reports from the political and ecclesiastical officials indicated in the preface to *Hist. Mex.*, i., this series, and throughout the foot-notes, but they are to be found in the many annals of special districts and corporations, based on documents from obscure convents and local offices, especially for periods beyond the reach of the writer's own observations. The value of such annals is increased by the disappearance of the sources before the inroads of time, the ravages of factions, and such orders from the superior government as instanced in *Zamada*, *Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 509, wherein a remission to Spain is demanded of books and documents which may serve for a general history of the Indies. Among the special works must be mentioned the diaries of private individuals, which connected extend over a long period, and allude, though often very briefly, to almost every incident of note throughout the country. Latterly periodicals begin to appear, and while subjected to a most depressing censorship, they fail not to add both facts and clues for the investigator. Many of these special treatises, annals, and diaries are so rare as not to have reached the hands of modern national writers on New Spain history, or they have only quite recently been brought to light; others, and especially official reports from viceroys, governors, judges, prelates, and corporations, exist only in manuscript form, many of them unique.

In the collection of such rare and valuable material I have been exceedingly fortunate, partly through the active aid of friends and agents, and the researches of esteemed predecessors in certain portions of my fields, as Prescott, Squier, Stephens; but also by constant personal search and effort for a period of 30 years. While possessing these advantages over the few Hispano-American writers who have in a more or less complete manner sought to cover the colonial period, I am not unmindful of their meritorious efforts, and acknowledge also the aid afforded me by their different views, now in favor of Spain, now for Mexico; upholding the cause of some party or order, or bringing into prominence some special topic. For the historian must not alone sift facts, but look upon them from all sides and with many eyes, in order to arrive at a true statement.

The leading general chronicler for the sixteenth century was Torquemada, and the same position must be assigned for the seventeenth to Augustin de

Vetancurt, also a Franciscan who covered the same field, though in a less diffuse manner, and carried his observations onward. He wrote under orders as chronicler of the central Franciscan provincia Santo Evangelio, a position assigned to him for his high attainments, his eloquence as a preacher, and his association with Mexico as a curate for 40 years of the ancient Indian parish of St Joseph. He was born in that city in 1620, and claimed descent from the famous Frenchman, Juan de Bethencourt, conqueror and so-called king of the Canaries, whose 'posteridad se estableció en España.' *Moreri*, ii. 271. On p. 38 of his *Trat. Mex.*, he mentions his relationship to Vetancurt, the founder of the Bethlehemite order in New Spain. After joining the Franciscans at Puebla he rose to become member of the provincial chapter and comisario general of the Indies, dying in 1700, after 60 years of zealous labors, not the least of which were in connection with his numerous works. The earliest of these according to his own list is *Arte de Lengua Mexicana*, Mex. 1673, one worthy of the pen of so profound an Aztec scholar. There are several manuals, sermons, lives of martyrs and apostles, and theologic treatises, enumerated in his *Menologio*, 144, and in *Pinelo, Epitome*, ii. 732, 761, 797, 854, 860, etc., most of which were published, some in several editions; but the leading work is undoubtedly *Teatro Mexicano, Descripcion Breve de los Svcessos Exemplares, Historicos, Politicos, Militares, y Religiosos*, Mex. 1697–98, in four parts and two volumes folio. The *Teatro* proper in the first volume contains the first three parts, *Svcessos Naturales*, relating to physicial geography and natural resources; *Svcessos Politicos*, to ancient history and rites, and *Svcessos Militares* to discovery of America and conquest of Mexico. The fourth part forms a distinct section, published in 1697 as *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, and gives the history of the Franciscans in New Spain, notably of the mother provincia, interspersed with much matter on military expeditions, founding of towns, and so forth. To this is appended *Menologio Franciscano*, a series of biographies of prominent members of the order, monks and nuns, prelates, officers, and writers, a few in list form, but mostly arranged in the chronologic order indicated by the title, under the date of their death. A smaller appendix of 56 pages, *Tratado de la Ciudad de Mexico*, gives an acceptable account of the civil, political, and religious institutions of the city, with brief biographies of its noted men, and outlines of the rule of each viceroy and archbishop. The last 7 pages relate in a similar manner to Puebla. A reprint of the *Teatro*, *Chronica*, and *Menologio* was issued at Mexico 1870–1, as volumes vii.–x. of *Biblioteca Iberia*, in modern orthography and with a brief notice of the author. His name appears in different form; he himself signs Vetancurt in *Prov. Sto Evang.*, pt. i. 71.

He gives quite a respectable list of authorities, printed and in manuscript, as the sources for the *Teatro*, but it is only too apparent that he has copied or condensed Torquemada's versions for a great part of it. 'Le epitoma...Betancur, en su Menologia,' observes Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 761. Clavigero also criticises him for this, while acknowledging that he 'scrisse sulle memorie d'Alba' and others. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 75. It must also be confessed that he inclines to hasty assumption of facts, without duly weighing probabilities, or caring for accuracy; 'con muy muchas inconsecuencias,' as a writer expresses it in *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., i. pt. i. 24. On the other hand he

indulges in no rhapsodies or soaring elegance with which to obscure his diction, but is exceedingly plain and clear for his time, with a marked effort at conciseness, although the biographies lead him away at times into trivialities. Indeed his works may be said to be a condensation of the bulky and verbose material of many predecessors, and I gladly join with Alegre in recognizing the value of his labors.

Similar in nature to the biographic history of the viceroys in Vetancurt's *Trat. Mex.*, is the *Cronologia de los Vireyes*, by Diego Panes y Abellan, lieutenant-colonel of infantry, MS., 131 folios, which does not add much information to the part covered by the preceding work, but carries the account a century further, to 1789, and serves in this respect as a useful check on contemporary writers. Another work by the same officer is *Extension interesante de la Plaza de Vera Cruz*, MS., 261 pages, 4to, with plans, wherein he dwells on the plan and necessity for extending the barracks, and improving the means for the health and protection of the troops. With this is interpersed a certain amount of historic information.

The only comprehensive historian of New Spain after Vetancurt is the Jesuit father Andrés Cavo, who was commissioned by the city council of Mexico to write the annals of the capital from the conquest down. While complying with this he included also all notable events in the country, based partly on meagre data remitted by the council to Rome, where he lived in exile as a member of the expelled society of Jesuits, and partly on well known standard authorities; but he lacks the far more thorough and reliable facts in different *diarios*, *cédulas*, despatches, and similar matter from official sources or from eye-witnesses, so that his narrative is both meagre and unsatisfactory. It is moreover in the form of annals rather than philosophic history, though attractive in its pure simple style, clear judgment, and impartiality. In the latter respect Cavo goes so far as to praise the integrity of Marqués de Croix and the talents of Visitador Galvez, who were leading instruments in his expulsion; he abstains, however, from alluding to this episode, and also from entering on church affairs, except when absolutely needful. His account, ending with 1766, was dedicated to the municipality of Mexico, and passed into the hands of Bishop Madrid of Tenagra, after 1794, in which year 'escribimos en Roma esta historia,' as Cavo states, *Tres Siglos*, i. 131. He was born at Guadalajara in 1739, and joined the society in his nineteenth year to become a missionary among the Indians. At the expulsion he formed a close friendship with Father Parreño, the influential rector of the college of Mexico, and shared with him every comfort and discomfort till death parted them. *De Vita Josephi Juliani Parrenni, Havanensis*, Rome, 1792, commemorates this intimacy and the virtues of his friend. An intense longing for home had at one time induced both to sever their connection with the society with a view to return to America, but their wishes were not gratified.

The well known Mexican writer Carlos María Bustamante learned in 1799 from a brother, Lorenzo Cavo, of Cavo's history, and obtaining the original MS. from the prelate Madrid, he caused it to be published at Mexico in 1836 in 2 volumes, sm. 4to, with addition of notes and certain not very commendable changes, which extended not only to language as stated, but to interpolations. He moreover replaced the original title of *Historia Civil y Politica de Mexico*

with *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*. Two years later appeared its continuation by the editor, in two other volumes, from 1767 to 1821, the end of Spanish rule in New Spain, just three centuries after the fall of Mexico, based in this case on the government archives, with the despatches of viceroys and other officials, of which he claims to have examined 280 volumes. It certainly gives the most thorough account so far of the 1767–1800 period, and a very acceptable one for the following years, and it is written in a more historic spirit, though marred by a singular bigotry and effusive patriotism, strongly arrayed against the 'Spanish oppressors.' The value of the work has been recognized by two reprints of 1852 and 1870, in 4to form.

Although the material for special topics, periods, and districts has as a rule been commented upon in appropriate places throughout this volume, I must here allude to several private diaries which present the daily record of events in the capital for about a century, together with frequent mention of the more important occurrences in other portions of New Spain. For the publication of some of the most important we are indebted to the *Diario Official* of Mexico, in whose rare collection of *Documentos para la Historia de México*, consisting of twenty volumes of various sizes, issued in Mexico, 1853–7, they are included. Although mention is made of diaries covering the period from 1621 to 1647, *Robles, Diario*, i. p. ii., the earliest one which has been preserved is that of the licentiate Gregorio Martin del Guijo, presbyter, and secretary of the cathedral chapter of Mexico City, comprising the period from 1648 to 1664, and occupying the first volume of the above collection. It relates to every imaginable subject, particularly within the capital, and possesses that value which attaches to the testimony of an intelligent eye-witness and contemporary, notwithstanding certain defects of style and occasional omissions. The second diary and continuation of the foregoing, by which it was suggested, is that of the licentiate, Antonio de Robles, a presbyter, and member of the college of San Pedro of Mexico City. The period covered is from 1665 to 1703 inclusive, but the diary material is for the most part a compilation or copy of others; indeed, Robles acknowledges having taken more than half from that of the licentiate Diego de Calderon Benavides, suppressing some of its details and making some additions. He proposed to add a summary of events from the conquest down, but no such result appears.

As late as 1849 there existed in the library of the university of Mexico a manuscript diary, which according to Alaman, *Disert.*, iii. app. 93, had been kept by a chaplain of the hospital of Jesus of Mexico City. Leaves were wanting at both the beginning and end, the remaining portion comprising the period from January 1675 to April 1696. Carlos María Bustamante in 1843 made an abstract, added numerous notes and interpolations, which greatly impaired its value, and published the more interesting part in the *Museo Mexicano*, i. 49 et passim; under the title of *Diario curioso y esacto de Juan Antonio Rivera, capellan del hospital de Jesus Nazareno de Mexico*. In 1854 the complete abstract of Bustamante appeared in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. vi. Why this diary was attributed to Rivera does not appear; for although Bustamante calls the author a chaplain of the hospital of Jesus, it is stated in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, that the manuscript had formerly belonged to the

Jesuits, but that its author was unknown. Now if the so-called *Diario* of Rivera be compared with that of Robles for the same period, their identity of origin is at once apparent; the manuscript attributed to Rivera is the *Diario* of Benavides mentioned by Robles.

Owing to the defects of Bustamante's version already noted, that of Robles is to be preferred, not only because of its greater fulness, but because the editors of the *Doc. Hist. Mex.* have wisely refrained from any attempt to change the original. The style and manner of treatment, which is in the usual form of a diary, is the same as in Guijo. It occupies volumes ii.–iii. of *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. Following these are the *Diario* of José Manuel de Castro Santa-Anna, extending from 1752 to 1758, *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. iv.-vi.; and the *Diario* of José Gomez, one of the vice-regal halberdiers, extending from August 1776 to May 1798, *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. vii. To these may be added the *Gacetas de Mexico*, with reviews of both domestic and foreign events, and the political and local affairs of the capital and the provinces. Toward the end of the century they became permanently established, after appearing previously for short periods.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the Spanish crown, feeling the need of a full and detailed account of the actual extent of its increasing dominions in the new world, and the civil and religious condition of their inhabitants, issued a royal decree dated July 19, 1741, demanding from the alcaldes mayores and justices a complete report on their respective districts. The compilation of these data in New Spain was confided by Viceroy Fuenclara, to the auditor-general of the department of quicksilver, José Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez. Villa-Señor, according to Alcedo, *Bib. Am.*, MS., ii. 1158, was a native of Valladolid in Michoacan, but Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Bib. Mex.-Guat.*, 154, gives Mexico as his birthplace, describing him as 'un mathématicien distingué, un historien exact et un bon citoyen.' Villa-Señor lost no time in beginning his labors, and published in Mexico the first volume of his work in 1746, and the second two years later, under the title of *Theatro Americano, Descripcion General de los Reynos, y Provincias de la Nueva España.* After a brief and general account of the early history of America and the Aztecs, with an outline of the physical geography of New Spain, the text proper follows, in six parts, corresponding to the six dioceses, with the history of their towns, parishes, and missions, classified by districts, together with some information regarding their relative situations, actual population, condition, products, and industries. Volume i., containing books i.–ii., with 382 numbered pages, is devoted to the archbishopric of Mexico, and the see of Puebla, including a full description of the city of Mexico, its public buildings, general and local government departments, and revenues. The second volume is equally divided between the remaining bishoprics. Though at the time of its publication this work enjoyed a high reputation for accuracy, it was subsequently found to contain many errors. *Alcedo, Bib. Am.*, MS., ii. 1159. Approaching, in its nature, a geographical and historical dictionary, it was the first of its kind relating to New Spain; and notwithstanding its defects, which later publications have served to rectify, it is invaluable for the history of this period, and has been freely used by subsequent writers. Villa-Señor is said to have been the author of several other works,

likewise printed in Mexico, *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Bib. Mex. Guat.*, 155, but I have been unable to find any mention of such works, excepting that given by Alcédo, *Bib. Am.*, MS., ii. 1159–60, entitled *Respuesta á la Apologia*, Mex. 1742, relating to the monopoly of quicksilver.

About forty years after the publication of the *Theatro Americano*, there appeared in Spain the first general geographical and historical encyclopædia of America, the *Diccionario Geográfico-Hisótrico de las Indias Occidentales ó América*. Madrid, 1786-9, 5 vols. 4to. The author, Antonio de Alcedo y Bexarano, was born at Quito, during the rule of his father, Dionisio de Alcedo, president and captain-general of that province. Returning to Spain soon after the author's birth, his father was appointed to the presidency of the audiencia at Panamá, whence he departed in 1742. After studying in the Jesuit college of that town till 1752, Antonio entered the Spanish guards in Spain as cadet, and pursued a course of mathematics in the Imperial college of Madrid, and later that of medicine in the college of Montpellier. A few years afterwards he began the collection and preparation of material for his *Diccionario*, which employed all the time he could spare from his varied duties during the next twenty years. Meanwhile he had risen to lieutenant, while still a minor, and took part in the operations against Gibraltar. In 1784 he received the rank of captain, and later that of colonel. About 1794 he was appointed political and military governor of the city of Alciras, with the rank of brigadier-general. In 1800 he rose to that of maresçal de campo, and in 1802 was made military governor of Coruña.

The Royal Academy of History made him one of its members in 1784, and subsequently he received similar honors from the society Cantabrica, and that of the city of Valencia. *Alcedo Bib. Am.*, MS., i. 27–9.

For the compilation of his *Diccionario*, Alcedo has drawn upon a variety of sources. The articles relating to the English and French possessions of North America are taken from the *American Gazetteer*, Lond. 1762; the greater portion of those relating to South America from Coleti's *Dizionario Storico-Geográfico*, Venice, 1771; but the information relating to New Spain is said to come from over three hundred works on America, in various languages. In addition to these, numberless documents were examined and much information received from intelligent residents of the Indies, to whom he submitted his work. The result of these labors was a work whose value was immediately recognized, and though in many respects defective when compared with later encyclopædias, owing to the numerous valuable authorities used, and now lost or inaccessible, it remains a standard work. The desire of stimulating commerce between Spain and her American possessions, by collecting the most full and accurate information possible, was one of the chief motives of the author, but this laudable desire was well nigh frustrated by the Spanish government, which, in order to prevent this information from spreading among foreign nations, ordered the suppression of the work. A few copies, however, escaped, but though the work at once became very rare no reprint was ever attempted, owing chiefly, no doubt, to its subsequent translation into English. The growing importance of English trade with America, which had increased enormously since the American revolution, and the necessity for more extensive information induced G. A. Thompson, one of her

citizens, to undertake the translation, which resulted in the publication in 1812–15 of five large 4to vols., containing as nearly as possible a literal translation of Alcedo, and with many valuable additions, chiefly from the works of Morse, Molina, Humboldt, Depons, Azara, and official sources. To many of the leading articles much matter has been added, including statistics in the preface to the first volume; a statistical review of English trade is given; Alcedo's glossary of provincial terms has been revised and enlarged; various improvements have been made in the arrangement and treatment; many inaccuracies have been corrected; and the whole has been supplemented with a valuable collection of maps in a separate volume.

With the object of avoiding the endless repetition of authors in connection with the various articles of the *Diccionario*, Alcedo wrote two separate volumes, containing bibliographical sketches of all the works consulted, to which he gave the title of *Biblioteca Americana, ó Catálogo Histórico de todos los autores que han escrito sobre materias de América en varios idiomas, con una noticia de sus vidas*, MS., fol., 2 vols. This work was never published, and but few copies of the original are extant. One of these, sent to Mexico in 1854 by William H. Prescott, is now in my possession. Another manuscript work of Alcedo, whose title is given in the foregoing work, is *Historia del Reyno de Tierra Firme y Ciudad de Panamá, desde el año de 1519*, MS., with cuts, 4to. I find no mention of this work elsewhere.

In common with other religious provinces of New Spain, the Franciscan province of Zacatecas had its special chronicler. The labors of its friars were chiefly confined to that portion of New Spain in which are included the modern states of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, New Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, and the north-eastern part of Jalisco, and were closely identified with the conquest and settlement of these regions. All this is related in the *Chronica de la Provincia de N. S. P. San Francisco de Zacatecas*, Mex. 1737, 4to, by Friar José Arlegui, with special attention to the founding of convents and the lives and sufferings of its members, including descriptions of miracles. Arlegui, who was a native of Biscay and provincial of this province in 1725–8, had in 1736 been appointed chronicler of the province. In 1819 the continuation of the history was determined upon, and Antonio Galvez was commissioned for this purpose. He brought the history of the province down to 1828 in the form of a list of provincials, on whose character and rule he dwells, interspersing brief accounts of outside political and ecclesiastical history. This addition with the title of *Memorias para la continuacion de la Cronica de la muy religiosa provincia de N. S. P. San Francisco de las Zacatecas, acopiado por Fr. Antonio Galvez, año de 1827*, was added to a new edition of the former work published in 1851, the paging running continuously throughout.

Among my rarest provincial histories is that of religious labors in Oajaca by Father Francisco de Burgoa, identified with the district by birth and by life-long work in its missionary field. He had joined the Dominican order there in 1620, and succeeded twice in reaching the chair of provincial, besides representing the provincia at Rome in 1656. He also acted for the inquisition, and lived latterly as guardian of Huaxolotitlan and other convents dying at an advanced age in 1681. Several writings of his were published,

but the most important is the *Palestra Historical de Virtvdes, y Exemplares*, Mexico, 1670, 269 folios, followed in 1674 by a second part under the title of *Geografica Descripcion...de esta Provincia de Predicadores de Antequera*, 423 folios and a supplement, in two volumes, both devoted to the history of Dominican missions, and the lives of the friars, interspersed with numerous details on the ancient history, rites, and relics of the Zapotecs and adjoining tribes. It is the only source of any value for the history of this important province; yet it is so rare even in Mexico as to have been overlooked by several bibliographers. An engraved page representing a portal with a number of statues, astronomic signs, and other elaboration, precedes the title-page. The printing is in double columns, and rather crude. The diction is flowery and verbose, with the superabundance of religious matter to be expected from such a pen, and the phraseology is obscure, rendering it on the whole very troublesome to glean facts; but these are faults of the time, as much as of the man, whose pious biographies do justice to his fraternal zeal, if not to his judgment, and whose curious annals rouse our interest.

The crowning figure in the bibliographic series for the later colonial period is undoubtedly Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, whose well known work on New Spain forms a review of its condition at the most advanced period, the first exhaustive account of the kind ever given, and that by one of a foreign race, hitherto so jealously excluded from making inquiries. The exemption granted in this case was due greatly to Humboldt's fame as a scientist and traveller, which had paved the way to favor at a court roused in a measure to the liberal requirements of the age. He early displayed a taste for botany and kindred subjects, and was allowed full liberty for his inclination at the university of Göttingen, at that time preëminent for scientific studies. His rapid advancement in these and other branches can be traced greatly to the influence of a noble-minded mother, on whom had devolved his entire care since his tenth year, owing to the death in 1779 of his father, a major in the army and chamberlain at the Berlin court. At Göttingen Humboldt formed a friendship with George Forster, companion of the navigator Cook, which gave impulse to an innate love for travelling, and henceforth his reading was especially directed to prepare him for scientific exploration, while a series of contributions on subjects ranging from physics to philosophy gave evidence in his twentieth year both of his profundity and the variety of his attainments. In 1792 he had accepted a position in the mining department with a view to advance his studies, but displayed such marked ability as to obtain rapid advancement, as well as important commissions. In 1795 he undertook a scientific tour through Switzerland and Italy, prepared shortly after to join the projected circumnavigation party under Baudin, but drifted to Madrid and was invited to select Spanish America as a field for investigation. He accordingly left Coruña in 1799, accompanied by the botanist Bonpland, overran successively Nueva Andalucia, Spanish Guaiana, and Cuba, established the existence of a connection between the Orinoco and Amazon, and began in 1801 the celebrated exploration of the Andes, crowned by an ascent of Chimborazo, and complemented by observations on the transit of Mercury, on the sources of the Amazon, and on the fertilizing properties of guano.

In 1802 he left Callao for Acapulco, still accompanied by Bonpland, who attended to botanical researches. The letters of Minister Urquizo procured him in New Spain as elsewhere the attention and coöperation of the highest officials, and he was enabled to make investigations connected not alone with the abstract and concrete sciences, which formed his chief aim, but with the political and economic condition of the country hitherto so jealously veiled. During a stay from March, 1803, till the same month in the following year, he made trips in different directions, embracing the mining districts of Real del Monte, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas, the agricultural regions of Michoacan, and back past the snow-crowned volcanoes Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl to the aboriginal center of Cholula with it famous pyramid, and thence to the miasmatic gulf-shore, directing his penetrating observations on ancient and modern society, on mouldering ruins and unfolding elements of a higher culture, on supernal phenomena and subterranean forms, all the more interesting since in connection with his southern explorations, they formed the base for several branches of science, to which he lays claim as founder, notably in meteorology and physical geography. He returned to Europe in 1804, and began soon after at Paris, with aid from different quarters, to prepare for publication the fruit of his remarkable tour, a task occupying a great part of his attention for over 20 years, and intimately connected with other works of encyclopædic range which flowed from his ever busy pen, and procured him a fame almost unrivalled in scientific annals.

The results of his American journey were given to the world in *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait dans les années 1799 à 1804*, divided into six parts in 30 folio and quarto volumes, and embracing such sections as *Relation Historique*, *Vues des Cordillères*, *Atlas*, *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, spoken of in connection with my *Summary of Geographical Knowledge and Discovery*, *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i., and *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, Paris, 1811, 2 vols., the rest relating especially to natural history, geology, meteorology, accompanied by maps and drawings. Most of these and other works have been translated into different languages, and issued in many editions, both complete and abbreviated. My remarks must for the present be confined to the *Essai Politique*, as the only section which relates particularly to New Spain. It is dedicated to Carlos IV., as his patron in this instance, and has a valuable atlas. After an introductory explanation of the maps, it opens with physical geography and its bearing on agriculture and other industries, and proceeds to treat of population, the causes which affect births and deaths, notably epidemic diseases, and characteristics and conditions of the races and castes. Then follows a description of the different intendencias and provinces, their extent, resources, and leading towns; the second volume with the three last directions is devoted respectively to agriculture and mines, commerce and manufactures, revenue and defences, followed by two supplements of notes and additions. Like many other parts of Humboldt's work, this was first issued in sections from 1808–11, as noticed in *Edinburgh Rev.*, April 1810, and November 1811, the first complete edition being the folio before me of 1811. I have also the first German issue of 1809–14 in 5 vols., 8vo, and English and Spanish editions, those of later date containing additions.

The value of the work is recognized not so much in the many reprints, as in the extensive use made of it by later writers, hardly any one attempting to consult earlier authorities for the field covered; and indeed they could not have done better, for it is with rare exceptions not only full and accurate, based on official data freely placed before the author, but it may be called the first comprehensive and philosophic treatise of the kind on New Spain. Nevertheless it is not exhaustive, and it rarely goes back beyond the generation of Humboldt's time for statistics or historic information, a circumstance overlooked by many a hasty and ungrateful borrower. For my purposes, though the scope is broad, the work has served merely as an aid to fill certain gaps. None the less do I acknowledge my obligations to the researches of this truly great man, the first to unlock the Spanish colonies to foreign investigators, and I heartily join my voice to the applause still ringing to his memory.

Herewith I give broader references to some authorities consulted for the preceding chapters: *Cedulario*, MS., i. 69, 90, 152–4, 179–97, 204; iii. 23, 49, 61–4, 129; iv. 24–5, 158–9; *Vireyes de Mex., Instruc.*, MS., passim; *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 5–6, 45–50, 134; iii. 12, 42, 53–7, 79–86, 128–30, 158, 177–80; v. 1–54, 133; vi. 63–76; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., i. 1–369; ii., passim; iii. 63–203; iv. 69 et seq.; *Reales Ordenes*, i. 254–8; ii. 1–17, 305–33; iv., passim; viii. 16, 24, 214–15; *Instruccion Vireyes*, 29, 97, 104–204; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 8–10, 75–6, 105–6; ii. 58–63, 153–9, 172–3, 237; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i., passim; ii. 1–8, 80–100; *Id., Instruc.*, 1–353; *Id., Residencia*, MS., passim; *Id., Bandos*, passim; *Id., Solemnes Exequias*, 1–91; *Branciforte, Instruc.*, MS., 13–36; *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., passim; *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., 5; *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., passim; *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 54, 82, 119; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 53–5, 119–20; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 234; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., 221, 313–15; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i, 33–6, 53–61; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 52, 204–5; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 38–45, 157, 161–2, 181–3; *Intendentes, Real Ordenanza*, 347–410; *Disposiciones Varias*, passim; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 274; *Torquemada*, i. 298–304, 620–1; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 38–40; ii. 73–4; iii. 107–8; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 4–9, 37; *Id., Parayso, Occid.*, 25–32; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iv. 136–40, 363; *Recop. de Indias*, i. 567 et seq.; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxxi. 496–502; *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 34–5; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i., ii., passim; *Id.*, série ii. tom. vi. 5–96; tom. vii., passim; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. 62–85, 239–44, 262–4, 296, 390–1; *Id., Hist. Mej.*, i. 8 et seq.; ii. 1–2; iv. 724; v. 956; *Colon, Juzgados Militares*, ii. 523–60; iii., iv., passim; *Cartas de Indias*, 272, 791–2; *Doc. Ecles. Mex.*, MS., i. 1–52; *Carriedo, Estudios Hist.*, ii. 107; *Vetancvrt, Chron. San Evang.*, 31–48, 67–9, 81–3; *Id., Trat. Mex.*, 1–5, 34–45; *Beleña, Recop.*, i., passim; ii. 86, 332–5; *Gomez, Diario*, passim; *Presidios, Reglamento*, 1–132; *Robles, Diario*, passim; *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 8–26, 211–39; *Arrangoiz, Mex.*, i. 33–4; *Monumentos Domen. Esp.*, MS., passim; *Guijo, Diario*, 8 et seq.; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 150–5; *Mota Padilla, Coñq. N. Gal.*, 3–18, 177; *Bustamante, Cuad. Hist.*, i. 10–11; *Id., Efemerides*, i. 33; *Id., Medidas Pacificacion*, MS., ii. 63–4; *Id., Voz de la Patria*, iii. 7–8, 24; *Villarroel, Enfermedades*, 55, 111–14, 163–72; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 3–9, 184–91; *Cárlos III., Reales Exequias*, 1–33; *Id., IV., Breve Relacion*, passim; *Colon de Larriátegui, Juzgados*, 1–466; *Alzate, Gaceta*, i. 71–7, 166–7, 231–4, 365; ii. 82 et seq.; iii. 1–3, 46–8, 453–62; iv. passim; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 67, 142–210; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Libre*, 79–80, 159–222, 485–535; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 463–4; *Orozco y Berra, Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 171–2, 194–206; *Lacunza, Discursos Hist.*, no. xxxvi. 513–35; *Palafox y Mendoza, El Venerab. Señor*, 23; *Mayer's Mex. Azt.*, i. 96 et seq.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 264–5; ii. 2–12, 65–83; iii. 87–9,

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CHAPTER XXVII.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL SYSTEMS.

1500—1800.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF SPANISH COLONIES—THE SUPREME AUTHORITY—DIVISION OF THE INDIES—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT—MUNICIPALITIES—LOCAL ADMINISTRATION—INDIAN COMMUNITIES—OFFICE-HOLDING, RESTRICTIONS AND REQUISITES—SALABLE POSITIONS—VANITY AND PRECEDENCE—NEW SPAIN, EXTENT AND DIVISIONS—OFFICES AND DUTIES OF THE VICEROY—POMP, PRIVILEGES, AND PAY—VICISSITUDES AND JURISDICTION OF THE AUDIENCIA—OIDORES' TASKS AND HONORS—DIFFERENT INSTANCE COURTS—COSTLY LITIGATION—CAUSES OF CRIME—PECULIAR AND SEVERE PUNISHMENTS—AT THE SCAFFOLD.

THE Spanish possessions in America partook of the Roman colony features in being acquired by conquest, held as integral parts of the state, and used greatly for the benefit of certain classes; yet they presented many peculiarities. The conquest was performed chiefly by private venture impelled by immediate gain; the sovereign stimulated by similar allurements stepping in to reap the more solid acquisitions, without fostering them by any special encouragement to immigration. The title to the Indias Occidentales, under which term were embraced the transoceanic domains of Spain, including the Philippines,[1] rested nominally on the grant of Pope Alexander VI. to the Catholic sovereign; and by virtue of this, Charles V. formally declared them incorporated in the crown of Castile inalienably.[2] All right to lands, all control

[1] 'Començados à contar por... treinta y nueve, ò por quarenta Grados de longitud Occidental del Meridiano de Toledo, que es por la Boca del Rio Marañon; i por la Oriental, por la Ciudad de Malàca.' *Herrera, Descrip. Ind.*, 2. The question is more fully discussed in *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 281–3, yet with the conclusion, 'linea demarcationis, nondum definitum est.'

[2] Text of decree in *Recop. Ind.*, i. 523.

over natives, all political power, remained with the king, who kept jealous guard over his prerogatives, resolved to exact for himself and his favorite subjects every benefit, and went to the extreme of placing on colonial thought and enterprise restrictions which have generally been condemned as tyrannical.

But Spaniards felt not the yoke. While loving to rule, they preferred also to be ruled. The nobles had trained them in loyalty, so much so that they readily responded to the appeals of the sovereign to aid in humbling the nobility who interfered too much with the free sway of the sceptre. For this they received among other privileges a right to popular representation, but it was not long ere the astute Charles, with the aid of the church, managed to wrest from the communities all power to interfere in state government, and to assume for himself supreme control, which extended also over the church. Still the sovereigns were ever devoted to the faith, and so were ready to be guided by philanthropic prelates and sage counsellors. No country indeed can point to a code superior for general benevolence and wisdom. Its chief defects must be attributed to the mania at Madrid for excessive governing, and to the sway allowed to feeling over staid judgment and determination in dictating and enforcing it, no less than to the constant pressure for money at court, for which so much was sacrificed. While selfish in its restrictions against foreign elements, like the church the supreme authority was sympathetic and lenient within limits, and it looked with paternal care to the interests of all concerned, whether Spaniards, Indians, or mixed breeds, although the first were naturally regarded with special favor. If greedy officials circumvented the laws and used their power for oppression, the lower classes who suffered were ready enough to recognize the good intentions of the government. Thus for centuries its control remained unquestioned, even by the parties which at times presumed to rise against the

viceroy; and thus it was able to carry out as late as 1767 such extraordinary measures as the expulsion of the Jesuits without serious trouble.

The administration of the different dominions of Spain resided in different councils, which possessed also legislative power and were wholly independent of each other, subject only to the sovereign who conferred with his ministers and his royal and supreme council of Castile. Thus the transoceanic possessions were intrusted to the supreme council of the Indies, holding permanent sessions at Madrid. Its jurisdiction extended to every department, civil, military, ecclesiastic, and commercial, with particular attention to the welfare of the Indians, and with the existing laws in Spain for guidance in framing cédulas, which together with royal decrees formed the laws for America. Its power corresponded to the vast extent of territory controlled; for by it viceroys and governors were made and unmade, also patriarchs and bishops, even the pope having here to submit for approval his bulls and briefs concerning the Indies.[3]

For purpose of government the possessions were divided into viceroyalties, provinces of audiencias, of chancillerías reales, and of royal officials, adelantamientos, gobernaciones, alcaldías mayores, corregimientos, alcaldías ordinarias and of hermandad, town consejos of Spaniards and Indians; and for spiritual administration into sees, parishes, religious provinces, and other divisions, which were intended to conform to the temporal boundaries.[4] With the discovery of new abuses among the ever transgressing officials, new officers were created, thus forming wheels within wheels for watching watchers and carrying out the king's will. This division was the growth of centuries, and embraced toward the end of Spanish domination the four viceroyalties of Peru, New Spain, New

[3] For the history and rules of this body see *Hist. Cent. Amer.*, i. 280–2, this series.

[4] As declared by supreme order of 1571. Sees were to correspond to gubernatorial provinces, and so forth. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 532.

Granada, and Buenos Ayres, a number of more or less independent captain-generalcies, and twelve audiencias, including those at Santo Domingo and Manila.[5]

The provinces of royal officials were merely revenue districts, whose heads received their appointment from the king, and administered their office under a certain supervision from the viceroy and governors attending their councils; yet they were responsible only to the finance tribunal of the viceregal capital, and this again reported direct to Spain.[6] Adelantamientos was an early term for gubernatorial districts, generally of undefined limits, to be extended by further conquest. Gobernaciones were the provinces of governors who usually held also the office of captain-general, and at the audiencia capitals acted as presidents of this body. Over them the audiencias had a passive supervision with active interference only in judicial matters,[7] and the viceroy could control them only in a limited degree as royal representative. In 1786 the gubernatorial districts were replaced by intendencias, under intendentes, who combined in themselves the political, judicial, financial, and military control, assisted by an asesor.[8] Their subdelegados exercised in county capitals similar jurisdiction in subordinate degree, replacing gradually alcaldes mayores and corregidores who had for nearly three centuries been ruling as district or county magistrates, with political and economic supervision, sometimes indeed as governors.[9] These minor rulers also were appointed chiefly by the

[5] The creation, jurisdiction, and composition of each may be found in *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 323 et seq.; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. and passim.

[6] As will be explained in the chapter on finance.

[7] Florida was subject to no audiencia, owing to its distance.

[8] As explained in another chapter.

[9] The alcaldes mayores of New Spain under Cortés were merely intrusted with judicial matters, as we have seen; later those of San Luis Potosí and other places acted also as lieutenants for captain-generals, and exercised in other respects the duties and ceremonies of governors. The term therefore does not always convey a clear idea of what the dignity consisted. Corregidores were intended to replace encomenderos when the Indians fell to the crown, as explained in *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 329–30, but alcaldes mayores undertook similar duties.

king, and enjoyed therefore a certain independence, acting in a degree as spies on one another and on their superiors. This policy of subdivision of authority and mutual watch, which could not fail to strengthen the control of the supreme government, was prompted partly by the distance of the colonies, and precipitated by the ambition and quarrelsome disposition of the early governors. Whenever unsatisfactory reports came in concerning any governor or magistrate, the India Council, or its higher representatives, at once despatched a visitador to hold investigation and submit the result, although at times he had power to carry out reforms and penalties on the spot. Usually, however, the only investigation needed was the residencia demanded at the end of his term from every official with any jurisdiction.[10]

Municipal government was vested chiefly in alcaldes and regidores, of whom large cities had two and twelve respectively, and ordinary towns two and six. In minor places many of these offices remained vacant, partly owing to the interference of governors and their lieutenants who wished to retain sole control.[11] In other places the alcaldes were mere figure-heads. At the founding of a town the municipality was elected for one year;[12] after that the regidor positions in most places were sold, always with preference for meritorious persons and descendants of conquerors. The duties of the alcalde, who could appoint asesores to aid him, was to take cognizance in first instance of criminal and civil cases, appeals being made to city council, alcalde mayor, governor, or audiencia. He

[10] As fully explained in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 250–1, this series. See also *Recop. Ind.*, i. 344, 368, 512, ii. 163 et seq.

[11] Revilla Gigedo states that only 28 towns in New Spain had two alcaldes toward the end of the eighteenth century. *Instruc.*, 18. Some places had increased the number to three, but this was checked.

[12] None to be reëlected within two years. In one place the *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 31, 129, has it three years. The district governor or his superior confirmed the election. In the Provincias Internas the militia captains were in later times made perpetual alcaldes, the lieutenants regidores, and sergeant procurador.

also, assisted by a regidor, gave tariffs to shops and taverns in towns where no governor resided, and in such towns also he presided over the council, a privilege otherwise belonging to the governor, or alcalde mayor, or their lieutenant. None of these presidents had a vote in the assembly, or could interfere in municipal administration. Honorary regidores and communal deputies were, toward the end of the last century, given a place in councils, as in Spain, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the perpetual municipality. They could be elected, every second year, from the trading class.[13] Other prominent officials, partly chosen from the regidores, partly elected from citizens, although not fully represented in every town, were the alférez real, who carried the banner, the procuradores and sindicos, usually lawyers, who represented the council in legal matters, and made collections, the treasury officers, and the alguacil mayor, or sheriff, who could appoint lieutenants and prison-keepers, and had to carry out the orders of governors and alcaldes without meddling with the alguaciles, or police.[14]

At the election of alcaldes the municipality chose two alcaldes de mesta, whose duty it was to preside over the semi-annual council of live-stock holders, and to attend to regulations concerning domestic animals.[15] Municipal funds were derived primarily from lands set aside for each town when founded,[16] sometimes certain fines could be appropriated; and for urgent public works, suits at law, appointment of agents, and the like, contributions might be levied by the magis-

[13] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 35–6. The other regidores could not engage in trade. Their duty was to supervise markets, shops, streets, movements of population, and the like. In case of death the alcalde was succeeded by a regidor.

[14] These were appointed by governors, alcaldes mayores, or alcaldes, and existed also in Indian villages, where alguaciles mayores did not figure.

[15] The councils were held on January 16th and August 31st, in convenient places, and must be attended by at least five hermanos de la mesta, a dignity to which every owner of 300 head of small stock and 20 mares or cows was entitled. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 135–8.

[16] For this and other features connected with formation of towns see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 406–8, this series.

trate for amounts not exceeding fifteen thousand maravedís. Audiencias could extend the levy to two hundred pesos, but anything above this amount required royal sanction. Lands and certain other property were leased at auction, and the rents intrusted to depositarios, whose books were usually inspected by an oidor.[17] Drafts for ordinary expenses were issued by magistrates and council.[18] The city had eight cuartel districts, five of which were administered judicially by the five alcaldes del crímen of the audiencia, and the remaining three by the alcaldes ordinarios and the corregidor, subject to whom were four petty ward alcaldes in each district, created in later times. There existed also a special patrol, and lighted streets, although the latter feature was secured only until a comparatively recent date, and after many efforts.[19]

About the same time, 1790, fire-engines were made for the public offices, and regulations issued for the guidance of the people called to assist at fires, with premiums for the first leaders of gangs who obeyed the bell signals of the watchmen in the church towers. Before this the neighbors hurried pell-mell to the scene, and friars and clergy came with images and relics, some of which were even cast into the fire with a view to awe the flames into submission.[20] Among this crowd of psalm-singers and frantic helpers, thieves found good opportunities while pretending to render aid.

[17] Fieles executores shared in certain trusts and supervised the honesty of dealers, particularly in provisions.

[18] Drafts on these funds must not exceed 3,000 maravedís, and salaries could not be assigned thereon without superior permit; yet they could be drawn upon for royal celebrations—not for the reception of prelates and other dignitaries. Yet much money was spent on suits and display.

[19] Under Revilla Gigedo's energetic rule. Since 1776 repeated orders had come to enforce street lighting, first on the part of well-to-do citizens and shopkeepers, later by systematic levies on the part of the ward alcaldes. All this failing, the city council was given the control, and lamps were erected at a cost of 35,429 pesos, the annual expense for oil and labor being about 24,000 pesos, covered by a tax of three reals on each cargo of flour, which yielded 36,000. Eight corporals supervised the lighting. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 71–3. The ordinary revenue of the city came to nearly half a million. *Id.*, 38. Villa-Señor specifies different sources and amounts. *Teatro*, i. 53–6.

[20] *Id.*, 73–4; *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 412–13.

Regulations for Indians, as we have repeatedly seen, were full of liberal, benevolent, and as a rule wise measures, though misapplied by rapacious or negligent officials. More consideration was shown for the faults of the natives; special exemptions were granted from taxes, and many privileges extended, as if in regard for their primary right to the soil, and their poverty, and as if they were less responsible beings. The quality of this consideration has no parallel in the history of colonization; there is a pure charity, a tender humanity about it, which we look for in vain among the other nations of christendom. The encomienda system had been gradually abolished, and liberty granted to the Indians freely to dispose of their labor; yet advantage continued to be taken of their poverty and ignorance, to abuse them, and practically to maintain them in slavery, notwithstanding the many strict laws against advancing money or effects, or otherwise to place them under binding obligation. The alcaldes mayores and corregidores placed to protect them were only too often their chief oppressors, who relentlessly exacted the tribute from which they obtained a percentage, and who sold to them by compulsion useless goods at exorbitant rates. The establishment of intendencias had for its object the reform of these abuses, and improvement certainly took place. The effort to congregate them into villages, particularly near mines and settlements, was still carried on, partly to promote their culture by means of priests and example, partly for advancement of colonization and increase of state revenue, the frequent practice of introducing laborers from a distant province being objectionable in many ways.

In the villages so formed no strangers must be allowed, even of their own race,[21] and those enrolled as settlers must not live away from the place. Large villages had two alcaldes and four regidores,[22] elected

[21] Though they may own land there. Travellers could stay two days, traders not over three.

[22] A medium-size village had two regidores, and one of 40 to 80 Indians only one alcalde and one regidor.

annually from among the people in presence of the curate, who was the adviser and guide in all matters. The election was as a rule nominal, for the offices, particularly the former, fell to the Indian nobles, and in some villages the cacique was perpetual alcalde. This officer could inflict punishment to the extent of a day's imprisonment or eight lashes on drunkards, absentees from mass, and similar offenders. Greater culprits, including half-breeds, must be merely arrested and taken to the nearest Spanish town. The caciques or chiefs retained a certain power independent of any official rank, with right to establish their claims to succession, to wield authority over the Indians within their district, and to exact tribute, although this was moderated if regarded as excessive. They must pay the men employed and inflict only light punishments.[23] The privileges granted them as nobles were generally abused in tyrannizing over their semi-subjects, partly as a relief to their feelings, which suffered so much from Spanish insolence. The curates and political agents were generally prepared to support them for economic reasons. Special care was taken to dispose of Indian civil and criminal cases promptly and with the least expense. Indeed, processes were not permitted except in grave instances. In audiencia cities, a lawyer and procurador attended exclusively to them, without charging fees, their pay coming from fines or community effects.[24] Cases of first instance pertained to governors, and at Mexico an Indian tribunal under an oidor or alcalde de crímen, who acted as asesor to the viceroy, attended to this duty.[25]

[23] No ordinary judge could seize a cacique, except for grave offence. No mestizo could hold this dignity. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 245–9; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. 152 et seq.; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 1–24.

[24] In suits before the audiencia the fiscal defended one party, the protector the other. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 243. The protector and defensor offices were suppressed in 1582, but revived a few years later.

[25] For its support a tax of half a real was levied on each Indian. *Id.*, 200. A clerk and relator assisted. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 11. The oidor received 400 pesos a year for this extra duty. Indians could freely give powers of attorney so as to avoid appearance in person.

Among the sources for village revenue was the yield of community land, each Indian being obliged to cultivate a certain amount, or to pay a tax. The funds were generally invested in mortgages, with advice of an oidor and in charge of royal treasury officials, under bond, who disbursed for crown taxes, school and mission expenses, and other purposes. The capital could not be encroached upon, save in extreme cases and with approval of the Indians;[26] indeed this as well as a part of the inflowing money came to be held almost as crown property, and the real owners met with such difficulty when making demands thereon that they seldom renewed the effort.

Office-holding in America possessed special features not alone in its allurements, but in its effect on the destinies of Spanish colonies. Almost every person above the artisan class who migrated to the Indies came to engage in commerce or to obtain office. In fact nearly all the higher posts were occupied by them,[27] partly on the long established principle, as instanced by the restrictions on oidores, to let no official exercise jurisdiction in a province or district where he was bound by ties of kinship. This seemed the more necessary in countries so distant from the seat of government, and whose population had by personal conquest and colonization acquired more immediate rights and greater freedom of discussing them. To the children born within the bounds of loyal Spain, and influenced by no foreign ties, must, therefore, be intrusted the supervision and management for their king of these less secure possessions. They also had readier access to plead for positions. Creoles could not be wholly excluded, and a share

[26] The audiencia appointed the needed clerk and collector. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 214 et seq.

[27] Of 70 viceroys in America only three were creoles, accidentally so in being born of officials; and of 600 captain-generals only 14. In 1808 only one bishopric and a few canonries were held by creoles in Mexico. *Alaman, Méj.*, i. 12–13.

had to be given them; but it was small, very small considering the superior claims of their ancestry, who had won and loyally transmitted domains so rich.[28] In addition to the discontent created by the partiality for Spanish-born subjects, the position and favor enjoyed by the latter made them arrogant, and tended to render more marked the caste distinction, all of which must in due time bear fruit.

Nearly all high offices, especially those with jurisdiction, were reserved by the king for his own appointment, and the viceroy or president of audiencia could fill the post only temporarily; yet his recommendation had weight.[29] It had frequently been declared that descendants of conquerors should be given preference for most offices; then settlers and those born in the country, with special attention to meritorious and married men; but ceaseless intrigues and the pressure of personal interest assisted to nullify this. In the magistracy, ability should receive superior weight; traders could not be given treasury offices; those who had been artisans could not hold alcaldías mayores, corregimientos, and similar positions; planters, mulattoes, mestizos, and natives were also debarred from the higher offices. Adherents and relatives within four degrees of the high dignitaries were declared ineligible for many offices within the same state, but supplementary laws practically annulled this, as well as many other rules,[30] as we have seen.

While meritorious service formed a main feature in the application for office,[31] it was above all necessary

[28] The liberal Cárlos III. sought to remedy this injustice in a measure, but the effort did not prove lasting.

[29] Even the temporary appointment of governors was in certain cases withheld from him, but he had a number of alcaldías mayores and other grades at his entire disposal. The governor of a province could appoint temporary treasure officials, but his selection might be set aside by the president of an audiencia, and his by the viceroy, who again had to yield to the sovereign. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 525–6.

[30] It was declared that persons of merit should not suffer from the rule, and this sufficed to open the gate for evasion. A papal decree of 1739 condemns the restrictions against breeds as excessive. *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 564–5.

[31] Form of application may be found in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., iv. pt. 6.

that the candidate should owe nothing to the treasury. He must tender oath for faithful and loyal performance of duty, give bonds in many cases, and in certain instances inventory of estate. In term offices a certain period must elapse ere the same person could be reappointed.[32] While lieutenants could be chosen by governors and others in different towns, office could not be held by substitutes without special permission, nor could they be resigned in favor of another. The pay varied greatly even for similar offices according to location and wealth of districts.[33] Temporary holders, till removed or confirmed, received merely half pay when it fell below a fair amount.[34] It was clearly specified to whom salaries should come from the royal treasury, and who should receive their pay from fines, fees, and other sources.[35] Payments were made three times a year, in silver—gold being reserved for Spain[36]—the time counting from date of taking possession, although several obtained pay from the day of leaving Spain.[37] To some advances were made for travelling expenses. Certain deductions served to form a pension fund for widows and orphans of those who died in office, and others in form of media anata[38] went to the king. The civil pension sys-

[32] Three years by decree of 1687. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 88. Calle gives the form for despatching confirmations and titles. *Mem. y Not.*, 173–5.

[33] During the seventeenth century the *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 114–16, instances the following: corregidor of Mexico, 500,000 maravedís; governor and captain-general of Yucatan, 1,000 pesos de minas; corregidor of Vera Cruz, 1,000 pesos; alcalde mayor and captain of war at Acapulco, 1,000 ducados; alcalde mayor of Tabasco, 300 ducados; Guadalajara governor and president, 3,500 ducados; governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya, 2,000 pesos de minas, and corregidor of Zacatecas, 1,000.

[34] By decree of 1790 those with less than 400 pesos were exempt, and this limit being shown to be too low for decently supporting the official, a decree of 1792 raised it to 1,000, with a partial reduction on amounts less than 2,000. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 72.

[35] The Mexican treasury had to supply funds for the Philippines and other quarters when their treasuries were empty.

[36] *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 581 et seq.

[37] Yet a decree of 1646 decided that pay must be allowed only from date of taking possession. *Id.*, 255. Salaries stopped with death. No deduction was made during sickness or justified absence.

[38] The sources were a half month's pay, a small regular percentage, also salaries accruing during vacancies, termed *vacaciones*; also deductions from certain offices, called *quitas*, and other sources. From the latter came special

tem was created only during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and did not apply to the holders, some of whom received a proportion of pay from other funds after a certain term of service, or when incapacitated.[39] In protection of the pension funds it was required that officials should not marry wives without sufficient dowries,[40] nor without permission.

Before the discovery of America a few offices without jurisdiction, or with minor participation therein, were sold to bidders. The practice soon extended, as the mania for office-holding increased and the royal treasury became greedier, and law after law was added to the list which embraced in particular the positions of clerks, notaries, sheriffs, regidores, persons connected with the collecting and management of funds of tribunals, municipalities, mints, and others.[41] These sales were first authorized in the Indies by decree of June 17, 1559, subsequently amplified in extent and rules,[42] so as to embrace also in a measure pensions and encomiendas.[43] Public notice had to be given of vacancies, and a certain time allowed for bidders to prepare themselves to present qualifications, for restrictions as to class and talent applied also here. The sale was held in the presence of an oidor, or other high official, the highest bidder being entitled to the position, with certain exceptions in favor of able or meritorious persons.[44] Different causes tended to affect prices, such as hard times, which naturally diminished fees, and consequently the valuation. Thus the office of high sheriff to the audiencia at Mexico sold at different

pensions for meritorious persons. For particulars see *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, vi. 97 et seq.; *Mex. Legis.*, April 1853, 31 et seq.

[39] Certain treasury officials had to deposit one fifth of their pay as additional bond.

[40] Brides even of subalterns had to bring 3,000 pesos fuertes. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, no. 5.

[41] For details see *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 548–59; *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, iii. 62 et seq.; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 178–9.

[42] *Ll.*, 7.

[43] *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 555–6.

[44] It was specially decreed, for instance, that the positions of regidores should be given at lower rates to deserving men.

times during the period 1605–1621 at 28,750, 122,740, and 50,000 pesos; that of clerk to the civil court varied within a dozen years between 65,000 and 30,000 pesos. The twenty-four receivers' offices of the same tribunal ranged between 3,200 and 2,400 pesos. Regidores of Mexico paid between 10,000 and 6,000 pesos.[45] The sale conferred different privileges, some holders being allowed to appoint lieutenants, others to buy for minors and administer ad interim, or to renounce in favor of another, which was equivalent to private sale. Many bought positions merely as a speculation, and tendered other offices in payment.[46]

Yet the latter performances were somewhat hampered by the rule that one half of the value must be paid to the treasury on resigning or disposing of any office for the first time, and one third for subsequent transfers. In cases of private transfers the value was estimated by treasury officials for payment of the deduction.[47] Such transfers were valid only if the seller lived twenty days after the sale;[48] otherwise the office fell to the crown, to be sold anew at auction.[49]

The policy of salable offices is no doubt open to objections, although it does not appear to have been attended with so many evils as might be supposed. Many men invested money in this way to obtain position, or to secure a safe income for themselves or their children, and paid so liberally that the salaries amounted to merely a fair percentage on the investment. This served also as a bond for good conduct. The competition was generally too great to allow of an adequate return in the form of both salary and

[45] Further instances in *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 49–51.

[46] Credit was not extended over long terms.

[47] Communities had in some cases obtained the right to salable offices, and in case of a new incumbent they also must pay the deduction.

[48] The transfer must be laid before the governor or other superior authority within 70 days; within 30 days after landing if resignation was made at sea. Royal confirmation of office must be presented within four years, or it would be sold. *Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvii. 369–74.

[49] Without return of any part of its value to the late holder. In case of resignation to the crown the deduction is made on the estimated value; and the treasury reaped the benefit from any higher sale price. The office could be attached for debt.

interest on purchase money. It led also to much corruption and to a low standard of ability.[50]

It was worth while to pay large sums for a position which entailed privileges, at least honorary and social, such as are eagerly sought for even in countries less subject to class distinction and caste strife than Mexico. The well known punctiliousness of the Spaniard was not a whit relaxed in these far-off regions, and it is amusing to observe the trivialities on which the staid government would waste its attention and decrees. The question of precedence was minutely fixed, even for inferior officials, in processions, at audiences, in church, and elsewhere. In certain cases the clergy should precede all; on other occasions a governor had the precedence. This dignitary could use a cushion, but not so an alcalde mayor,[51] and certain officials could enter a tribunal with sword or stick, while others must doff and bow. Many distinctive forms of dress, still reserved on the peninsula for certain classes, had here been usurped by inferior persons, and the judicial cape and collar could be seen on every notary and physician, ay, even on the barber. The lawyers felt particularly indignant at being confounded with their social inferiors, and after a hard struggle obtained permission to wear gauze on their cuffs, and were reconciled. Form of address was also jealously guarded,[52] and the manner of kissing the pax had to be prescribed lest the arrogant worshipper should place himself on too close equality with royal devotees.

New Spain, which for so long a time formed one of the two great territorial departments of the India

[50] Revilla Gigedo recommends fixed salaries for notaries and others, and measures for introducing better men. *Instruc.*, 28.

[51] Yet he of San Luis Potosí had this and other honors granted. *Arlegui, Chron. Zac.*, 57–8.

[52] Viceroy and audiencia were addressed as *vos* by the king, but they must use an impersonal form with governors; yet the audiencia called a juez de provincia vos. The viceroy used *merced*, worship, in addressing the municipality of Mexico. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 638 et seq.; *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 114–17; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 142.

Council, the other being Peru, embraced five of the twelve audiencias, namely, Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala, Guadalajara, and Manila, besides the captain-generalcy of Florida, extending from the southern border of Costa Rica[53] into the undefined north, till treaties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave boundaries along Louisiana and beyond California. The viceroy of Mexico had however a merely nominal authority over any but the audiencia districts of Mexico and Guadalajara, which extended from Guatemala, Chiapas, and the bay of Honduras to the south line of the Florida department, and beyond California, a region forming New Spain proper.[54] In 1786 this state embraced ten gubernatorial divisions which were now converted into twelve intendencias and three provincias, with two hundred and forty-two alcaldías mayores or partidos.[55] Two military divisions also existed, those subject to the viceroy as captain-general, and those under the comandante general of the Provincias Internas.

Originally New Spain was under control of a governor, as we have seen, who held also the offices of chief justice and captain-general, with power to appoint lieutenants and other high officers, to grant repartimientos, to exile obnoxious persons, and to con-

[53] 'Cabo de Tiburón y rio de Congos, por donde confina con las Provincias de Tierra Firme.' *Alcedo*, ii. 78. Most of the early geographers apply the name of New Spain loosely even to Panamá. *Descrip. Amer.*, 103–4. *Thesaurus Geog.*, ii. 253; *Sanson, L'Amér.*, 17; *Luyts, Geog.*, 708; *Apiano, Cosmog.*, 6–7, 75; *Mendoza, Hist. China*, 304; *Ortelius, Teatrum*, 1–3. The church historian Gonzalez Dávila follows the council division in saying 'Arzobispo de Sto Domingo en Nueva España.' *Teatro*, ii. 101. Manero in 1664 applies it as a captain-generalcy to a rather limited space. *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 490–3; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 227. The subordination of the different audiencias to the viceroyalties of Peru and Mexico is explained in *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 330, ii. 114–16 etc.; *Laet, Novus Orbis*, 220. During the temporary transfer of the Guatemala audiencia to Panamá in 1563 a line from bay of Fonseca to Ulua River formed the south border. Gracias á Dios town belonging to New Spain. *Reales Céd.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvii. 532.

[54] As explained in *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 279. The boundary question is discussed in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. 713–15 (note 39), this series.

[55] Alcedo, ii. 79, implies that the whole region from Costa Rica northward contained only 128 alcaldías mayores and corregimientos, but Villa-Señor, *Teatro*, i. 23, writing in 1746, 40 years earlier, mentions 140 alone in four out of the six seas of New Spain proper. The provinces underwent changes in number and limits.

demn to death. Under pressure from envious aspirants to power, the sovereign took the wise precaution of creating an audiencia, like that at Santo Domingo, to administer justice, and watch over the observance of laws, and over the royal interest. Its president acted also as governor till the arrival of the first viceroy in the person of Mendoza.

While representing the king this high official was greatly restricted in his powers, especially in later times. His office embraced those of president of audiencia, governor, and captain-general, terms which to a certain extent indicate the authority wielded. As president, however, he possessed no vote in judicial matters, though he watched the proceedings of the oidores, signed their decisions, and directed to some extent their movements.[56] As governor, he was the head of the departments of state generally, watching also over religious observance, supervising the treasury,[57] and looking in particular to the welfare of the Indians. He could promote discovery expeditions, but the privilege to distribute encomiendas and lands was greatly absorbed by minor governors of provinces. Yet with him lay the provisional appointment of governors, captain-generals, and intendentes whenever vacancies occurred, and a number of alcaldías mayores and other offices were assigned to him for free disposal.[58] This privilege extended also to ecclesiastical offices, where he exercised the royal patronage in selecting one of

[56] He took cognizance in first instance of Indian cases, and indirect cognizance in the sessions of the civil, fiscal, and others, as Azanza explains in his *Instrucciones*, MS., 11. The pardoning power was greatly restricted by a decree of 1634. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 160. See also *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 373.

[57] Every Thursday he presided over the treasury council, and directed the steps for increasing revenues. Yet he could not grant exemption from tribute, or dispose of funds save in extraordinary cases. He might send officials to investigate the management of collectors' departments. His power in this respect was similar to that of the superintendente general de real hacienda in Spain. *Beleña*, i. 353.

[58] Calle gives a list of them with their values. *Mem. y Not.*, 100, 165–8. Their number varied at the pleasure of the king, and to some viceroys special permission was issued to confer a certain number on 'servants and adherents,' which otherwise could not be allowed. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 237. The power to appoint governors ad interim of the Philippines was at times withdrawn. *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 432–3.

the three nominees proposed by the bishop.[59] As royal representative the viceroy had much additional control over the church, which tended greatly to exalt his dignity, however galling this subordination must have been to the clergy.

A still greater influence was derived from the office of captain-general by land and sea, with power to appoint lieutenants, to call out the colonists as a militia body, to levy troops for expeditions, and even to dip into the royal treasury. A council of war served both to guide and control his action however. The duty of attending to the defence of the country enabled him to interpose his authority in a number of ways, and from his decision in military matters there was no appeal except to Spain.[60] The audiencia had in all important affairs of government to be consulted, in which attitude it was known as the acuerdo; yet in most cases the viceroy could carry out his own decision even if this body objected. The oidores would then have to report to the king, without his knowledge if they chose. In cases of appeal to them from him they could always demand the documents and determine to whom cognizance pertained.[61]

With the creation of captain-generalcies in Yucatan, and along the northern frontier of regencias and intendencias, the power of the viceroy became more and more restricted,[62] although his duties were by no means reduced, including as they did at least a nominal supervision of affairs even within districts that appeared independent of him. The commercial interests of New Spain in the Philippines called his

[59] Or rejecting all. This privilege had much to do with the frequent and bitter quarrels between the political and ecclesiastical chiefs.

[60] The military system will be considered in connection with the forming of the standing army. Revilla Gigedo comments on the captain-generalcy as the most important of the offices. *Instruc.*, 129.

[61] The power to so determine was granted only in later times. The privilege to follow his own decision in most cases served greatly to exalt the viceregal authority, as intended.

[62] A source of regret, says Revilla Gigedo, since communication with Spain had become so easy as to allow the sovereign to interfere in case of mistakes on the part of his representative. *Instruc.*, 4.

attention to the Orient; he had frequently to send arms and other aid to the Antilles; and while the government of Florida was subject to no audiencia, the authority of the viceroy could be exercised there, and so with Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Galicia, and Yucatan.

In the despatch of government affairs he was assisted by a secretarial department of royal appointment,[63] and his dignity was sustained by prescribed court pomp and ceremonies, many of them being otherwise of exclusively regal character, such as the formal reception by the chapter and bishop on his first visit to the cathedral church.[64] On certain feast days the audiencia had to accompany him to mass, but not even an oidor could take a seat beside him within the coach.[65] Indeed the viceregal court was modelled on that of Spain, and the king in many ways encouraged the manifestation of respect toward his representatives.

The formalities connected with his arrival in the country were particularly impressive.[66] Processions of brilliantly attired citizens with banners and other regalia, headed by official bodies, came forth to receive him at every town along the route, which usually passed from Vera Cruz through Jalapa, Tlascala, and

[63] By cédula of 1778 the assistants of the department were increased to eight, called officiales, with a porter. The pay of the youngest was 450 pesos. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 151; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 33. The audiencia secretaries could also be called upon. In secret affairs a private secretary might be employed. The annual appropriation for stationery was in 1758 fixed at 400 pesos. *Certif. Mercedes*, MS., 92. In less important matters the viceroy could abbreviate his signature to *media firma*.

[64] The details of observances are given in *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 632–4. Prelates could use train-bearers, but not on appearing before the viceroy. At Mexico he must dine only with his family, and observe other exclusiveness; but out of the capital greater freedom was enjoyed. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 802.

[65] Rules are laid down for the deference to be observed by different officials, an alcalde for instance being allowed to sit only on the carriage step. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 117–18 et seq. The coach was drawn by six mules, and other coaches stopped as it passed, their male occupants rising to salute. *Estalla*, xxv. 295.

[66] In order to swell his importance he was made general of the fleet conveying him to New Spain, free passage being provided for all his retinue within reasonable limits. Only his unmarried daughters or very young sons could accompany him, lest he should be induced to provide near relatives with positions.

Puebla[67] to Otumba, the scene of Cortés' brilliant victory, where the outgoing viceroy with the dignitaries from Mexico usually met him,[68] although a number of officials and citizens had hastened to tender homage long before this. Here took place the informal surrender of government and of the staff of captain-general amidst pomp and festivities; and thereupon the new ruler was escorted with great ceremony to the capital, occasionally under the pall, till strict orders forbade this encroachment on royal privileges. Bells rang, troops paraded, fireworks, bull-fights, and other entertainments followed, and for three days the viceroy dined in public with the representatives of different civil and military bodies. The cathedral formed the objective point of the entrance march, and here the archbishop received him and chanted the te deum.[69] Some time after the formal assumption of power, by swearing the oath of office, a second pompous entry took place into Mexico, for which costly preparations were made on all sides, by private citizens as well as by guilds and political bodies, the municipality alone expending as much as twenty-six thousand pesos. This extravagance being complained of, the king forbade a second entry, which had absorbed most of the ceremonies and festivities, and limited the drain on public funds for such occasions to eight thousand pesos.[70]

Many restrictive cédulas were directed against viceregal pomp and abuse, such as using family arms

[67] Occasionally Tlascala was omitted, and on one or two occasions Pánuco served as landing-place. Special receptions were tendered by the clergy at the principal church.

[68] Chapultepec or Guadalupe was also selected, but toward the end of the last century San Cristóbal came to be the meeting-place. *Beleña*, i. 360.

[69] A chaplain having first removed the silver spurs of the great man. *Estalla*, xxvi. 293–5.

[70] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 9 et seq. Calle shows that the pall was allowed to certain viceroys. *Mem. y Not.*, 57. In Peru the expenditure was extended to 12,000 pesos. For additional features connected with the entry and assumption of government see *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 370, this series. Panes describes the ceremonies at towns on the way to Mexico. *Vireyes*, MS., 125–8. In *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 161, is given the form for taking the oath of office.

during certain public celebrations, accepting a higher form of address than *señoría*—excellency being permitted only in late years—obliging the oidores to escort the viceroy to their hall whenever he chose to preside,[71] and expecting them as well as other dignitaries to make ceremonious calls on his birthday, or during his sickness. In other directions his privileges were extended with a view to preserve the dignity of the royal representative. A guard of honor numbering twenty-five was provided to attend him, and later a special posse for the palace.[72] His pay was gradually increased from the six thousand ducats enjoyed by Mendoza, to twenty thousand, and later to forty and sixty thousand pesos. Certain legal fees were added for superintending the drainage work and other duties, exceptional grants being made to favorites, with permission to introduce a certain amount of jewelry and merchandise free of duty.[73] A goodly portion of the government house or palace, and of the buildings at Chapultepec, were set aside for his use, and the service was covered to a great extent from public funds.[74] Liberality in this direction appeared the more necessary, as only too many viceroys had used their position to enrich themselves, either by direct or indirect sale of places, or accept-

[71] The viceregal chair or throne in the audiencia chamber could not be occupied by the oidor who took his place as president.

[72] Of 30 men with captain and lieutenants, created in 1792. The guard of honor consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, 3 non-commissioned officers, and 20 halberdiers, with a monthly pay of 16 pesos or more, the captain alone receiving double pay, and later that of infantry captain. The men paid for their uniform and arms. Their allowance came from vacated encomiendas and other sources. The viceroy of Peru had a guard of 50 with three hundred pesos a year.

[73] The amount varied. Calle mentions 16,000 ducats' worth of effects, besides 8,000 in plate, and an annual importation for the household to the value of 4,000 ducats. *Mem. y Not.*, 56–7. A year's pay was allowed till 1766 for going and returning to the post. *Boletin*, i. 360. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 376, this series. One fifth of the 60,000 was allowed for the office of captain-general, and exempt from the anata deduction. The ruler at Lima had larger pay and more privileges.

[74] The preference in selecting servants should be given to descendants of conquerors. The yearly expenditure for palace repairs must not exceed 10,000 pesos. *Reales Cedulas*, MS., ii. 115. An account of the rooms occupied by the viceregal suite in 1771 is given in *Vireyes Instruc.*, MS., pt. vii. 1–3.

ance of presents from favor-seekers, or engaging in different undertakings, contrary to law.[75]

One means intended to check corruption was the limitation of the office to three years.[76] This rule, however, was seldom adhered to, nearly all holding the power for a longer period, sometimes from twelve to fifteen years, several being twice appointed.[77] As an encouragement for good conduct, promotion was held forth to the higher paid viceroyalty of Peru, to the India Council, and other positions in Spain. Before leaving the country, this dignitary, like other high officials, had to submit to a residencia to be completed within six months; yet bonds were generally accepted.[78] He had also to leave a report on the condition of affairs with suggestions for the guidance of his successor.[79]

In case of death no regal ceremonies were permitted.[80] Usually a *pliego de providencia*, or *mortaja*,[81] existed wherein a successor was designated; otherwise, till the arrival of a new appointee, and also when the viceroy fell sick, the audiencia assumed the government with the president or regente for captain-general.[82]

[75] They could give preference in the sale of quicksilver, or favor traders for places and goods. Gage assumes that some of them made a million a year, and bribed courtiers in Spain to procure an extension of time. *Voy.*, i. 224. On birthdays of the viceroy's consort, carriages, gold chains, and other costly presents flowed in from all directions, an incentive being given to donors by inviting them to comedy representations at the palace. *Guijo*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 482–3.

[76] Cédulas of 1555, 1663, etc. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 56.

[77] Among others Velasco the younger. Mendoza ruled nearly 15 years; and three others from 12 to 14 years.

[78] Equivalent to about a year's salary.

[79] Under penalty of a year's pay. Yet many failed to comply, says Mancera, *Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 439; perhaps verbal communications with the successor were deemed sufficient.

[80] 'Los Oydores . . . no entren con luto en los estrados de la Audiencia.' *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 115.

[81] A document kept under seal, wherein the king named a successor in case of accident to the incumbent of this office.

[82] During later years the military sub-inspector assumed control of his department. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 158. *Cédulario*, MS., iii. 57 et seq. The archbishop had more than once been called to the office; but by cédula of 1739 the succession was declared inadvisable. The oidores during their rule had to furnish monthly reports of proceedings and were restricted in appointing officials and other privileges. *Reales Cedulas*, MS., i. 33–4.

While the audiencias were really sovereign tribunals to which appeals might be made even from the decisions of governors, they also possessed a certain supervision over affairs and had to report to the India Council, giving suggestions on all points that might promote the interests of the crown and the welfare of colonists and natives. They were given jurisdiction in the residencias of the inferior judiciary, and could send forth members or special agents to investigate their administration. They had cognizance in matters of tithes, royal patronage, and treasury, and could fix not only notarial and court fees, but those of ecclesiastic tribunals, watch over the friars and clergy, interfere in their estates and revenues, and take cognizance even in cases decided by their visitadores. These powers were not enjoyed by similar bodies in Spain, chiefly because the supreme councils and government were nearer at hand.[83]

The first audiencia in America, that at Santo Domingo, enjoyed for a time special supervision over all the new world, and its president attended to the government of the island, without vote in judicial matters. On a similar basis were formed the subsequent bodies, with certain limitations, such as vesting the presidency in the viceroy where one existed, with greater independence of action, and in subordinating certain audiencias to those of older standing.

At first only four oidores had been appointed for Mexico, but it soon became apparent that this number was too small to attend even to the increasing civil suits and government cases, while the criminal department was greatly neglected.[84] This led to an increase of their number and the appointment of additional officers till the body in the middle of the eighteenth century consisted of twelve oidores, six alcaldes del crímen, two fiscales or prosecutors, one alguacil

[83] They could report also on the conduct of the viceroy, assembling for such purpose without his intervention. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 101.

[84] 'Se olvidan, o se mueren los presos en la carçel antes que Megue la execucion.' *Velasco, Carta*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 266.

mayor or high sheriff, one canciller who kept the royal seal, with a number of minor attachés,[85] divided into three courts, two for civil and one for criminal cases. Changes continued to take place, and by law of 1776 a regente was appointed for each audiencia, who constituted a kind of chief justice, with power to regulate the duties of the oidores, to form special courts, to sit as judge in any court, and to preside in absence of the viceroy or president. Indeed, he absorbed a certain degree of authority from the latter,[86] and was entitled to special respect. About the same time the number of oidores was reduced to ten, with five alcaldes del crímen and two fiscales, forming only two courts.[87] A special fiscal attended to treasury matters. The inferior audiencias had only five oidores, with president, regente, and two fiscals, in two courts, together with alguacil mayor, canciller, and minor attachés, but without alcaldes.[88] The alcaldes del crímen had cognizance, in first instance, in civil and criminal cases within five leagues of the capital, and in second instance of criminal cases for all the audiencia district, with appeal only to themselves. In death penalties the affirmative votes of three alcaldes were required, and in cases of doubt oidores could be assigned to assist in obtaining a decision.[89]

The audiencia courts had hours and days for certain

[85] Such as the *relatores*, who made the brief; the *escribanos*, or clerks of the court with his aids; *receptores*, receivers or treasurers, with as many as 24 deputies, whose positions were salable; *repartidores*, assessors and distributors; *tasadores*, appraisers; *procuradores*, proctors, as many as 12, salable positions; interpreters, and messengers. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 443 et seq. *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i. 37, et seq. The fund for paying the minor court attachés came from the half grano tax on pulque, which was too small. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 30.

[86] Yet the viceroy could still decide on the formation of certain courts, and the assignment of oidores to certain duties. Regulations concerning this office are given in *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 297, et seq.; *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 360.

[87] A sort of third court was formed for intestate cases.

[88] Revilla Gigedo objected to this reduced number of oidores as excessive, and considered the regente superfluous. *Instruc.*, 15–17; *Zamora*, i. 453.

[89] For date of creation and duties, see *Recop. de Ind.; Zamora*, i. 172; *Beleña*, etc. The regulations for audiencias in general have been fully considered in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 270–3. Special and minute rules for conscience and conduct are given in *Moreno, Reglas*, 59 pp., Mexico, 1637. Annotations etc. in *Leyes Varias, Anot.*, 31 etc.; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 29 et seq.

subjects, such as finance, Indians, the poor, and these last had to be given as much preference as possible. They had also special duties which brought additional revenue, and these were the most acceptable; for considering the dignity to be sustained, their pay of four thousand five hundred pesos was small.[90] They took in turn the posts of judges of appeal from different subcourts, and could also accept missions to investigate and supervise departments in county and town.[91] These missions were independent of the tours of inspection which an oidor had to perform every three years, or oftener if decreed expedient, accompanied by the clerk of the court and other officials, for holding investigation into civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical matters. A liberal sum was allowed him for expenses, since no gifts even of provisions could be accepted.[92]

A number of laws prescribed the ceremonies with which the dignity of this high tribunal should be upheld. Their court chamber itself had an imposing appearance. At the further end rose a dais covered with rich carpets under a canopy of damask garnished with gold lace. Here stood the velvet-covered chair with footstool for the viceroy. On either side sat the oidores, the regente and eldest member nearest. A little lower were seats on both sides for the attorney-general, high sheriff, counsel for the poor, protector and defender of Indians, and lawyers having cases before the court. The nobility and city coun-

[90] For oidores, alcaldes, and fiscales; the regente had 9,000, the relatores 700, and fiscales' aids 800. *Mex., Circular Nomb.*, MS., pt. 7. In 1558 the oidores' pay had been increased from 650,000 maravedís to 800,000. *Puga, Cedulario*, 203. The criminal fiscal was generally promoted to the civil department. The civil relatores had in Calle's time 500 pesos de oro pay, and 250 in fees, but the criminal relatores had only 500. The porteros had 400 ducats. The last two classes were appointed by the president of the India Council. *Mem. y Not.*, 47.

[91] An allowance of 12 pesos a day was granted for visiting duty. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 57–8, 164. Oidores should properly go only in graver cases, and resident judges must be employed whenever possible. *Recop. Ind.*, 346–7. The appointment was frequently made by the viceroy. One supervised the theatre; another the lottery, the cruzada, the drainage, or other department.

[92] It was 200,000 maravedís in Calle's time. *Mem. y Not.*, 132. City notaries had to be visited every year.

cilmen received seats according to precedence, when called by business. Still lower were places for notaries and solicitors. Opposite to the oidores sat the clerk of the court and relator, and behind them was the wooden railing which separated the assembly from the common people. For the latter no seats were provided, and they were required to uncover their heads and speak only in lowest whisper. Lawyers and others also bared their heads on addressing the court; and when the counsel was supposed to have sufficiently discussed a point his harangue was cut short.

As a body the audiencia used to receive the señoría title, and the oidores that of *su merced*, your worship. Later the señoría was extended to them also.[93] Military honors were accorded by the guard, and at church the prebendaries escorted them from the door and tendered holy water. This treatment was granted to them only as a body;[94] nor could they enjoy it very often, for their visits to church, officially, were restricted to certain feast-days. Private parties and entertainments, even attendance at funerals, were forbidden to them; in fact any social intercourse whereby friendships might be formed to influence their minds as judges. As for securing a good marriage within their districts for a son or daughter, this was out of the question. No near relative of an oidor could be appointed to the magistracy within his district, or plead before him as an advocate; so said the law, though it was frequently overruled. Certain of these strictures and honors applied also to lawyers. At first forbidden to enter the country, they had at last to be endured, and now rejoiced in the possession of a royal college for drilling recruits. Besides sporting gauze

[93] *Ejidos de Mex.*, MS., 70, etc. The viceroy on giving them audience was not expected to listen to them seated. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 10.

[94] They and the royal officials sat on the right, or evangel side, the municipality on the left, or epístola side; the viceroy between them in special chair with cushion, a piece of furniture not allowed in official or public capacity to any one else, unless to the oidor ruling ad interim. The oidores could use only carpet and chair.

on their cuffs to distinguish them from folk of lower order, they could boast of oath-bound reputation, for they were sworn under penalty never to aid a bad cause.[95] Such strictness indicates the noble efforts of the crown for the right administration of justice, but also its recognition of human weakness; and in truth abuses were only too frequent in all departments, notably during visits of inspection. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the decisions of the audiencia courts were as a rule creditable, and won for them just respect.

While the Guatemala tribunal was independent of Mexico, that of Guadalajara, after several attempts at freedom, was obliged to take a subordinate place in certain cases of appeal, and to leave to the viceroy the superintendency of war and finance matters.[96] Later, when an intendente with military power assumed the presidency, the subordination decreased. Its jurisdiction varied at different times, Nueva Vizcaya being at one time the easternmost province, but of late it extended from sea to sea, the line running from a point ten leagues north of Rio Pánuco, through San Luis Potosí, along the south border of Zacatecas, and between Ayotitlan and Purificacion to the Pacific.[97]

Both audiencias had their archives, in charge of the canciller, for the preservation of decrees received and issued, of reports and petitions, the latter having to pass through this channel for endorsement, and for elimination of trivial or unsupported statements that might otherwise trouble or perplex the home government. The form of despatches to Spain required half of every page to be left as margin for subsequent an-

[95] All had to pass an examination. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 443 et seq.

[96] *Puga, Cedulario*, 134, 161, 180. Yet neither should interfere too much. Excesses on the part of military officers could be punished by this audiencia, and when visitadores were needed in Nueva Vizcaya the viceroy should merely nominate them, leaving the appointment to the superior experience of the tribunal nearer the province. *Recop. Ind.*, i. 367.

[97] *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 9–10; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 146. See also *Hist. North Mex. States*, i., this series.

notations, and with division of the subject into distinct paragraphs, in the order of ecclesiastical, political, financial, and military matters, each with references to the attached documents arranged in similar order.[93] The chief depository for documents was of course at Mexico, and a large proportion of cédulas were directed to the viceroy for transmission, with the privilege of putting his own construction on them, or even of withholding them should they prove inexpedient.

Although the alcaldes del crímen, and even oidores in certain cases and circuits took cognizance in first instance, yet this was as a rule left to the alcaldes ordinarios, of whom every town of any size had two.[99] To viceroys and governors pertained first instance in Indian cases. First cognizance was also exercised by a number of industrial corporations, such as the consulado in disputes between traders, and the protomedicato in affairs among the medical profesions. Among miners, territorial deputies acted in first instance with appeal to intendentes assisted by two miners. The jurisdiction of these bodies was lessened toward the close of the last century; yet Revilla Gigedo suggested a greater curtailment, for officials connected with such courts went so far in their eagerness to obtain suits as to stir up discord, cast discredit on the legal tribunals, and assume too much independence.[100] The church retained a wide jurisdiction, although secular tribunals were assuming more interference. The provisorato de Indias attended to ques-

[93] *Id.*, 372. *Yrolo, Opera*, Mex. 1605, 4to, is a curious old book devoted wholly to forms for legal and public documents. It is full of marginal notes, illustrated with floriated capitals.

[99] At Mexico the five audiencia alcaldes attended to cases of first instance, and Revilla Gigedo objects to her two alcaldes ordinarios as useless, yet each of her eight *cuart·les* had four alcaldes de barrio who possessed a certain cognizance and supervision.

[100] This right of exemption from ordinary jurisdiction was known as *fuero*. He also objected to the privilege of Cortés' heirs to appoint on their estate alcaldes mayores and corregidores who took cognizance, with appeal to the juez de privado del estado, an oidor, and finally to the audiencia. *Instruc.*, 24–8. The dukedom of Atlixco had similar privileges. Sailors fell partly under the jurisdiction of the governor of Vera Cruz and the comisario de marina at San Blas.

tions of faith exclusively among the aborigines. The edicts of the inquisition had of late to be submitted to the viceroy. The military jurisdiction was controlled by the royal representative as captain-general, assisted by an oidor acting as auditor de guerra. In the second instance this auditor was given a colleague. The captain-generals of Yucatan and Provincias Internas acted independently with their auditors.[101]

Appeals from alcaldes ordinarios were to alcaldes mayores, except at Mexico and Lima, where the audiencia received them. Municipal bodies decided in certain appeals concerning values not exceeding sixty thousand maravedís.[102] Two oidores could decide in suits of menor cuantía, which were fixed at 300,000 maravedís, and even in larger cases, except at Mexico and Lima, where three votes were required. The council of the Indies formed the tribunal of ultimate resort for America. In values of six thousand pesos and over, a second appeal was allowed to this body, when five members assisted. If the decision proved adverse to the petitioner a fine of one thousand ducats was imposed.[103]

Notwithstanding the efforts of the crown to smooth the paths of law, as instanced by the decree forbidding processes to be formed for cases of less value than twenty pesos,[104] litigation was costly, for the fees were numerous and considerably higher than in Spain, those of the canciller, for example, being triple the amounts charged in the Peninsula. Lawyers were strictly forbidden to accept percentages on value involved, or share in the results of a suit, their

[101] The auditor of Vera Cruz acted merely as asesor. *Id.*, 22.

[102] Appeals from fieles executores in cases not exceeding 30 ducats went to the municipal council; if over that amount, to the audiencia. No reconsideration was allowed in values of 6,000 maravedís appealed to the audiencia.

[103] Divided between the defendants, the judges, and the royal treasury. In appeals from the casa de contratacion to the India Council, the civil suit must be for not less than 600,000 maravedís. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 161 et seq. A law of 1545 changed the lowest value for appeal from audiencias from 10,000 to 6,000 pesos. *Puga, Cedulario*, 101–2.

[104] The clerk of the court receiving in such cases only half a peso from each party.

fees like those of every person connected with the law being fixed, and so they conspired with the rest to prolong the litigation. The sheriff received two and a half per cent for levying, and if the amount was not paid within three days ten per cent was to be added.[105] Small fines could, in certain cases, be collected even if notice of appeal had been given.

Aside from the usual causes for crime, there were in New Spain a number of special incentives, such as race antipathy, growing antagonism between castes and classes, slavery, subjection of Indians, isolation of colonists favored partly by mining allurements, and the existence of unsubdued tribes in the mountain regions. The latter features served to maintain the adventurous spirit instilled by conquerors, who still battled on the frontier to extend dominion and settlements; and among a large number lurked the roaming disposition inherited from less settled aborigines. This inclination turned naturally toward highway robbery among the vicious, and the extreme prevalency hereof is generally known. The reader has already become aware how wide-spread was crime in the country,[106] and how more than one viceroy earned the gratitude of the country by energetic measures against it, although these suppressions of evil had but a temporary effect. Decrees against indiscriminate carrying of weapons, and other measures produced little good, and during more than one period extraordinary powers were conferred on inferior judges for dealing with malefactors.

A beneficial step was the introduction, in 1631, of the santa hermandad, which like its long-established prototype in Spain acted chiefly as thief-catcher, aided by troops whenever necessary. Even this proved insufficient, however, and so the dreaded acordada was

[105] Certain implements, horses, and what not were exempt in instances. In *Mexico, Aranzales de los Tribunales, Gobierno*, etc., Mex. 1759, 158 folios, are given the fees for all public departments.

[106] Statistics of crime are very imperfect, yet valuable deductions may be drawn from those in *Gazetas de Mex.*, 1790–2, v. 8 et seq., and *Diarios, Mex.*, xii.–xiii. passim, and other volumes such as the earlier *Gomez, Diario*, which gives almost daily accounts of executions.

installed in the beginning of the eighteenth century. This with its vigilant-like features of rapid movement, inflexible sternness, and swift meting of justice, spread a wholesome terror that proved lasting, and did more to check crime than anything else. The power over liberty and life accorded to this body, and at times to local magistrates, led naturally to many abuses, and consequently to certain restrictions, yet the remedy could not have been worse than the disease. Justice was too often defeated by its own officers; for few rose above the temptation of bribery, and many succumbed through insufficiency of pay. And who could severely blame them, when the king placed himself above the law and issued regular tariffs of prices, for which exemption could be granted from laws concerning offices and trade, birth and race stigma,[107] and a host of other matters, often with utter disregard for common justice or public welfare?[108] This tampering was promoted by supporting from prison fees the staff connected with this establishment. The rich could here surround themselves with comforts, people of standing enjoyed privileges, and those less favored could often be made to languish in jail for unpaid charges.[109] A regidor must visit the prison every Saturday; in audiencia towns two oidores did so,[110] attended by fiscal and alcalde, to investigate cases of wrongful detention or maletreatment.

Imprisonment for debt obtained here as elsewhere. Indians were surrendered to private creditors to work off their indebtedness, the pay being regulated accord-

[107] Special orders were issued at intervals to regulate the assistance by military. *Fernando*, vii., *Doc.*, 314–27.

[108] A mere glance at the lengthy tariff published by the government in the beginning of this century, in the *Gazeta*, xi. 67–72, reveals the pitiful extent of such mercenary abuse.

[109] Yet it was ordered that the poor should not be detained for costs, taxes, or prison fees. Indians were exempt from fees. Each town or village must have a prison built by the community, or from penalty funds, with chapel and separate place for women. The alcayde or keeper must reside at the jail, and with his turnkey visit the prisoners every night. No Indians must be employed. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 370 et seq. A charity fund existed for the maintenance of prisoners. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 30.

[110] Also on great holidays, and oftener if required.

ing to their efficiency. They, as well as other castes, could also be sent to convents or public works,[111] or even sold for a term to contractors; and in view of the prevailing official corruption it is easy to imagine the extreme oppression to which this law gave rise.

Punishments in America were more severe than in Spain, fines being double.[112] The greater number of criminals were sent to the frontier, the worst to hard work under the garrisons, others to form settlements there, or even to enlist, particularly for the Philippines, greatly dreaded on account of their climate, the distance and intervening sea lending additional terror. The galleys in Spain and Tierra Firme received a certain number; halters were long in use,[113] and the lash was freely administered, even feathering being legally applied. Death penalties were often cruel and preceded by torture, both during the examination and as part of the punishment. The most common form of execution was by garrote, but highway robbery usually entailed hanging and quartering, the head of the criminal being fixed on a stake. The acordada also used the more prolonged method of dragging with horses, and giving the coup de grâce with lances before quartering.[114] Burning at the stake was not restricted to the inquisition, for counterfeiters and persons guilty of bestiality received this sentence.[115] A not uncommon mode of dealing with wife-murderers and the like was to cast them into a water-butt, with a cock, a monkey, and a viper. In

[111] A man and woman were sold to obraje labor for six years for concealing stolen goods. *Robles, Diario*, 376–7. At least one third of the pay must be given for sustenance, but no new loans could be contracted whereby the servitude was prolonged. Four months formed the limit in ordinary cases. For drunkenness no servitude should be imposed. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 205–11.

[112] *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 379.

[113] For restrictions, see *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 187–92; criminals who enlisted for the Moluccas received both pardon and high pay, 125 pesos. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 230–2.

[114] *Gazetas Mex.* (*1790*), iv. 62.

[115] 'Quemado con una yegua, complice de su bestial crimen.' *Id.*, 1787–9, ii. 411, iii. 410. Sodomites were also burned. *Robles, Diario*, 99, 110–11, 135–6, 157, 222, 271; *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 38–9, 367, 371–2.

many cases the adjuncts were merely figurative. Conformance to the letter rather than the spirit of the law seemed to be uppermost with its servant, and thus we find instances of dead men being hanged in fulfilment of sentence,[116] and little regard paid to age. On one occasion a man eighty-five years of age and a boy of fourteen were hanged for robbery, the former being first tortured till his arms snapped.[117]

In sentencing to death the courts proceeded with great formality. The condemned was expected to kiss the paper of sentence after hearing it read. The priests then took charge of him, and brothers of mercy brought in the special crucifix, el Santo Cristo de la misericordia, with which to direct his devotion. Arrayed in a white cloak,[118] with eyes bandaged, he was thereupon placed on a hide dragged by a horse—a nominal form of dragging to death—and conducted forth. First marched the piper and crier, proclaiming the crime, followed by four to six of the police, several members of the benevolent archicofradia society, and brothers with torches and candles. Then came the victim on the hide, partly lifted by charitable persons on either side, attendant priests, and infantry, closing with two court officials on horseback. On reaching the scaffold in the square of the town, surrounded by troops, the condemned was supported by a priest and the executioner, and fortified with prayer till the time for hanging. A sermon impressed the warning on the multitude, and the corpse was thereupon taken to the nearest water, placed in a cask containing the painted figures of a cock, a serpent, and a monkey, and rolled awhile on the surface,[119] after which it was conducted by the court and police offi-

[116] *Guijo, Diario,* 38–9.

[117] *Id.*, 376–7. In execution of what they considered duty, the alcaldes in many instances braved the episcopal anathema by taking fugitives from the sanctuary.

[118] For plebeians. Nobles had a black robe, the scaffold being also draped, and they were exempt from the ignominious noose.

[119] A figurative fulfilment of the sentence that the body be cast to the waters so as to leave no memory of the deed. *Diario, Mex.*, 1806, ii. 337–9.

cials to the jail and surrendered to brothers of mercy, who attended to the funeral.

The material of the present chapter rests mainly on *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias*, the official embodiment of the laws for America issued by the king and India Council during the three centuries of Spanish rule. A history of this valuable work together with an analysis of its contents has been given in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 285–8, this series. It does not, however, contain all the laws issued, nor does it indicate more than a small part of the variations they have undergone, and the student is accordingly obliged to consult a number of other collections made before its first publication, in 1681, or between the dates of its later editions, some bearing on special subjects or districts, others covering a limited period. Foremost among these as the first collection printed in America is the *Proviciones, Cédulas*, etc., prepared by Oidor Puga of the Mexico audiencia, and published at this city in 1563. It is generally known by his name and embraces merely the laws concerning New Spain up to this date. The method of Puga is faulty, and this is the more to be regretted as the work is invaluable for the early history of the country. Montemayor, oidor of the same audiencia, who by supreme order reissued in 1671 the Sumarios of laws for all the Indies printed in 1628 under the care of Aguiar and Acuña, added to it the decrees directed to New Spain during this interval. It was published at Mexico as *Svmarios de las Cedvlas*, in a bulky folio. Two distinct supplements contain the important decrees of the audiencia and viceroys and governors respectively, since the formation of the government. Occasional laws are given in full, the rest cover in extract form half of each page, the other half being reserved for very imperfect marginal notes. Before he came to Mexico Montemayor had been governor and captain-general of Española, and consequently president of its audiencia. The growing rarity of this work induced Oidor Beleña in 1787 to publish at Mexico by subscription a collection supplementary to that of the 1681 edition of the *Recopilacion de Indias*, under the title of *Recopilacion Sumaria*, in two folio volumes. To this he prefixed a reprint of the two appendices of Montemayor, and two collections of the audiencia and criminal court decrees which had appeared since his time. Although the division of the subject into five parts is inconvenient, yet the work is far superior to its predecessors, with more useful marginals. The second volume is reserved for the decrees and regulations requiring full text. The pretentious *Biblioteca de Legislacion Ultramarina*, issued at Madrid 1844–46 by Zamora y Coronado, contains all the latest important laws for the reduced possessions of Spain beyond the ocean, but it is very faulty for the eighteenth and the opening of the present century, the important changes made during this stirring period being reserved either for hasty summaries or occasional imperfect notes.

In addition to these collections and those mentioned in other volumes, I have consulted for this chapter *Ordenanzas del Consejo Real*, Madrid, 1681; *Providencias Reales*, MS., Mexico, 1784; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 2 vols.; *Cedulario*, MS., 3 vols., containing a selection of the more important decrees, in full text, touching New Spain, and serving therefore as valuable auxiliaries to the

standard publications. *Órdenes de la Corona*, 7 vols., partly in printed form but chiefly manuscript, possesses the additional interest of containing numerous originals with the signatures of the kings, from Philip II. to Cárlos III., of ministers, prelates, and judges. The last volume of *Disposiciones Varios*, 6 vols., is peculiar as being reserved chiefly for edicts of the inquisition on books, morals, and articles of faith. *Fernando VII.*, *Decretos*, Mex. 1836, contains the cédulas issued by this monarch during the stirring times which preceded the independence of the mainland colonies.

Hardly less important than the laws, for a subject like the preceding, are the instructions left by different viceroys to their successors. Not all of these have been preserved, and many of these dignitaries neglected to do their duty in this respect; nevertheless the more important have been issued in manuscript and print, and stand on my shelves as *Vireyes*, *Instrucciones*, in two series, partly MS., and relating also to residencias, with several original documents. The value of this class of papers for history, induced the Mexican government to publish a number of them, together with pertinent letters, under the title of *Instrucciones que los Vireyes...dejaron*, Mexico, 1867. The most valuable of the instructions are undoubtedly those of Revilla Gigedo the younger, the ablest ruler of New Spain, whose name has found an imperishable monument in the many reforms effected by him, in the embellishments of his capital, and in political writings, notably the *Instruccion*, 1794, which has been reprinted more than once in quite voluminous form, and widely distributed also in manuscript. The careful arrangement of subjects and paragraphs accords with the clear and pointed style, and enables one readily to grasp the exhaustive review presented of every department of government, with its accompanying criticisms and suggestions. Several of his letters are preserved, and I possess a collection of his decrees forming a folio volume. The importance of the period following Revilla Gigedo's rule has led me to obtain manucript copies also of their instructions, including Branciforte's and Azanza's, which are modelled on the preceding, though less bulky.

A useful adjunct to this material is presented in the *Memorial y Noticias Sacras y Reales*, 1646, of Calle, which forms semi-official statistics of districts and towns, sees and offices in the five audiencia districts of the New Spain royalty, together with some account of official routine. Pinelo refers in detail to his several manuscripts on similar subjects. *Epitome*, ii. 798–9. More particularly devoted to routine and form are *Moreno*, *Reglas*, Mexico, 1637, for judicial officers; *Martinez*, *Librería de Jueces*, Madrid, 1791, for guidance of unprofessional magistrates; *Mexico*, *Aranceles de las Tribunales*, etc., Mexico, 1759, giving duties and fees of courts and court officials; *Mexico*, *Circular Nombramientos*, MS., *Certif. de las Mercedes*, MS., and *Yrolo*, *Opera*, Mexico, 1605, provide forms for official proceedings; *Leyes*, *Varias Anotaciones*, MS., in eight books, concerns chiefly officials and their duties, but the notes are of little value; *Ejidos de México*, *Autos*, MS., gives valuable information about town lands in connection with legal proceedings by the Mexico municipality for protecting its grants. Official statistics are given in *Zuñiga y Ontiveros*, *Calend. Man. y Guia Forasteros*, Mex. 1789, and in *Guia Forast.* of later years, while the colonial system finds reviewers in such books as *Villarroel*, *Enfermedades Polit.*, and *Campillo*, *Nuevo Sistema*, Madrid, 1789. Campillo wrote

the book as early as 1743, and before this a number of papers appeared from his pen on similar topics which did not a little to promote reforms in administration.

I give herewith in compact form, for further review, the authorities consulted for the preceding chapter: *Puga, Cedulario,* 80–1, 101–2, 127, 134, 150–1, 161, 180–207; *Reales Cédulas,* MS., i. 10–13, 30–4, 65–80, 203–8; ii. 22, 74, 86, 109–63, 237; *Ordenes de la Corona,* MS., i. passim; ii. 16; iii. 64 et seq.; *Cedulario,* MS., i. 34–46, 169–76; iii. 39–58, 164–6, 192–7, 205–11; iv. i.; *Providencias Reales,* MS., passim; *Vireyes de Mexico,* MS., 1–4; *Recop. de Ind.,* i.–ii., passim; *Montemayor, Svmarios,* 1 et seq.; *Mexico, Ordenanzas Ciudad,* MS., 1–34; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.,* MS., 125–8; *Linares, Inst.,* MS., 12–44; *Beleña, Recop.,* i., passim; *Ordenanzas del Consejo Real,* 1–206; *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos,* nos. 2–72; *Id., Instruccion,* MS., i. 43–99, 199; ii. 121–5; *Id., Residencia,* MS., 438–9; *Azanza, Ynstr.,* MS., 4–49, 77, 102–3; *Calle, Mem. y Not.,* 7, 43–100, 132, 165–83; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.,* ii. 101; *Col. Doc. Inéd.,* xxi. 439, 462–93; *Medina, Crón. S. Diego,* 227–34, 246; *Villa-Señor, Theatro,* i. 17–19, 37–50, 61–89, 120–82; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* xvii. 178; *Cartas de Ind.,* 266; *Doc. Hist. Mex.,* série i. tom. i. 38–9, 139–164, 315–76, 412–26, 457, 474–83, 504, 545; ii. 72–4, 99, 111, 124 et seq.; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.,* 404; *Papeles de Jesuitas,* MS., 39–41; *Ejidos de Mex.,* MS., 70 et seq.; *America, Descrip.,* MS., 103–4; *Certificacion de las Mercedes,* MS., 92; *Rockwell's Span. and Mex. Law,* 405–6; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis,* 281–3; *San Miguel, Segunda Guia,* 142–60; *Villarroel, Enfermedades,* 68–127; *Fernando VII., Documentos,* 314–27; *Lerda de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.,* no. 5, 388–92; *Campillo, Nuevo Sistema,* passim; *Guerra, Rev. N. Esp.,* 617–18; *Martinez, Libreria,* iii. 69–122, 373; *Cavo, Tres Siglos,* i. 158; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc., Zamacois, Hist. Méj.,* iv. 5–46; v. 290, 579, 600, 625–80; x. 1319–25; *Pap. Var.,* v. 39–57; cxlii. 10–12; cliii. 14–55; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.,* 19; *Viagero Univ.,* xxvi. 265–70, 283–4; xxvii. 48; *Rivera, Gobernantes de Mex.,* i. 110, 156, 186, 225, 240–2, 263; *Bejamar, Discurso Export.,* 1–32; *Spanish Empire in Am.,* 103–34; *Torrente, Hist. Rev.,* i. 7; *Mayer's Mex. Azt.,* i. 260–1; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.,* iii. 194, 380–1, 433–4; *Ogilby's Am.,* 263–4; *Alaman, Hist. Mex.,* i. 25, 44–57, 113–14; iii. 25; *Calvo, Annales Hist.,* i. 1–10; *Zamora, Bib. Leg.,* iv. 214–26, 523–37; *Moreno, Reglas Ciertas,* passim; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.,* 104–5; *Id., Memoir,* 34; *Dicc. Univ.,* viii. 735–6; x. 442–3; *Emigrado Observador,* 5–24; *Zuñiga y O., Calend.,* 37–46; *Young's Hist. of Mex.,* 61; *Guia de Forasteros, 1797,* 47–78, 107–35; *Gutierrez, Leyes de Ref.,* 528–36; *Ribadeneira, Compendio,* 1–531; *Diario Mex.,* i., passim; ii. 195, 337–9; iii. 491–2; iv. 10–36, 389–90, 407; v. 4, 525–30; vi. 29–31; vii. 418; viii. 108, 214–15, 408–60; ix. 699–70; x. 127, 528; xii. 396, 644; xiii. 27, 152, 267, 416, 700; *Gazeta Mex.,* i. 8–127; ii. 235, 411; iii. 130, 153, 410; iv. 16–92; v. 3–8, 276; x. 106–17; xii. 4; xiv. 160–6.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MINES AND MINING.

1500–1800.

TRAFFIC WITH THE NATIVES OF CENTRAL AMERICA—DOINGS OF THE CONQUERORS IN THAT QUARTER—MINERAL DEPOSITS—SOMETHING OF SOUTH AMERICA—EARLIEST DISCOVERIES IN MEXICO—AZTEC MINING—PROTECTIVE POLICY OF THE CROWN—A GREAT DISCOVERY—DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION OF QUICKSILVER—FRUITLESS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN IT IN MEXICO—GEOLOGICAL VIEW—SILVER ORES—GOLD AND OTHER METALS—QUARRIES AND SALINES—LOCATION OF RICH MINES—ATTRACTIVE REGIONS—GUANAJUATO, SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, AND ZACATECAS—THEIR ADVANTAGE OVER THE NORTH—MINES NEAR THE CAPITAL—THE CUERPO DE MINERÍA—A GREAT MINING TRIBUNAL—NEW LAWS—MINING SYSTEM—THE TOTAL YIELD OF MEXICO—THE SHARE OF THE CROWN—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

SILVER and gold! Silver and gold! The image and measure of wealth; the shadow, superior to substance, before which throughout the ages all men bow; what magic spells these metals cast upon the destinies of mankind! Without referring to the earlier mining fields of history, the Ophir of the Jews, the Pactolian placers of the Greeks, and the gold-producing colonies of the Romans, there is enough to command present attention in our Pacific States territory, throughout the length and breadth of which nature strewed liberally the precious metals. In the present volume I shall speak only of the deposits of Central America and Mexico; accounts of those of the northern regions will appear in the subsequent divisions of this historical series.[1] As there is pleasing fiction in their value, so there is fascinating romance in their story.

[1] On the beautiful chromo-lithograph maps of the Munich collection, executed under the direction of Prof. Kunstmann, gold-bearing regions are desig-

Gold and godliness were the two great engines which drove on the Spaniards to overrun and occupy the lands discovered by Columbus. The dissolute indulgence of these passions, so opposite, and yet in them so strangely blended, resulted not alone in the extermination of the Americans, but reacting upon themselves, dimmed the ancient glory of Spain, and sent rottenness to the bones of the then most powerful nation of Europe. "In that climate," says Gomara, "as in Peru the people turn yellow. It may be that the desire for gold which fills their hearts shines forth in their faces." Some claim to have computed that during the first century after the conquest of Peru there went from the New World to Spain silver enough to make a bridge across the Atlantic, a yard and a half wide, and two inches thick, or that brought together in a heap it would overtop the mountains of Potosí!

In Española, immediately after the discovery of America, one piece of gold was found weighing 3,200 castellanos. Miners obtained from six to 250 castellanos a day. In the ships which perished with Bobadilla, gold to the value of 200,000 castellanos was lost. In the year 1501 Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa exchanged with the natives of Darien hawks-bells and glass beads for pearls and the golden ornaments of the naked savages. In 1502 Columbus had no sooner landed upon the coast of Honduras than

nated by gold-colored or gilt spots. On map no. iv., supposed to have been drawn by Salvat de Pilestrina about 1515, gold is indicated in our territory only on the Pearl Islands. Map of Fernando Colon, 1527, represents gold in Castilla del Oro, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, Yucatan, and none on the islands. Map no. vi., the maker not known, but supposed to have been drawn between the years 1532 and 1540, has gold indicated on the Pearl Islands, the island of *teguante paque* in the vicinity of Tehuantepec, island of *sancins tomas* (Santo Tomás), off cape St Lucas, two islands off the coast of Lower California called *madalena* and *los cazones*. Map no. vii., by Baptista Agnese, 1540-50, Pearl Islands, *Iucatan*, Yucatan which is represented as an island, two small islands off the southern coast of Central America, called *y de guerra* and *y de gatos*. Further north off Tehuantepec the island *teguante paque*. Off Sinaloa one small island *sorata*. Maps nos. x., xi., xii., by Vaz Dourado, 1571, a multitude of islands on both shores of Central America and Mexico are represented as gold-bearing. None of the interior is so colored.

his mind was excited by reports of distant realms, where gold was found in such abundance that the commonest utensils of the inhabitants were made of that metal. What may have been vague rumors of the civilized kingdoms of Mexico and Peru was construed by the heated imagination of the great admiral to mean no other than the gorgeous cities of the Genghis Kahn. Along the coast of Honduras the natives wore ornaments which they called guanin, an inferior quality of gold. No pure gold was found until the discoverers had arrived at a bay of Costa Rica, called by the natives Caribaro, a place well known to the inhabitants of Honduras as rich in gold.[2] Here pure gold was worn by the natives in plates suspended from the neck by cotton cords. They also exhibited rude imitations of eagles and other objects in guanin. Perceiving with what cupidity the strangers regarded their golden ornaments, the Indians of Caribaro informed the Spaniards that two days' journey easterly along the coast would bring them to a province called Veragua, where that metal was found in abundance, and where all their ornaments were fabricated. This Indian province of Veragua was situated on what is now known as the river Veragua running through the north-western corner of what was later the state of Panamá. The earnest desire of the admiral to find a passage to India prevented his landing at that point on his downward passage; but failing to find a strait, and the supply of gold growing less as he departed from this point, he returned to Veragua, anchored his ships, and prepared to examine the mines of that country. The adelantado, Bartholomew Columbus, on the 6th of February 1503 set out with sixty-eight armed men,

[2] 'Of the two Cariaians whiche he brought with him from Cariai, he was enfourmed that the regions of Cerabaro and Aburema were rich in gold, and that the people of Cariai have al their gold from thence for exchange of other of their thinges. They tolde him also, that in the same regions there are five villages, not farre from the sea side, whose inhabitantes applie themselves onely to the gathering of gold. The names of these villages are these, Chirara, Puren, Chitaya, Cureche, Atamea.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. 4.

on a visit to the mines.[3] He ascended the river a few leagues when he encountered the quibian, or king of Veragua, who warily welcomed him, and provided him guides to conduct him to the base of the mountains around and away from his own richer and near mines, to those of a neighboring chieftain with whom he was at war. But the Spaniards were not disappointed. The soil over which they journeyed seemed to be impregnated for miles with fine particles of the precious metal. The adelantado and his companions were enabled to wash out small quantities of gold from earth taken from about the roots of great trees. Ascending a hill they gazed with rapture upon the surrounding country, which as far as the eye could reach was filled with riches beyond the wildest dreams of avarice. On another occasion the adelantado made an excursion along the coast westward, everywhere meeting with evidence of gold in abundance. Such were the riches of this country, that the admiral determined to plant a colony at this point, the first colony attempted upon the firm land of North America; but the jealousy of the quibian becoming aroused by the manifest intention of the permanent residence of the strangers within his dominions, they were obliged to abandon the project.[4]

The returns from the mines of the new dominions of Spain prior to the death of Isabella in 1504 were comparatively insignificant, owing partly to the rapacious spirit of the adventurers, who preferred traffic with the natives to the drudgery of digging, and partly to the humanity of the queen, who forbade the compulsory imposition of native labor. Soon after

[3] The natives of Veragua believed that in order to be successful it was necessary to practice temperance and chastity for some time before seeking for gold; and Columbus, desirous of inculcating in the minds of the Spaniards so wholesome a superstition, encouraged in them the practice of abstaining from women, of fasting and praying, before setting out upon a mining expedition. *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. 4; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. vi. cap. i.; *Carta de Colon*, in *Navarrete*, i. 296; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, lib. ii. cap. 25; *Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, 108, in *Barcia*, i.

[4] *Diego de Porras*, in *Navarrete*, i. 277; *Pedro de Ledesma*, in *Id.*, iii. 550.

her death, however, the revival of the inhuman system of *repartimientos,* or apportionment of Indians among settlers, which was inaugurated during the administration of Bobadilla, led to an immense yield, Española alone sending to Spain half a million ounces of gold annually; and according to Herrera 450,000 ounces of gold passed through the four foundries of that isle during the year 1506. All minerals were reserved by the crown, and were, in common with other royal perquisites, jealously guarded. Private individuals were permitted to work the mines, but were obliged to pay into the royal treasury at first two thirds, and afterward one fifth of the proceeds. Later it was ordered that in every audiencia district there should be a melting-house. In 1508 Ferdinand created a province of that part of the coast of tierra firme extending from the gulf of Darien to Cape Gracias á Dios, and called it Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile, from the great riches it had already yielded, and the golden visions of Columbus, who believed it to be the veritable Aurea Chersonesus, whence was derived the gold used in building Solomon's temple. Diego de Nicuesa was appointed governor of the province for ten years, with the right to enjoy the products of all mines by paying to the crown one tenth of the proceeds of the first year, one ninth the second, one eighth the third, one seventh the fourth, one sixth the fifth, and one fifth of the products of each of the succeeding five years.

In 1510 the bachiller Martin Fernandez de Enciso, while on his way to San Sebastian, on the gulf of Darien, where was planted the colony of Alonso de Ojeda, touched at Cartagena, and there was told of the fabulous wealth of the province of Zenu, east of the gulf of Darien, the mountains of which were so impregnated with gold that during the season of rains, when the swollen streams rushed in torrents through the mountains, the natives spread nets in which they caught the coarsest pieces, some of them being as large

as eggs. Enciso was also informed that Zenu was the burial-place for all the surrounding tribes, and that their sepulchres contained many of the most precious ornaments which had been buried with their dead. The hostilities of the natives prevented their penetrating the country, but the reputed wealth of the province, the ornamented bones of the sepulchres, and the fishing for gold with nets, long afterward excited the cupidity of the Spaniards, and led to subsequent disastrous expeditions. And when the same astute bachiller drove the cacique Cemano from his village on the western shore of the gulf of Darien, he found secreted in the houses and deposited in caverns along the banks of the River Atrato golden ornaments, bracelets, breastplates and anklets, to the value of ten thousand pesos.[5]

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1511 sacked the villages of Ponca, and found "certaine poundes weight of gold, graven and wrought into sundry ouches." The Pacific Ocean, as we well know, was first called by the Spaniards the South Sea. The circumstances which led to this appellation are these: In the year 1512 Balboa, then governor of Antigua, a Spanish settlement on the gulf of Darien, with eighty men, visited an Indian province some thirty leagues to the westward. The province was governed by a cacique named Comagre, whose eldest son, called Panciaco, was remarkable for his intelligence and lofty bearing. In order to appease their avarice, Panciaco presented the Spaniards with a large sum of gold, in the division of which they fell to quarrelling. Panciaco, overcome by disgust, stepped forward, and struck the scales a blow which sent the glittering gold flying in every direction. He then told them that it was unnecessary to fall out for such a trifle, for if they would cross those mountains, pointing toward the south, they would discover a mighty sea, where was gold in abundance. A sea

[5] *Oviedo*, tom. i. lib. xxviii. cap. 2; *Peter Martyr*, dec. ii. cap. 2; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. viii. cap. 6.

to the southward then became a subject of deep interest to all, and the year following Vasco Nuñez crossed the mountains and discovered this South Sea.

While on the march, Ponca, his old enemy, now reconciled, presented him with some finely wrought ornaments from beyond the mountains, besides 120 pounds of gold from his own dominions. As he was laboring under a sense of great indebtedness to the Spaniards for their beads, hatchets, and hawks-bells, he apologized for the smallness of the gift by saying that he had been robbed the year before by his enemies. The next village at which Vasco Nuñez arrived belonged to a cacique named Quasequa, where after putting the inhabitants to flight the Spaniards found a considerable quantity of gold, one fifth of which was set apart for the crown, and the remainder divided among the adventurers. After making the grand discovery of the Pacific from the summit of the mountain near the gulf of San Miguel, Balboa descended to the sea-shore where he encountered a cacique whose name was Chiapes. A volley of musketry and the charge of the bloodhounds soon pacified this province, and Chiapes being informed of the love which his strange visitors entertained for gold, tremblingly presented him with his entire store, some 400 pesos. For although this country abounded in the precious metal, these natives having no use for it took no pains to gather it.

When, on the 29th of October 1513, Balboa had consummated the ceremonial acts of taking possession of the Southern Sea for the crowns of Castile and Leon, the natives directed his attention to a group of low islands which they represented as being exceedingly rich in pearls. He was then standing upon the shores of the main ocean at the entrance to the gulf of San Miguel, and the islands were some seven leagues distant. One distinguished as being the largest of the group was said to abound in pearls of an immense size, "as large as that," said the Indians, placing

the thumb and first finger together, "and taken from shell-fish as large as that," pointing to a buckler which hung from the arm of a Spaniard. Vasco Nuñez thereupon called the largest island Isla Rica, and to the archipelago he gave the name of the Pearl Islands. Isla Rica later became known as the island of San Miguel.

From the town of Chiapes Balboa crossed a great river and entered the province of Cocura, where he obtained gold to the value of six hundred and fifty pesos. He then crossed the water to an arm of the gulf of San Miguel, later known as the Rio Savana, and entered a province belonging to a cacique named Tumaco, who, besides gold valued at 614 pesos, brought him a bowl filled with magnificent pearls, 240 of which were of extraordinary size and beauty.

Vasco Nuñez and his companions were by this time fully aware of the immense riches of that country in gold, for, although the natives placed but little value upon it, merely gathering what they could easily pick up from the surface of the ground, yet everywhere they found it among the Indians, in larger or smaller quantities, usually wrought into various shapes. But here was proof given them, that this southern sea contained pearls in no less profusion than its shores yielded gold, and a knowledge of this fact greatly enhanced the value of their discovery. "Our men marvelled greatly," says Peter Martyr, "at the size and beauty of these pearls, although they were not perfectly white, because they can not take them out of the sea mussels, except they first roast them, that they may the easier open themselves; and also that the fish may have the better taste. For they esteem it a delicate and princely dish, which they prize more highly than the pearls themselves."

When the chief Tumaco beheld the eagerness with which the Spaniards regarded his pearls, to show them the small value which he placed upon these baubles, and how easily they could be obtained, he sent some

of his men to fish for them, and after an absence of four days they returned with a most beautiful collection, amounting to twelve marks weight, or ninety-six ounces. The Spaniards taught them how to open the oyster without damaging the pearl, and the Indians very soon learned to prize the jewel more than the fish. Afterward, when the pearls became an important article of commerce, these Indians trained certain of their youths as divers. By practice they accustomed themselves to remain beneath the water for a long time. They could fish for large pearls only in calm weather as they were found in deep water; the smaller oysters were nearer the beach, and were frequently deposited upon it by the winds and tide.

On his return journey, Vasco Nuñez entered and ascended a large river flowing into the gulf, probably the Savana, to which he gave the name of San Lúcar, and landed at a province called Teaochan, the name of whose chief was Fesca, where he was presented with 160 ounces in gold and 200 pearls large and fine, except that they had been somewhat discolored from the action of the fire.

The next province belonged to a cacique named Poncra, who was hideously deformed, and who abandoned his village on the approach of the Spaniards. Gold to the value of 3,000 pesos was picked up in the village, and the Indians who accompanied Vasco Nuñez informed him that this was one of the richest provinces in all those parts. Balboa named the place Todos Santos. Part of his company who had remained at the town of Chiapes joined him at this place. As they journeyed northward from Chiapes they entered the dominions of a cacique called Bononiama. Their fame having preceded them, this chieftain received them with every demonstration of joy, and immediately presented them with gold valued at 2,000 pesos. They then accompanied this band of Spaniards to Todos Santos, in order to pay their respects to Vasco Nuñez.

Continuing their journey toward the north, they were one day overtaken by a band of Indians who came from a province which lay some distance out of their course, and, presenting the Spaniards with thirty large gold plates, weighing 14,000 pesos, they invited them to visit their chief, who would give them a much larger amount. They also begged Vasco Nuñez to assist them in subjugating a powerful neighbor, whose riches were very great. During their homeward march, gold had accumulated so rapidly, that they were unable to carry both their treasure and a sufficient quantity of provisions. Although they had Indians in abundance to act as beasts of burden, yet each man was not able to carry more than two days' supply in addition to his load of metal. They endured, therefore, intense suffering.

Descending the northern declivities of the mountains, they rested at a village, the cacique of which was called Pocorosa, who gave them gold valued at 1,500 pesos, at the same time informing them of a neighbor named Tumanamá, whom Vasco Nuñez with seventy men surprised by night and took prisoner with his eighty wives and gold to the value of 9,000 pesos. Not long after he was released, when he collected within a few days ninety marks of gold and gave it to Balboa. Being asked where this gold was found, Tumanamá refused to answer, fearful that if the locality was made known to the Spaniards they would never leave his dominions. It was ascertained by trial, however, that the soil in the vicinity was richly impregnated, and Vasco Nuñez determined to establish there a fort for the protection of mining and commerce between the two seas. Continuing their way toward the north, the Spaniards arrived at the village of Comagre. The old chief was dead, and Panciaco succeeded to the honors and dignities of his father. He received Vasco Nuñez with great joy, presented him with gold to the value of 2,000 pesos, and received in return a linen shirt and some trinkets, with which he

was highly delighted. The Spaniards then returned to Antigua, carrying with them 40,000 pesos in gold, which on account of the immense yield from Peru is worth at this time, A. D. 1600, says Herrera, more than 300,000.[6]

It appears from the narratives of Vasco Nuñez and others, that upon the Isthmus at this time gold was held by the natives in about the same estimation that copper, iron, or any base metal is regarded by primitive nations. It was usually found wrought into ornaments, such as breastplates, anklets, wristlets, as well as vessels for domestic purposes. In fact, when the use of iron became known to the natives, they valued that metal above anything on earth, and thought themselves extremely fortunate if they could obtain a hatchet, a knife, or even a piece of old hoop iron, for an equal weight of gold.

Mining for gold on the continent of America was first attempted by Europeans in the year 1514. Three leagues from the settlement of Santa María de la Antigua del Darien was found a spot where the hill-sides, plains, and river-banks were so richly impregnated as to attract the attention of the colonists. It was their custom to first elect a mining superintendent, or surveyor, under whose direction plots of ground were measured off twelve paces square, the location of which was at the option of the claimant, only avoiding preoccupied ground. Indian slaves were then set to work, and if the spot chosen proved barren, it might be abandoned and another selected.

About this time were started among the colonists of Darien stories of the golden temple of Dabaiba, inland from them a little south of west sixty or eighty leagues. The colonists sought to find the place and

[6] 'Acordó de partirse para el Darien, con mas de quarenta mil pesos de oro, que valian entonces mas que aora trecientos mil, lo qual ha sido causa la infinidad que dello ha dado el Pirú.' *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. x. cap. 5. See also *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. 3; *Oviedo*, lib. xxix. cap. 5; *Gomara Hist. Ind.*, 80.

failed. Two subsequent attempts, both equally unsuccessful were made to capture the golden temple, one by Vasco Nuñez and Luis Carrillo conjointly, and the other by the factor of Pedrarias, Juan de Tabira. A priest of the priory of Darien named Jacobo Alvarez Osorio spent many years searching for the golden temple, during which time he endured great hardships and experienced many dangers.

Tello de Guzman with one hundred men penetrated to the South Sea in 1515. He discovered the site of ancient Panamá, a country famous for its richness, but where he found only some fishermen's huts. From the province of Chagre he obtained gold to the value of 12,000 castellanos, and from Chepo 12,000. He returned to Antigua loaded with gold, but almost famished from hunger and thirst. Gonzalo de Badajoz, another captain of Pedrarias, crossed the Isthmus in 1515 from Nombre de Dios to the bay of Panamá with one hundred and thirty men. Upon the summit of the cordilleras Badajoz surprised a chief named Totonagua, from whom he obtained gold valued in all at 12,000 castellanos. From a neighboring cacique he received in return for his friendship 8,000. They found this mountain region exceedingly rich in gold. "Wherever they digged," says Peter Martyr, "whether on the dry land or in the wet channels of the rivers, they found the sand which they cast forth mixed with gold." At the village of Natá, on the western border of the gulf of Panamá, the Spaniards found gold to the value of 10,000 castellanos; south-west of Natá from a cacique named Escolia they obtained 9,000, and at other provinces from two to ten thousand castellanos. Thus far Badajoz had secured gold to the value of 80,000 castellanos, "which was worth more in those days," says Herrera, "500,000 after the discovery of Peru."

The whole country in the vicinity of the bay of Panamá, and for two hundred leagues above and below Darien, according to the last mentioned chron-

icler, was found to be exceedingly rich in gold. That in the possession of the natives, however, was usually found wrought into breastplates, and utensils of various sorts. Such as was found in a native state must have been quite fine, as Herrera mentions several pieces of extraordinary size found by Badajoz, which weighed two castellanos. While in this vicinity Badajoz entered the province of a cacique named Cutará, but whom the Spaniards called Paris. The chieftain fled at their approach, but upon being threatened with the bloodhounds, he sent them, in four baskets, gold to the value of 50,000 pesos. The ungrateful Spaniards, flushed with their success, entered his village by night and secured nearly as much more. This base treachery so exasperated the savages that they attacked Badajoz with an army of 4,000 warriors, killed seventy of his men, and captured all the gold which he had taken, amounting to over 160,000 castellanos, equivalent to at least one million of dollars at the present time. Subsequently he visited the island of Tabogá, where he obtained a small quantity of gold. He then returned to Antigua.

"When I was superintendent of the mint in Castilla del Oro," says Oviedo, "I have often melted gold from Veragua, and am well convinced of the existence of rich mines in that province." The colonists at Natá established a considerable traffic with the natives of Veragua, sending thither their Indian servants with cotton cloth and hammocks to exchange for gold.

The Pearl Islands were first visited by Gaspar de Morales and Francisco Pizarro. After the cacique was pacified by the arms of the Spaniards, he took Morales up into a tower which stood upon the roof of his house, whence an unbroken view was presented, and pointing to the islands on either side said, "Behold the infinite sea, extending even beyond the sunbeams; behold the islands, all are subject to my sway. They contain but little gold; but the deep places in

all these seas and about all these islands are full of pearls, of which you shall have as many as you will, so that you continue your friendship to me." He brought a basket of pearls of one hundred marks weight, and agreed to pay annually to the king of Spain one hundred pounds of pearls, as though it was a very light matter.

In 1516 the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa traversed the Isthmus, and recaptured the greater part of the gold which had been taken from Badajoz; but the natives fled to the mountains at his approach, and although he found the country at large well drained by former raids, the large amount which he recovered was sufficient to enrich every man of his company.

In 1522 Gil Gonzales and Andrés Niño discovered the north-western coast from Panamá to the bay of Fonseca, taking possession of the province of Nicaragua. During the seventeen months of their absence they journeyed 640 leagues, and with 100 men went inland 244 leagues, begging bread and gold. Of the latter they obtained the value of 112,500 pesos, a portion of which was of inferior quality, and worth twelve or thirteen dollars an ounce. They also obtained pearls to the value of 145 pesos. This inferior gold they found wrought into hatchets and other useful implements, and bells the purity and value of which were tested by the sound, as the purer the gold the more dull and flat would be the sound. Of the 112,500 pesos thus obtained, 40,000 were found between the bay of David and the bay of San Vicente; 14,000, thirteen carats fine, were donated by the cacique Nicoya in return for the baptism of 6,000 of his subjects. The cacique Nicaragua cheerfully gave the Spaniards 25,000 pesos.

Hernando de Soto, one of the captains of Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, who was sent to Nicaragua by Pedrarias after the return of Gil Gonzales, collected an inferior quality of gold to the value of

130,000 pesos, which was taken from him by Gil Gonzales in an affray between the Spaniards for supremacy in that country.

Diego Lopez de Salcedo, governor of Honduras, journeyed from Trujillo near Cape Honduras, to the city of Leon in Nicaragua. He reported that in the valley of Olancho, about twenty-five leagues south of Trujillo, were mines so rich that with proper tools gold twenty-two carats fine to the value of 200,000 castellanos might be taken out in two months.

In the year 1528 Martin Estete and Gabriel de Rojas were sent from New Leon by Pedrarias to the River San Juan in order to ascertain the character of the stream which drains the lake of Nicaragua and Managua. Taking a circuitous route for the purpose of examining the country they reached the ocean at Cape Gracias á Dios, and such was the richness of the country in that vicinity that they founded a colony at that point, and Gabriel de Rojas remained to work the mines. About this time a large quantity of gold was taken from the River Guayape in the valley of Olancho. The first silver mines of which I find mention, were opened in a beautiful valley of Honduras, at a place called New Valladolid, about thirty leagues from Trujillo.[7]

The colonists at Trujillo up to June 1533, took from the mines in their vicinity 3,532 pesos. They reported many mines rich in gold and other metals in the neighborhood, but such was the continued hostility of the natives that they were obliged to abandon not only their mining camps but the larger settlements. But after the pacification of the country by Pedro de Alvarado the yield of the mines during six months of 1535 was 60,000 pesos, and as early as 1538 the reputation of Honduras as a rich mining country was established.[8]

[7] 'Esta assimismo en esta provincia la nueva Valladolid, con un valle, con gentil disposicion, y vista, y de ayre sano; en la compaña ay multitud de ganados, y buenas minas de plata.' *Herrera, Hist. Ind.*, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. 3.

[8] They begged Pedro de Alvarado, governor of Guatemala, to grant them

Francisco de Montejo, governor of Yucatan, about the year 1535 petitioned the crown to add to his government the province of Honduras, stating as a reason for so doing, that in Honduras were rich mines of gold, while in Yucatan there were none, and without that attraction the land of Yucatan never would be pacified.

Felipe Gutierrez, governor of Veragua in 1537, was guided by a native to some rich gold mines situated within three or four leagues of the sea-shore between the rivers Veragua and Concepcion; but being pressed by disease and famine, he, as all others before him had done, was obliged to withdraw from that country. In 1540, five or six men, formerly occupied in the mines of Honduras, crossed over to Española, and reported that land rich in minerals, with an abundance of game, fruit, grain, and honey.[9]

Diego Gutierrez in 1540 was appointed by the emperor govenor of Nueva Cartago, or Costa Rica, and five years later ascended for a few leagues the river Surre, which is supposed to be the same that is now called Revenrayon which flows into the Caribbean Sea in latitude about 10° 20′. Taking possession of a deserted Indian village within the province which gave name to the river, the caciques occupying adjacent provinces brought in an inferior or alloyed gold to the value of 700 ducats. On being questioned whence it was obtained, they replied that it came from certain rivers flowing down the sides of steep mountains in countries very distant. On the southern slope of the mountains Gutierrez found the gold more plentiful and the quality finer. It was fabricated into necklaces and bracelets. The natives

aid 'ó dar órden cómo no se acabassen de perder los españoles que allí estaban, despoblándose una provincia tan rica de minas de oro ó otros metales.' *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, lib. xxxi., cap. 7.

[9] 'Las minas de Honduras son en la villa que llaman Comayagua, hácia el valle de Vlancho, treynta y cinco leguas desta mar del Norte, y especialmente digo las minas de plata; é de un quintal de la vena se sacan seys marcos de plata é dos pessos de oro, y esto se ha visto ser assi por el ensayo.' *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, lib. xxxi., cap. 11.

carried also golden trumpets three palms in length. Gutierrez was attacked on one of the affluents of the river Grande, or Virillo, which flows into the gulf of Nicoya, in July, 1545, by about 3,000 natives, and himself and nearly all of his men were massacred. This battle resulted in the recovery, by the Indians, of 100,000 castellanos in gold, which had been taken from them by Gutierrez.[10]

Three leagues from the city of Granada, in the lake of Nicaragua, is the volcano Massaya, in the bowels of which a fiery liquid eternally boiled. The fact that the ebullition was perpetual, never discharging anything save smoke and flame, and never becoming reduced by evaporation, led a Dominican friar, named Blas del Castillo, to believe the molten mass to be a precious metal. "What a grand idea," thought he, "to draw melted gold from the bowels of the earth in buckets." At length, taking into his confidence other Spaniards he agreed to descend to the floor of the crater and endeavor if possible to obtain some of the precious liquid. For this purpose he carried with him a bucket-shaped piece of thick sheet iron attached to a long chain. Arrived at the floor of the crater he began paying out the chain. Although the situation was none of the coolest, and the good father imagined himself nearer the infernal regions than he ever expected to be before death, all went well. One hundred and fifty fathoms of the chain were paid out, but as soon as it reached the regions of fire below the bucket shrivelled, the chain melted for some distance, and the dream of the gold-drawers was over. The Spaniards passed the night, without needing the light of the sun, meditating upon the uncertainty of volcanic mining operations.[11]

[10] 'Poi venirono certi Signori à visitarlo, e gli presentorono da settecento ducati d'oro di bassa lega.' 'Poi gli dimandó doue pigliauano l'oro, e gli risposero, che lo conducceuano da paesi assai lontani, trouati in certi fiumi, che discendeuano da certe asprissime montagne.' *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nuovo*, lib. ii., fol. 84.

[11] 'Año de Mil y quinientos y cinquenta y vno se dio licencia al licenciado,

The old Milanese traveller and historian, Girolamo Benzoni, affirms that when in Nicaragua, about the year 1546, there were no mines of any description, although the natives had in their possession an abundance of gold, much alloyed, however, which had been brought from other provinces.[12]

The shore of Venezuela was called by the early Spanish settlers the Pearl Coast, from the immense yield of that gem in those parts. The licentiate, Don Pedro Ordoñez de Zevallos, who visited that country in 1660, asserts that he saw at the fishery huge piles of pearls which could be measured by the bushel. On the coast of Urabá he discovered a temple which contained large idols of solid gold adorned with crowns, sun or wheel-like, the smallest of which had rays or spokes of pure gold weighing twenty-eight pounds.

In Peru we shall find equally great gold-gathering stories; and there is no doubt that the yield from this quarter assisted greatly in revolutionizing the commerce and finances of the world.

During his first voyage along the coast of Peru, Pizarro found gold in large quantities only at Tumbez, a town situated at the entrance to the gulf of Guayaquil, although it was discovered to be in the hands of all the natives to a greater or less extent. Having with him but a few men, he gave orders that gold should be treated with indifference, so that the apprehensions of the natives might not be excited, and that the subsequent harvest might be the richer.[13]

The Indian province of Coaque lying directly under the equinoctial line originally abounded in emeralds,

y Dean Juan Aluarez, para abrir este Volcan de Masaya, y sacar el metal.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 262.

[12] 'Non hanno minere di metallo di forte alcuna, à bene che cuando gli Spagnuoli vi andarono, haueuano vna gran quantità d'oro di bassa lega, condotto d'altre prouincie.' *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nuovo*, lib. ii. 102.

[13] 'Et volendoli dare il Gouernatore alquante gioie d'oro non le volse accettare, dissimulando, che non andaua cercando tal cosa, e tornato alle naue e dato notitia del tutto.' *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nuovo*, lib. iii. fol. 119.

found in no other region upon that coast. When the Spaniards under Pizarro invaded that province in 1531, besides an abundance of gold and silver, they collected large quantities of this gem, some of them as large as pigeons' eggs. It is said that the rude soldiers, not knowing the value of this beautiful stone, broke them in pieces in order to test their value, as they had been informed by one of the missionary friars that the emerald was harder than steel and could not be broken, and by this means alone could their genuineness be proved.[14]

Proceeding southward and penetrating the interior, the Spaniards seized the ruler of the realm. Not long after his capture the inca offered such a ransom as never prince or potentate dared promise before. "I will cover this floor with gold," said he to Pizarro, "if you will let me go." Then perceiving looks of incredulity, which seemed to treat his offer as the insane boast of an exasperated captive, "Nay," said he, "I will fill the room with gold as high as you can reach," and stepping to the wall he made a mark nine feet from the floor. "And if that is not enough, yonder room," he exclaimed, pointing to a smaller apartment adjoining, "that room shall be twice filled with silver if you will grant me my liberty." The gold was not to be melted down, but was to retain its fabricated form, and two months were allowed for the fulfilment of the agreement. Francisco Pizarro readily accepted the offer, gave a promise of release before a notary,

[14] 'Arriuammo a vno terra chiamata Coaque, qual è sotto la linea equinottiale, doue trouammo, qualche poco d'oro, e qualche pietra dí Smeraldo.' *Relationé d'vn capitano Spagnvolo*, in *Ramusio*, iii. 371. 'Precianse de traer muchas joias de oro en las orejas, i en las narices, maiormente Esmeraldas, que se hallan solamente en aquel parage; aunque los Indios no han querido mostrar los veneros de ellas; creese que nascen alli, porque se han hallado algunas mezcladas, i pegadas con guijarros, que es señal de quaxarse de ellos.' *Zarate, Hist. del Perú*, lib. i. cap. iv. 'Caminaron hasta llegar a vn gran Pueblo, que se dice Coaque, al qual saltearon, porque no se alçase como los otros Pueblos, i alli tomaron quince mil Pesos de Oro; i mil i quinientos Marcos de Plata, i muchas Piedras de Esmeraldas, que por el presente no fueron conoscidas, ni tenidas por Piedras de valor; por esta causa los Españoles las daban, i rescataban con los Indios por Ropa, i otras cosas que los Indios les daban por ellas.' *Xeres, Conq. del Peru*, in *Barcia*, iii. 182.

and kept it by finally killing his captive. Atahualpa was garroted in prison, by order of Pizarro, just before the glittering pile had reached the stipulated mark. The rapidity with which this vast treasure came in showed the wealth of the empire. The gold and silver of the Peruvians was lodged for the most part in the temples of the sun, and the palaces of the inca. The chief places of deposit were Quito and Cuzco, five hundred leagues apart, and the metal was transported from every quarter of the realm on the backs of native porters. Sometimes treasure to the value of 40,000 or 60,000 castellanos would arrive in a single day.[15]

The articles gathered consisted of plates and other decorations for the temples and royal edifices, domestic ornaments and utensils, vases, salvers, and goblets, besides curiously wrought representations of animals and plants. The golden ear of maize encased in silver husk and tassel; singing birds with gold and silver plumage; golden fountains with golden fishes swimming in their waters were among the articles which composed this motley mass. All this except such of the finest specimens as were set aside for a royal present, was melted down into ingots of a uniform size and standard.

Three Spaniards who were sent to Cuzco to superintend the collecting, stripped from the sacred edifices 700 plates, each about fifteen inches in length by ten inches in width. One of the temples was adorned by a cornice of solid gold, which however was so firmly

[15] 'Atabaliba q̃ se temia cayo enello, y dixo a Piçarro que no tenian razo de andar descontentos ni de acusarle, Pues el Quito, Pachacama y Cuzco, de dónde, principalméte se auia de traer el oro de su rescate, estauan lexos.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 152. 'Zarate, libro segundo capitulo siete, sacada à la letra dice. A su magestad le perteneciò de su real quinto, treinta mil marcos de plata blanca, fuia y cendrada; y del oro cupo à su magestad de quinto, ciento y veinte cuentos de marcos, Gomara, capitulo ciento y diez y ocho dice; Francesco Pizarro hiço pesar el Oro, y la plata despues de quelatado.' *Garcilasso de la Vega Com. Reales*, parte ii. lib. i. cap. 28. 'Les trésors que l'on avait livrés pour sa rançon furtagés entre les Espagnols; ils formaient une somme d'un million vingt-cinq mille cinq cent castillans d'or, et cinquante-deux mille marcs d'argent.' *Balboa, Hist. du Pérou, Ternaux-Compans*, 327.

set as to resist their efforts. Two hundred cargas of gold and twenty-five of silver were thus added to the heap with which the captive monarch hoped to procure his liberty.

Native goldsmiths were employed by the royal inspectors to perform this work of reduction, and such was its magnitude that more than one month was consumed before it was finished. When melted down and weighed, the whole amount which the inca had thus collected for his ransom was found to be 1,326,539 castellanos of gold, and 51,610 marks of silver, equivalent at the present time to at least twenty millions of dollars.[16]

The distribution of this magnificent prize among a comparatively small band of adventurers took place under the superintendence of Pizarro on the 25th of July 1533, in the great square of Caxamalca. After invoking divine assistance in the performance of what he affirmed to be a work of the most solemn responsibility, he awarded to himself 57,222 castellanos of gold and 2,350 marks of silver. He also appropriated to his own use the chair or throne of the inca, which was of solid gold and valued at 25,000 castellanos. He awarded to his brother Fernando Pizarro 31,080 castellanos of gold and 2,350 marks of silver. To Hernando de Soto he gave 17,740 castellanos of gold and 724 marks of silver. The cavalry, about fifty-five in number, were allowed each 8,880

[16] Garcilasso de la Vega compares at length the principal authors on the subject, and produces the following enormous results. The inca's ransom he places at 4,605,670 ducats, and the spoils afterward taken from Cuzco amounted to still more. Father Blas Valera says that the inca's ransom was valued at 4,800,000 ducats. 'De manera, que sumó, y monto todo este Rescate de Atahuallpa 4,605,670 ducados. De los quales, los tres cuentos y novecientos y treinta y tres mil ducados, son del valor del Oro; y los seiscientos y setenta y dos mil y seiscientos y setenta ducados son del valor de la plata, con las creças de la cendrada, y ambos numeros hacen la suma de los quatro millones y seiscientos y cinco mil y seiscientos y setenta ducados. Esta suma de ducados huvieron los Españoles en Cassamarca; mucho maior fue, la que huvieron en el Cozco, quando entraron en aquella ciudad, como lo dicen los mismos autores Gomara, y Zarate, que adelante en su lugar citaremos. El P. Blas Valera dice que valio el rescate de Atahuallpa quatro millones y ocho cientos mil ducados.' *Com. Reales*, parte ii. lib. i. cap. 38.

castellanos of gold and 362 marks of silver, and of the infantry eighty received each 4,440 castellanos of gold and 180 marks of silver, and the remainder, twenty-five in number, most of them 3,330 castellanos of gold and 135 marks of silver each. Servants and underlings received a smaller amount. The church of San Francisco, which had been erected as a testimonial of gratitude to that divine providence which had so highly favored their unrighteous cause, was endowed with 22,220 castellanos. Fifteen thousand castellanos were sent to the colonists of San Miguel, and 120,000 were assigned to Almagro and his company.

Departing from Caxamalca the Spaniards entered Cuzco, the imperial city of the incas, on the 15th of November. Although rifled in a measure of its precious ornaments for the ransom of Atahualpa, there remained much which yet lay exposed to the cupidity of the soldiers. The palaces and sacred edifices were again plundered; the royal mummies deposited in the great temple of Coricancha, which had hitherto been respected by the Spaniards, were stripped as were also the sepulchres. Valuables which had been removed to a place of fancied security were unearthed. Not far from the city was found a cavern from which were brought forth golden vases and finely wrought imitations of insects, reptiles, and animals. Among the articles collected in the city were several female statues, life-size, of pure though thin gold, also golden llamas, slippers and sandals of gold, and female dresses made wholly of beads of gold.

On their way thither the conquerors had added greatly to their store of wealth. Ten solid silver planks, each twenty feet in length, one foot in width, and from two to three inches in thickness, were found in one place. It is supposed that these huge bars were intended to be used in the construction of a dwelling for some Peruvian prince.

After completing their work of plunder in the capi-

tal, the division was made as at Caxamalca. Specimens of the finest workmanship were set aside for the emperor; the whole mass was melted down by native goldsmiths, the king's fifth deducted, and the remainder divided in like proportion as before. The total amount is said by some to have exceeded the inca's ransom. Others place the amount as low as 580,200 castellanos of gold, and 215 marks of silver.

The immediate effect of such vast wealth distributed so suddenly among a band of coarse, lawless men, unaccustomed to the use of money and incapable of self-restraint, was to excite the soldiers to every species of debauchery and gaming, and to raise exorbitantly the prices of all such commodities or articles as would minister to their pride or lust. The vice of gambling invariably stands prominent in such cases. Immense sums were ventured on the turn of a card, or on a single throw of the dice. Some lost their entire portion in a single day. A story is told of a horseman named Leguizarro to whom had fallen, in the distribution at Cuzco, an image of the sun. The figure was finely embossed on a burnished plate of solid gold. It had been taken from the wall of the great temple of the sun, and for some reason had not been recast. One night this cavalier continued his play until a late hour. His sun was the bank from which he drew his stakes; in the attempt to retrieve his losses, and just before morning, his sun was gone. Hence the proverb, "Juega el sol antes que amanezca." Gamble away the sun before daybreak. An ordinary horse at that time in Cuzco brought 2,500 castellanos, equivalent at the present time to about forty thousand dollars. A pair of shoes sold for thirty castellanos; a quire of paper for ten; a bottle of wine for sixty; a sword for fifty, and a cloak for one hundred. The cavaliers shod their horses with silver.

While Pizarro was thus reaping his magnificent harvest at Caxamalca and Cuzco, the attention of envious cavaliers was turned towards Quito, where like

unbounded wealth according to report awaited the conqueror. No less than three adventurous captains, Pedro de Alvarado, the famous hero of Mexico, now governor of Guatemala, Diego de Almagro, and Sebastian Benalcázar who had been left in command of the fortress of San Miguel, met in that city about the middle of 1534. About seven hundred Spaniards besides larger bodies of Indians were thus congregated in and about Quito, ready to vindicate their right to the supposed riches of the city by force of arms. It was soon discovered, however, that the fancied gold and silver stores of Quito were an illusion. Either no treasure to speak of had ever existed, or it had been hidden by the natives. Thus the object of their contention being removed, the Spaniards became brothers. The chivalrous Alvarado even visited Pizarro at Pachacamac, where the two bold and successful adventurers embraced and held high revel for several days.

"From one single hill in Peru," says Garcilaso de la Vega, "200,000,000 pesos were taken as appears by the register, and one hundred more unregistered. One single fleet brought in my time 25,000,000 in gold and silver." Soon after the execution of his old associate, which took place in July 1538, Francisco Pizarro partitioned among his own followers the lands which had been granted by the crown to Diego de Almagro. In this partition, greatly to the discontent of other meritorious cavaliers, the rich silver hills of Potosi fell to Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro. These mines were situated in the province of Charcas, toward the southern extremity of Almagro's dominions. They are said to have been discovered by an Indian who on pulling a shrub out of the ground found hanging to the roots small pieces of silver. They had been worked for a considerable period under the incas. But even the Pizarros, who conducted their operations on a scale much more extensive than any hitherto known in Peru, made no attempt to penetrate any considerable distance below the surface.

Subsequently, in 1546, when Gonzalo Pizarro, in opposition to the crown, was master of Peru, large quantities of metal were extracted by his general Francisco de Carbajal. So rich were the veins opened at Potosí that almost all other mines were abandoned as unprofitable, and so common became this metal that iron at Potosí was worth nearly its weight in silver.

According to Zárate the ore was melted in small round furnaces fed by charcoal and sheep's excrements, without the aid of bellows. The best ore was nearly pure silver, and the poorest eighty marks per one hundred pounds. The Pizarros worked these mines with Indians, who were obliged to pay to their proprietors two marks or one pound of silver each per day. All over this sum was their own. Over seven thousand Indians were thus employed. Some of them made much more for themselves than for their masters, and many were worth from three to four thousand castellanos.[17]

The Indian method in Peru was to dig a ditch along the side of a river, into which they threw the gold-bearing earth. Then turning in the water the dirt was carried away and the gold remained. "This," says the Spanish captain, "I have often seen done."[18]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the product of the precious metals in Peru was $11,000,000 per annum. The immense treasure secured by the conquerors had directed thither the attention of

[17] According to Pizarro y Orellana, these were the first mines worked in Peru. 'Traxo consigo muchos capitanes y caciques que descubrieron secretos de minas de oro, y de plata finissima, *que fueron las primeras que por industria deste valeroso capitan se abrieron en aquellos ricos Imperio.* Y pareciendo à Hernando Pizarro, que convenia al servicio de dios, y de su Magestad fundar alli un pueblo, dexó la gente, repartiendo las minas, las mejores para su Magestad, y entre el, y los demas capitanes y soldados las demas.' *Varones Ilvstres*, 335.

[18] 'Disse di piu il cacique, che l'oro che si caua di quel firme, non lo ricogliono con bateas, che sono a modo d'vno bacil da barbiere, con li manichi doue lauano l'oro nell 'acqua, anzi fanno in questo modo, che met tono la terra cauata della mínera, in vn luogo a modo d'una fossa appresso l'acqua, e con vna ruota cauano l'acqua del fiume, e la fanno andar in quella fossi, e cosi lauano la terra.' *Relatione d'un Capitano Spagnuolo, Ramusio*, iii. 378.

gold-seekers, and the Peruvian mines for a time overshadowed those of Mexico, and all others of the world. This being almost the only industry of the times, the conquerors used to drive the natives at the point of the sword upon the rich silver-hills, so to secure an abundant return. "All the Indians between the ages of eighteen and fifty were enrolled in seven lists, the individuals on each list being obliged to work for six months in the mines, so that this forced labor came on the unfortunate Indians at intervals of three and a half years; four out of every five were supposed to perish annually in these deadly labors."

Having thus briefly reviewed the first gold-gatherings of Central and South America, let us turn to Mexico.

It is unnecessary again to recite the efforts of Montezuma to procure his ransom, details of which I have fully given in the first volume of my *History of Mexico*. Among the earliest gold-seeking expeditions in this quarter, after the fall of the empire, was one under Gonzalo de Umbría, to Zacatula, and another under Pizarro toward Tochtepec and Malinaltepec. Both returned with gold washed from the sands of the rivers.[19]

The early expeditions to extend conquest gave opportunity to make further researches, and within a few years a number of Spaniards were busily engaged in the examination of what were afterward the several mining districts. Among the first regions thus examined were those of Guazpaltepec and Xaltepec, which the Spaniards reached on the expedition to Tochtepec under Gonzalo de Sandoval. Several years later they extended their labors to Michoacan, attracted by the fabulous yield of the Morcillo mine, which for a short time was worked with great success,

[19] For details of these expeditions see *Hist. Mex.*, i. 320–2, this series.

but later, as was said, disappeared in a mysterious manner.[20]

The conquerors, more skilled in arms than in arts, were not able to invent or introduce a new mining system, but adhered to that adopted by the Aztecs. Expert as were the latter in working the different metals, the exploitation of the mines was still in a primitive condition, which was not much to boast of, being little more than skimming the surface of the ground,[21] or washing the sands of the rivers. Their smelting apparatus was likewise deficient, and the only means at their disposition to increase the heat of the small furnaces was the use of blow-pipes of bamboo. This explains why golden jewelry was more common than that made of silver; it was not by reason of the greater scarcity of the latter, but on account of the increased difficulty in extracting it from the ores. In the course of time intelligent miners came from Spain, and introduced improvements, such as smelting by aid of bellows. Due to the stimulation thus given, new *reales*[22] sprang up everywhere, especially in the northern region, which proved to be richer in minerals than the southern districts. The discovery, about 1539,[23] of several mines toward the south, among which were those of Taxco, Sultepec, Tzumpanco, and Temazcaltepec, was soon followed by finding the

[20] Herrera, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. xv., gives the matter a miraculous turn, because of an order of 1528, *Puga, Cedulario*, 24, to take possession of it for the crown. Another supposition, that the Indians buried the mine, is more credible, and strengthened by the fact that difficulties had arisen between the Tarascan ruler, Tangaxoan, and the grasping Spanish miners. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 53, 54, this series.

[21] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 482, asserts, however, that the Aztecs were versed in the building of subterranean shafts and galleries. Duport, *Mét. Préc.*, 2–6, gives several reasons why he supposes the Aztecs to have been unacquainted with subterraneous mining.

[22] *Real de minas* was the name given to the small fortress of any settlement, established around a newly discovered mine, meaning only that it was an encampment, not that it belonged to the king.

[23] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 498, supposes that the mines of Taxco, Sultepec, Tlalpeyahua, and Pachuca were the first ever worked by Spaniards; but there is no doubt that those in the Tochtepec district and the Morcillo mine of Michoacan were of older date. Albornoz, *Carta*, in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 72, speaks in December, 1525, of mining developments in Michoacan.

rich lodes of San Luis Potosí, and of Zacatecas, in 1548.[24]

From the first, the development of mines had met with the favor of the crown; and franchises and privileges contributed to swell the number of adventurers, who strove to acquire immediate wealth. The great conqueror, Cortés himself, had set the example, by separating for his own share valuable tracts of metalliferous land, and many were eager to secure a similar chance of prosperity. Contrary to the usual policy, the government generously refrained from appropriating to itself the exploitation.[25] Nominally the mines belonged to the crown, but since 1526 they were practically made common property, in so far as with certain formalities all free inhabitants, indiscriminately, whether Spaniards or natives, were entitled to work them.[26] Only certain officials were excluded to prevent abuses, and friars and priests were not allowed to be interested in mining schemes. In later years, rewards were fixed for the discovery of new mines, and orders issued to the viceroys to foster exploitations in every possible way.[27] Mining implements, supplies, and slaves of the proprietors of mines could not be attached unless for debts to the crown, and executions could be levied only against the prod-

[24] The latter date is given in *Beamont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 580, 582; v. 98; *Berghes, Descrip. Zacatecas*, 3; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 499, 534. Alaman, however, followed by Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 332, asserts that documents in the archives of the family of Cortés prove that the latter worked mines in Zacatecas during his lifetime, and consequently before 1548. *Esposicion*, 25, 61. The site of Zacatecas had not been discovered till 1546. See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 761, this series. In his *Hist. Méj.*, i. 100, Alaman intimates that the mines of Zacatecas were not worked until 1550. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 105, followed by Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, iv. 560, gives the date as 1531.

[25] In the early time, however, it seems that the government began the exploitation of certain mines, for a law of 1573, later reiterated, authorizes the viceroys to alienate crown mines, except those of sulphur, if such an operation be of benefit to the royal treasury. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 493–4.

[26] The law, dated November 9, 1526, is given in full in *Puga, Cedulario*, 12, 21. It was repeated and reformed in 1551, 1563, 1568, and 1575. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 68, 71; *Montemáyor, Svmarios*, 203.

[27] Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 391–2, censures the policy of Spain in favoring the development of mines, as against agriculture and industries. But it was too much to expect of royalty in those days, that it should study the permanent interest of the colony instead of its own immediate desires.

uct, and not against the property. Miners could not be imprisoned for debt except in their own district, and even then they were entitled to certain hours to look after their affairs.[28] One of the first laws issued for New Spain had temporarily reduced the duty on gold obtained by mining from one fifth to one tenth; subsequently efforts were made to collect the original rate; but owing to the continuous petitions[29] the crown several times extended the exemption, always for a limited period, until in 1716 it was made perpetual. Evidence of the royal wish was in the laws which required the audiencias and corregidores to compel vagrants, Spaniards as well as mixed breeds, to work in mines.[30] Criminals sentenced to hard labor could also be thus employed, their wages being turned into the royal treasury.

Soon after the working of the mines was begun steps were taken to secure the natives against the oppression of the Spaniards, but this tended, among other results, to keep the Indians from disclosing the existence of veins. It was ordered that the rewards assigned in such cases should be religiously paid, with exemption from tribute of discoverers and their descendants. Their territorial rights should also be duly respected, so as to leave them the ownership of mines situated within the limits of their property. Under certain conditions Indians could be employed to work in the mines, but strict regulations existed to ensure them a fair compensation, and the abuses from which they suffered in the sixteenth century[31] gradually dis-

[28] Laws of 1540, 1572, 1590, 1602, 1619, 1620. *Puga, Cedulario*, 11, *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 72; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 204, pt. iii. 44.

[29] *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 170. In 1525 the crown revoked this exemption, and the city council resolved to petition for a prolongation, owing to the small profits. See also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. iii.

[30] 'De no permitir gente ociosa en la tierra.'

[31] Viceroy Mendoza's letter of 1537 to the king in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 209; *Henriquez, Instrucc.*, in *Id.*, iii. 487–8. The latter recommends the introduction of negroes to relieve the native race, a suggestion repeated by his successor, Conde de la Coruña, who estimated at 2000 or 3000 the number required to work the mines properly. *Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 340. The prices of such negro slaves are given in *Concilios Prov.*, MS., no. 4, 227. A number of laws, the first dated as early as 1528, were

appeared. The payment by shares, *partido*, which soon predominated over the daily wages given to *tanda* gangs,[32] could not fail to promote the interests of both employers and laborers, although the gambling table received only too much of the increased earnings.[33]

For the first decades the method of extracting metals was so backward that only rich ores could be worked, especially in regions where fuel was scarce. In 1557, however, Bartolomé de Medina, a miner of the district of Pachuca, discovered the amalgamation process, and bestowed on the world a boon of which New Spain may be proud. His plan of extracting the fine metals from ores with the aid of quicksilver rendered results so satisfactory that but few improvements have since been introduced. Little is known of the discoverer,[34] a fact which almost implies that he derived little benefit from a discovery which was of vast importance to the mining industry. Ores which formerly had been considered worthless, were now regarded with more interest; veins held to be unproductive were worked anew, and so rapid was the adoption of the process that within five years Zacatecas alone had thirty-five reduction works, and yet they by no means displaced existing methods in every place.[35]

issued, referring to the position of Indians in mining matters; they are given in the *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 308 et seq.; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 203–4, pt. iii. 44–5.

[32] *Tanda* was the name given to the gang of native workmen drawn from Indian villages and relieved once a month. Ward asserts that this system was chiefly used in Peru, *Mex.*, ii. 145, and Alaman, *Disert.*, i. 177–8, shows that the name has survived in that of the monthly markets or fairs in Guanajuato.

[33] Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 137, says Indian miners were entitled to one bag of ore per day, which sometimes would sell for $100.

[34] Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 49, and Garcés, *Nueva Teórica*, 76–7, merely allude to him as a native of Spain, and Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 559, mentions the names of two others to whom certain authors have attributed the discovery.

[35] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 55, 72, gives interesting details concerning both the old and new methods. A statistical table on page 556, comprising the produce of all the mining districts from 1785 till 1789, shows that about two sevenths of the entire yield were submitted to extraction by smelting. In 1805, however, this fraction was reduced to about one fifth. Ward, *Mex.*, ii. 434–9, gives also a full description of the mode of extraction, with several illustrations of the implements used.

The quicksilver necessary for the amalgamation was sent from Spain by the regular fleets and under control of the government, which reserved for itself the monopoly, partly on account of the revenue derived from it, partly because of the supervision thus obtained over the yield of metal; for miners had to make returns in proportion to the quantity of quicksilver distributed. It was given out only at the capital,[36] by royal officials, who with the superior connivance of the viceroy formed a body called the *tribunal de azogues*.[37] Whenever the quicksilver mines of Almaden in Spain failed to yield the required quantity, which in New Spain alone amounted to fifteen or sixteen thousand quintals,[38] the deficit was supplied from Austria at a dearer rate, rarely from Peru.[39] The commodity was supposed to be sold at actual cost, in order to encourage mining,[40] the price ranging from one hundred and eighty-seven pesos a quintal in 1590 to forty-one pesos for Spanish and sixty-three pesos for German quicksilver in 1777.[41] Occasionally also special reduc-

[36] Vera Cruz was for a short time made the place of distribution.

[37] Consisting of an administrador, a contador, a fiscal, a notary, and three subaltern officials. *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i. 38, 39. See also *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Real Hac.*, i. 297–387; *Galvez, Informe*, 74–77. For other laws relative to this department see *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 569 et seq.; *Providencias sobre Azogues*, MS., 1–44, passim; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 205–7. A royal cédula of 1709 made the office of the administrador independent of the viceroy. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 32. The revenue of the tribunal is considered in the chapter on finance.

[38] Villa-Señor, *Theatro*, i. 38–9, speaks only of about 5,000 quintals for the middle of the eighteenth century, but he is evidently mistaken. In some years it was only about 10,000 quintals. The total yearly consumption of the Spanish colonies in America amounted to 25,000 quintals, while the total production of the European quicksilver mines averaged 36,000 quintals. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 572–5.

[39] Only in urgent cases the second Count Revilla Gigedo made importations from China, and suggested to his successor the convenience of promoting this trade. *Instruc.*, 250–1. Although Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 575, asserts that the project was dropped, the later viceroy Azanza resumed it. During a prevailing scarcity he made contracts with private persons and took steps to bring the commodity from China, Habana, Jamaica, and Peru. *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 122–6. See also *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i., tom. i. 244, 427; *Robles, Diario*, i. 1 et seq.

[40] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 308–9; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 205–7. Miners were entitled to six months' credit, *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 107, but could not obtain a second supply until the first had been paid for.

[41] In 1750 the price was fixed at $82, in 1767 at $62. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 573–4. Montemayor, *Svmarios*, 206, says that as early as 1617 the price

tions were made to foster the development of certain mines. This liberality of the crown was somewhat counteracted by limiting the distribution in Mexico, and also by the tribunal officials in granting preferences and more substantial favors to those who paid for them.

The government monopoly extended over the quicksilver mines of New Spain. In 1609 a law was issued, promising rewards to discoverers of such deposits, but when found they were not allowed to be worked[42] lest they should affect the interests of the crown. This fostered a belief that no cinnabar existed in New Spain, while in reality it was most abundant, especially between latitudes 19° and 22°.[43] In the beginning of the eighteenth century fresh discoveries in Zacatecas and near Cuernavaca[44] roused such clamor against the existing restrictions that finally a commission was sent from Spain in 1778 to investigate the prospects for working the vein. The result proved a failure. After expending about 160,000 pesos it was declared to be unprofitable to the crown; yet certain private persons duly authorized continued to work mines with varying success.[45]

It is not my purpose in the present chapter to enter fully into the geological features of New Spain, but merely to present a brief outline for the better understanding of the subject. It is astonishing how

was reduced to 60 ducats a quintal. In the *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 577, the same fact is recorded for 1679. See also *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 248–9; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 107; *Faleri, Segunda Demonstraccion*, MS., 1 et seq.

[42] The first discovery in Michoacan occurred under the rule of viceroy Salvatierra, who granted the right of their exploitation for the term of 10 years to Alcalde Luis de Berrio. When assayed the ores yielded 10 ounces per quintal. *Guijo, Diario*, 34–5, 499.

[43] And in the intendencias of Guanajuato and Mexico, at San Juan de la Chica, San Felipe, Rincon del Centeno, Durasno, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 583–5.

[44] The exploitation was suspended by cédulas of July 5, 1718, and Nov. 24, 1730. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 35–9; *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hacienda*, i. 324–5.

[45] In the beginning of this century, during the war between Spain and France, a temporary activity set in.

little attention has been given to this science in a country whose interests are intimately connected with it. The more progressive spirit of the republicans has been so shackled by the unsettled condition of affairs, as greatly to retard exploration, and while certain districts have been the object of diligent investigations only too many remained unnoticed.

Proceeding from the sandy coast at Vera Cruz into the interior, it is not till one ascends the tierra templada that porphyries and limestone are encountered. Above these, volcanic rocks and lava extend over many parts of the plateau, intermingled with porphyries and pebbles under a layer of hardened clay. On the Pacific coast from Tehuantepec to Acapulco granitic rock prevails, but from the latter place toward Mexico porphyries again take their place, mixed with heavy formations of limestone similar to those on the eastern slope. In the volcanic region, almost in a direct line from east to west along the nineteenth parallel, lava and porous amygdaloids are most frequent, but beyond Querétaro they give way to porphyries. The latter indeed abound in the whole country, especially in the northern regions, yet south of Durango numerous veins of trachytic rock are found crossed in an easterly direction by beds of lava.. On the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre, in Durango, the porphyries sometimes overlap extensive beds of very fine gritstone, and exhibit greater softness than those south of the capital, with a large admixture of mica. Quartz is the most common of gangues, and its outcrops in the plateau serve frequently as a guide to prospectors.

The general direction of metallic veins is from the north-west to the south-east, and this being especially the case with the richer kind it is always taken into consideration on filing a claim. The average breadth of the vein is six feet, except on the Veta Grande of Zacatecas, where it is from thirty to thirty-five feet, the maximum being even seventy-five feet. In some districts, as in Sonora and Chihuahua, the ore lies

near the surface, but generally this is not the case, a circumstance which in colonial times, with the prevailing backwardness of drainage and other operations, impeded the search for deeper-lying zones in the veins.

There are essentially two forms under which argentiferous ores occur. Near the surface, where exposed to external influence, the metallic substances are generally in the form of oxides, or combined with iron, chlorine, or bromine, and receive from their reddish color the name *colorados*. Those at greater depth have usually retained the condition of all primitive sulphuric bases, and are found in connection with pyrites, galena, or blende. The latter two predominate, and a dark color results which has given rise to their designation of black ores, or *negros*. They give the greatest part of all the silver produced in the country. The average richness of the ores has been frequently overrated, and the occurrence of enormous blocks of native silver considered as frequent,[46] while in reality they are very rare, and never larger than those found in European mines. The average yield is from three to four ounces of silver to the quintal of ore, and the enormous returns of New Spain are due rather to the great abundance of the ore.[47] Gold is obtained chiefly from places in Sonora and the northern regions. In Oajaca it also occurs in rocks, but the exploitation has not proved very profitable. Elsewhere it is rarely found except in connection with argentiferous ores, in some instances in the proportion of about two ounces to the quintal.

Although mining was chiefly confined to silver, gold, and cinnabar ores, the country by no means lacked other metals. Iron existed at Colima, in Oa-

[46] Och, *Reise*, in *Murr's Nachrichten*, 236–7, makes the assertion that in Mexico the ore nearly always gives one half or one third of its weight in pure silver, and that near his mission in Arizona blocks of native silver, from 200 to 900 lbs. in weight, were found on the surface after lying neglected for centuries.

[47] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 514–15, gives some interesting comparisons with European ores.

jaca, Zacatecas, Jalisco, and other districts, and was worked for some time, but only to a limited extent.[48] Still worse fared it with copper which abounded in Michoacan. Mines were leased at a low price in 1657 and attempts were made by several viceroys to work them, but they were invariably abandoned after a brief trial.[49] The great abundance of precious metals seems to have excluded the others;[50] all mining except for the precious metals was as a rule limited to local demand, and only in the nineteenth century has more attention been given to others, as will be shown in a later volume.

More prominent were the quarries of tetzontli, the porous amygdaloid found in the neighborhood of Mexico and so frequently used for its buildings. Salines were extensively worked in different parts of the country, chiefly in Jalisco, Peñon Blanco in San Luis Potosí, Colima, and Oajaca. As the produce was required not only for domestic purposes but for the amalgamation process, minute regulations appeared as early as August 23, 1580,[51] concerning their management, and in later years they were temporarily reserved for the crown. The process of extraction consisted merely in distributing the salt water into shallow pools to be evaporated. Rock salt was not known.

From the frequent allusions of the early chroniclers an abundance of precious stones might be supposed to exist in New Spain, and in 1541 petitions were in fact directed to the king, soliciting permission to work deposits of sapphires, rubies, and turquoises in Oajaca. Nothing came of it, however, evidently because the

[48] Chiefly because Biscayan iron could be introduced at a lower price. *Vetancvrt, Teatro*, 21.

[49] The crown had forbidden their alienation and included the produce in the list of monopolies. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 321.

[50] Lead was found in Nuevo Leon and Nuevo Santander, tin as wood-tin in Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Taxco, the last two districts yielding also some zinc. About the use made of these metals before the conquest see my *Native Races*.

[51] *Montemayor, Svmarios*, pt. iii. 55–8.

beds proved to be fictitious. A number of simple stones, considered as precious by the Aztecs, enjoyed the same estimation among the conquerors until the fallacy became known, and since then nothing more has been heard of the supposed emeralds, rubies, and sapphires.

The mining region of New Spain covered in 1800 about 12,225 square leagues, including the northern provinces, and was divided into thirty-seven departments or *diputaciones de minería*, with about five hundred subdivisions or reales de minas, comprising approximately three thousand mines.[52]

Taking as a guide the product of the different mines, those of Guanajuato, Catorce, in San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas, rank as the most prominent,[53] all of them situated between latitude 21° and 24°. The first had been discovered in the middle of the sixteenth century by muleteers trafficking between Zacatecas and Mexico, and the principal vein was struck in the shafts of Mellado and Rayas in 1558.[54] The latter mine and the Valenciana take the lead in the district of Guanajato, where the yield, in the beginning of the century, formed about one seventh of the total for all America. Official returns place the aggregate product from 1701 till 1809 at 37,290,617 marks of silver, and 88,184 marks of gold, estimated at

[52] This is from official sources. Ward, *Mex.*, ii. 53, estimates the number of mines at from three to five thousand. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 487–92, gives the names of the diputaciones and reales, classified according to the intendencias. A list of all the mines of New Spain and the minerals they produced, together with a mineralogical description, is also given in *Karsten, Tablas Mineralogicas*, 1 et seq., a Spanish translation by the learned mineralogist Antonio del Rio, with notes by Humboldt. Another list of reales de minas arranged according to bishoprics is given in *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 112; *Gaz. Mex., 1728*, 95–6.

[53] Next in order follow those of Real del Monte in Mexico, Bolaños in Guadalajara, El Rosario in Sonora, Sombrerete in Zacatecas, Taxco in Mexico, Batopilas in Durango, Zimapan in Mexico, Fresnillo in Zacatecas, Ramos in San Luis Potosí, and last, Parral in Durango. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 498.

[54] Jacob, *Hist. Enquiry*, ii. 123, places erroneously the opening of the Guanajuato mines in 1630. For a geological description of the districts, see *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 520–6, where also are given comparisons with mines of Europe. *Burkart, Reisen*, i. 326 et seq.

$318,935,554.[55] One single mine, the Valenciana, yielded in less than five years about $14,000,000, and in 1791 as much silver as all the mines of Peru. Although open since the sixteenth century the work had been unprofitable till 1768, when the owners, Obregon, later conde de Valenciana, and Otero, struck a rich vein, which after 1771 gave at times as much as $2,500,000 per annum.[56] During twenty years the ores averaged five ounces of silver to the quintal.

In San Luis Potosí, the veins in the district of Catorce,[57] discovered in 1773, and worked with success since 1778, eclipsed all others, which in that region had acquired fame during the preceding two centuries. One mine alone, belonging to a priest named Flores, yielded, during the first year, 1,600,000 pesos. The product of the whole district, from 1778 till 1810, was estimated at 4,000,000 pesos yearly; and that of the entire intendencia San Luis de Potosi, from 1556 till 1789, at 92,736,294 marks of silver, representing 788,258,212 pesos. Next in importance to the mines of Catorce, were those in the districts of Bolaños and Ramos;[58] which in some years also yielded enormously, and gave weight to the general belief that they were inexhaustible.

A similar view prevailed concerning the third prominent mining region, that of Zacatecas, which,

[55] Yield from March 4, 1671, to August 9, 1673, 142,952 marks of silver. *Mancera, Instruc. Vireyes*, 292–3. From 1766 till 1803, 43,030 marks of gold and 18,723,537 of silver, worth $165,002,145. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 505, 519. From 1766 till 1808, gold 53,881 marks, and silver 22,631,980 marks. *Burkart, Reisen*, i. 360. Ward gives the yield from 1796 till 1810 at 8,852,272 marks silver and 27,810 marks gold, which he chooses to value at $79,028,017.

[56] Total yield from 1788 till 1808, $29,558,807, netting $11,986,312. *Ward, Mex.*, ii. 140. This differs somewhat from the figures of Alaman, *Hist. Mej.*, i. app. 23–4, which give the total net profit from 1788 till 1797 at $7,949,923. Humboldt, *lib. cit.* 528–533, makes some interesting observations on the produce and working expenses of the Valenciana and rich European mines.

[57] For geologic and general description, see *Burkart, Reisen*, ii. 107 et seq.; *Ward, Mex.*, ii. 464–518. Concerning the origin of the name Catorce, there are two versions, one by Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 22, who applies it as the place of refuge for 14 outlaws; the other, by Iturribarría, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 307, who attributes it to the murder of 14 soldiers.

[58] Ward, *Mex.*, ii. 139, gives statistics which show the product of the Bolaños mines, from 1752 till 1780, to have been 3,702,269 marks silver,

since its discovery in the middle of the sixteenth century, had always offered a vast field to enterprising persons.[59] That it was not unfounded becomes evident from the estimated production for one hundred and eighty years, till 1732, which is placed at $832,232,880. After this period the yield increased, and in 1808 Zacatecas furnished nearly as much silver as Guanajuato.[60] The principal vein, the Veta Grande, gave in eighteen years, from 1790 till 1808, 1,293,463 marks of silver, valued at $11,317,792.[61] The exploitation of mines in the district of Sombrerete was for a time equally successful, the celebrated Veta Negra there having produced within six months more than 700,000 marks of silver, and about four million pesos of net profits. To this period probably belongs the story that a rich miner of Zacatecas on the occasion of his daughter's wedding had the streets paved with bricks of silver, from his house to the church.[62]

In the northern provinces of Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Chihuahua, though most of them were supposed to be equal if not superior in mineral wealth to the other districts, mining was conducted on a smaller scale.[63] The reasons must be attributed to

worth $30,543,720. During the preceding period, from 1646 to 1752, the annual yield has been estimated at from three and a half to four million pesos. The ores of the Ramos mines gave after 1798 frequently 14 ounces silver to the quintal. *Burkart, Reisen*, ii. 121.

[59] The geological feature of Zacatecas is described in full by Berghes, *Descripcion de la Serrania de Zacatecas*, 1–39. See also *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 534–6, where some peculiarities of that region, as compared with others, are minutely given; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 288; *Ward, Mex.*, ii. 519–48, 612–18.

[60] In 1728 the aggregate product amounted to $1,800,000, or one fifth of all the silver then coined. *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 100–1. Humboldt estimated in 1803 the average yield at 402,000 marks silver. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 535. Arlegui, *Hist. Chron. Zac.*, 74, makes the startling assertion that the Pabellon mine gave during five years, $20,000 daily.

[61] The product from 1795 till 1808 is given by Burkhart, *Reisen*, ii. 74, at 1,072,656 marks silver. Ward, *Mex.*, ii. 44, for the same period, makes it 1,146,393 marks.

[62] *Santos Chronología*, ii. 464. The same author adds that some time after the miner died in poverty.

[63] In the mines of Batopilas in Durango pieces of pure silver 400 pounds in weight were found on several occasions. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 509. The mines of Sinaloa were not discovered till 1753. *Castro, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. iv. 161–2. In the beginning of this century the entire yield of gold in Sonora was estimated by Humboldt at 7,000 marks. The same author refutes the supposition that platina existed in that province;

the small population, the frequent raids of wild tribes, and the difficulty of exchanging the bullion for coined silver. The latter could be effected only at the mint of Mexico, a circumstance which proved to be a serious encumbrance on mining operations even in the less remote intendencias of San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, particularly to miners with small capital.

This difficulty gave rise to the business of middlemen, or of *rescatadores*, as they were called.[64] They or their agents would purchase the ore, extract the metal at their own expense, and exchange it in Mexico for coin. The miner, receiving immediate cash returns for his ores, was enabled to continue the output; and although the accommodation was obtained at considerable sacrifice, a great difficulty was removed. In the southern regions rescatadores were less numerous, for the miners there enjoyed greater facilities in being nearer to the capital.

The principal districts in the neighborhood of Mexico were Taxco and Pachuca, and Tlalpujagua in Michoacan. Since the days of the conquest Spaniards had worked the veins of Taxco, and Cortés constructed there a gallery, El Socabon del Rey, of sufficient dimensions to be entered on horseback for a distance of about three hundred feet. This district reached the height of its prosperity between 1752 and 1762, after which it declined so rapidly that at the end of the century the yield, together with that of the mines of Tehuilotepec and others, barely amounted to 60,000 marks of silver. A similar fate was encountered by the mines of Pachuca, including Real del Monte, Atotonilco, and Moran, as the most important. The first, also called from the richest vein the Vizcaina, was worked with fair success from the sixteenth till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the difficulties of drainage led to its abandonment. Work was

lead, however, is found with argentiferous ores in the veins of Cosalá. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 503–8. The subject will be treated in my *Hist. North Mex. States.*

[64] Meaning literally traders.

however resumed near Moran by Bustamante and Terreros, and with many difficulties concluded in 1762 by the latter. The result was a great success, one vein alone covering all the expenses, whilst others were so productive that within fourteen years a net profit of about five million pesos had been derived by Terreros who afterward figured as Conde de Regla.[65] Work was conducted with alternating success till 1801,[66] when it declined under the increasing expenditure, and never resumed its former dimensions.

It has been stated that soon after the fall of Mexico Spaniards engaged in mining speculations in Michoacan. The attraction centred after 1562 at Tlalpujagua, and down to the beginning of the eighteenth century the result proved satisfactory. Work was then suspended till 1743, when again a brief period of successful development began, yielding, within eight years, about ten million pesos. The excessive cost of drainage then caused the mines to be abandoned.[67]

Thus we see that the greatest development of mining took place in the second half of the eighteenth century, when certain important discoveries gave fresh impulse to this industry, fostered at the same time by a beneficial policy. Miners then awoke to the necessity of organizing for mutual aid, notably by framing a new code of laws with which to replace the cumbrous and faulty regulations in force. Consequently, in February 1774, a petition was directed to the king, for constituting as the *Cuerpo de la Minería de Nueva España,* a corporation which was to embrace all own-

[65] He presented king Cárlos III. with two war vessels, one of them carrying 112 guns, and made also a loan to the crown of 1,000,000 pesos, which it seems was never repaid. He acquired immense territorities, and left at his death to descendants a fortune equalled only by that of Conde de Valenciana. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 540–1, 514, 538–43. For details about the Vizcaina mine the reader is referred to *Castelazo, Manifestacion de...la Veta Vizcaina,* 1–63; *Lassága, Representacion,* 10 et seq.; *Burkart, Reisen,* i. 127–32.

[66] From 1794 till 1801 the yield still amounted to $6,000,000. *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 21; *Burkart, Reisen,* i. 130–1; but Humboldt asserts that this was not sufficient to cover the expenses. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 541.

[67] Full particulars about this district are given in *Burkart, Reisen,* i. 73–97.

ers of mines in New Spain.[63] Similar plans having already been entertained by the government, the request was granted by royal cédula of July 1, 1776. In the following year, the 4th of May,[69] the formal installation took place under the above given name, and steps were taken for the establishment of the tribunal de minería simultaneously created, which had also legal jurisdiction in mining cases.[70] To defray expenses one real was levied for every mark of silver coined, an impost formerly collected under the name of *derecho de señoreage*, and now donated by the king. It served to defray the salaries of the officials,[71] and the expenses of the mining college, any surplus being employed to pay the interest of capital taken up by the tribunals for subventions, or *avíos*,[72] to needy miners.

The labors of the tribunal in the latter respect proved of great benefit, and gave a new impulse to

[68] The petition was made on the 25th of February by Juan Lúcas de Lassága and Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, as attorneys for the miners. The full text is given in *Lassága, Representacion*, Mexico, 1774, 1–98, with notes by the two representatives, and an appendix containing the letter to the king, and one to Viceroy Bucareli, requesting his protection for the petition. The latter gives a brief account of the mining history of New Spain since the conquest, attributing as reasons why development had not been greater, a lack of knowledge and insufficient financial encouragement. Hence the necessity of organizing a corporation with a tribunal, competent to control the mining interests and protect them if necessary. In order to obtain the necessary funds for supporting the tribunal and a college, and to pay the interest of money, loaned to foster the development of mines, a remission of taxes was suggested.

[69] *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 213; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 314. Alaman says erroneously, May 4, 1774. *Hist. Méj.*, i. 60–1.

[70] It consisted of an administrator general, who was president of the board, a director general, and two or three general deputies elected by miners. *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 7. Changes took place by the time of Humboldt's visit, and he speaks of a staff of one director, two deputies, one assessor, two consultores, and one judge, the chief of the juzgado de alzadas de minería. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 596. The first administrator and director-general were appointed for life, but their successors were to be elected every three years by deputies from the various reales de minas. Of the latter only those forming a regular settlement with church and a curate had a vote, but to prominent districts more were given. Thus Guanajuato had six votes, Zacatecas four, San Luis Potosí, Pachuca, and Real del Monte three each; in general, reales with the title of city had three, and villas two votes. For more details about organization of the tribunal see the *Ordenanzas*.

[71] Revilla Gigedo says the salaries of the tribunal were about $39,000, *Instruc.*, 119, while they really amounted to $25,000.

[72] The system had been introduced years before; it was a contract between the owner of a mine and one or several wealthy persons, who furnished the *avío*, or funds necessary for exploitation, and received in compensation a

exploration of mineral districts. In later years this branch, which might be called a mining bank, met with reverses,[73] and the college, which depended upon it, could be maintained only with great sacrifices, the expenses amounting annually to about thirty thousand pesos. The Real Seminario de Minería, as it was proudly called, indeed never fulfilled its object, although for some time it was under the management of able directors and teachers,[74] for it had been founded on a plan too vast and elaborate to be practicable.[75]

The greatest achievement of the tribunal was the compilation of the celebrated *Ordenanzas de Minería*, which, translated into several languages and widely commented upon, have formed the first complete code of colonial mining laws. For two hundred and fifty years, since Cortés planted the banner of Castile on the ruins of Tenochtitlan till about 1770, the legislation of the mining industry had been ruled by a mixture of decrees and ordinances[76] which had gradually become inapplicable. Therefore when the mining tribunal was created, orders came that it should frame a new code, a work completed in 1779. In August of that

share of the yield. This was called to *habilitar* a mine. Lassága, *Repres.*, 18 et seq., gives the basis on which the avios were made.

[73] The crown obliged the tribunal on one occasion to make a donation of about $500,000, and soon afterward a loan of about $4,000,000, the repayment of which met with great difficulties. Alaman speaks also of bad management of the funds and the consequent failure, with liabilities amounting to $4,000,000. *Hist. Méj.*, i. 63. Ward, *Mex.*, ii. 50, says the forced loan to the king was $3,000,000. Revilla Gigedo mentions two loans of $1,000,000 each. *Instrucc.*, 119–20. The revenue of the tribunal in about 1792 was estimated at $160,000.

[74] Alaman mentions among them Fausto de Elhuyar and Andrés de Rio, both men whose names have acquired a well founded reputation as able mineralogists. *Hist. Mej.*, i. 63. The creation of the college had been ratified by royal cédula of May 22, 1783. *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 284, 292.

[75] Its imperfection is well illustrated by the statement of two prominent travellers, that the collection of ores though comprising numerous and valuable specimens from Europe, was extremely deficient in Mexican minerals. Instruction was given gratuitously to twenty-five pupils, either of Spanish blood or noble Indians; descendants of miners being preferred. There were also a number of paying pupils. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 506; *Burkart, Reisen*, i. 265–6.

[76] The original base was the laws in force in Española enlarged by a number of decrees, usually bearing on some special subject, and occasionally reformed by local regulations. Of the latter the first issued were those of Mexico City, of July 31, 1527. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 197–9.

year it was sent to the court, and approved by royal cédula of May 22, 1783.[77]

A prominent new feature therein was the change of jurisdiction in mining cases. Hitherto with few exceptions miners had been tried in the usual way, by the ordinary courts; now the mining tribunal was given an authority which finally became exclusive, and which it exercised in the districts through diputaciones. Great stress was laid upon the requirement for the judges to be expert miners,[78] and for conducting the trials in a summary way.[79] Suits for small sums could only be carried on verbally, and in all cases the respective judges had to attempt the reconciliation of the contending parties.[80]

The former regulations for taking up new as well as abandoned mines[81] were reformed, and the rights of previous owners received greater respect. The discovery of new veins was rewarded by a greater allotment of ground.[82] Foreigners could not hold possession of mines or work the same, unless with special permission from the crown, nor were the clergy and

[77] The text is given in *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 214–292; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 314–344.

[78] The administrador, director, and deputies of the tribunal at Mexico were obliged to have more than ten years' experience as practical miners. *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 6–7.

[79] A similar order had been given on November 26, 1602, 'porque no se distraygan (the miners) con pleytos, ni hagan largas ausencias.' *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 73.

[80] Appeals only aiming at delay were to be rejected. Courts of appeal could be formed in the mining districts of the highest judicial officer assisted by substitutes for deputies. That for Mexico was composed of the director-general of the tribunal, one ex-member of that body, and an oidor. *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 226–9. A few years later the tribunal de minería was made the court of appeal for all new Spain. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 96–8; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 120–1. Other instructions for the proceeding of the tribunal and the different diputaciones are given in *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 31–61.

[81] A law of June 18, 1629, provided that the abandonment of a mine for a term of four years gave any one a right to claim it as a new discovery. The Spanish term for filing claims to a mine was *denunciar*. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 204; *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 69.

[82] Three claims were to be granted, but none could exceed 200 varas square. The dimensions varied according to the inclination of the vein. The first labor, to sink a shaft of 4 feet in diameter and 30 in depth, had to be done within 90 days after filing the claim. The details of the ordinance are given in *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 324–9.

religious corporations entitled to do so. In view of the greater efficiency of mining corporations as compared with individuals, their formation was fostered by the grant of exceptional privileges, but withal the interests of the laborers were not overlooked. A number of regulations set forth their duties and their rights; they should receive equitable pay in coin, or in goods at the lowest prices. The diputaciones were instructed to protect them against usury or imposition and see to it that their food be of good quality. When imprisoned for debt the laborer could demand permission to pay off his obligation by working under guard, and to receive a share of his wages for the support of his family. The prevailing idea in the new ordinances was, in fact, to encourage mining operations by liberal protection. The sharp practice of financial agents was checked by limiting the rate of interest on advances to five per cent.[83] As the bank connected with the tribunal had been created to abolish abuses, minute instructions were issued for the management of its funds. The establishment of the mining college not being regarded as sufficient to awaken interest, the study of mineralogy was further stimulated by granting its students honors of nobility, and to practical miners certain other privileges.[84]

The paternal policy so characteristic of Spanish colonial legislation was displayed in these ordinances. Diputaciones were to admonish extravagant miners, and the tribunal at Mexico had the power to appoint guardians for them. In a similar manner the safety of laborers was provided for by instructions how to effect the ventilation and drainage of mines, and the

[83] Contracts were not valid unless drawn up before witnesses, and advances affected only the mine for which they had been made, not any other property of the owner. *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 156–168.

[84] Owners of mines and their assistants could not be imprisoned for debt, but the latter, when indebted, were forbidden to leave the district until their master had paid the obligations from their salary. An execution on private property could not include a saddle-horse, one mule, arms, and other necessary effects. To old or poor miners and their descendants, offices should be given in preference to other persons. *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 203–9.

labor in general. Thus for the first time a check was placed on the random system of working mines hitherto so customary, although no very important innovations appeared. During the two hundred and fifty years since the first mines were worked, so little progress had been made in working methods that Europeans expressed surprise. The hoisting apparatus was greatly neglected, and instead of ladders for the shafts a series of beams were used about five yards in length, placed in pairs in an inclined position and provided with wedge-shaped notches to serve for steps, ten or eleven inches apart. On this primitive contrivance the carriers would climb for hours, loaded with ore, sometimes three hundred pounds in weight. But the greatest defect was the manner of constructing the pits and galleries, which seldom or never connected, greatly increased the cost of transportation,[85] and prevented ventilation. Equally deficient were the contrivances for draining the mines; pumps were seldom or never used,[86] the water being brought to the surface in large bags of hides attached to the ropes of a windlass moved by horse-power. Toward the close of the eighteenth century several German miners were sent from Spain and distributed over different districts to effect improvements. They attempted several innovations, and although successful in some parts they failed in others, chiefly owing to the prejudice against them. The reports concerning their utility were contradictory,[87] and after a few years they returned home.

Besides the organization of the cuerpo de minería, the reduction in the prices of quicksilver, the greater liberty granted to commerce, and the discovery of

[85] Humboldt compares them with ill-constructed buildings, wherein an adjoining room could be reached only by passing round the whole house. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 550.

[86] Yet in the time of Cortés pumps appear to have been used at Taxco. *Alaman, Exposicion*, 24.

[87] The intendentes of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Oajaca, the diputacion of Taxco, and other persons, admitted that some progress had been made, but the diputaciones of Guanajuato, Sombrerete, and several other places, reported adversely. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 122–6. The expenses attributed to them by the middle of June, 1793, amounted to $403,209.

new rich mines, gave a fresh impulse to the mining industry, so much so that the increase in production after 1778 amounted to more than twenty-five per cent.[88] The total annual yield of Mexico in gold and silver has been estimated at $1,500,000 for the epoch 1521–48, at $2,000,000 from 1548 till 1600, and at $3,000,000 for the following nine decades, aggregating $414,500,000. Since that time the statistics of the mint of Mexico show a considerable increase of the amount yearly coined; from $5,285,581 produced in 1690, it advanced with slight fluctuation till in 1805 it reached the maximum of $27,165,888. In the following years it declined to $21,886,500 for 1808, the total amount till then, from 1690, being $1,496,832,-112.[89] To this must be added the value of all metal wrought into jewelry, and of that which was illegally exported without being coined or taxed. The amount, frequently overrated, in all probability did not exceed one million pesos yearly; and adding this, the average

[88] The total value of gold and silver coined in Mexico during the years 1766 till 1778 amounted to $191,589,179, against $252,525,412 for the period 1779–91. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 577.

[89] *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. 25–8, followed by Alaman, *Hist. Méj.*, i. app. 13–17. Their statements for the period of 1690 to 1803 give the total coinage of gold and silver at $1,373,939,000, whilst Humboldt places it at $1,353,452,020. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 578. The aggregate yield of silver from 1690 till 1800, was of 149,350,721 marks, whereas the annual average at the close of the eighteenth century was 7,000 marks gold and 2,500,000 marks silver, worth about $22,000,000. *Id.*, 576–9. The following table shows the production from 1690 till 1808, by decades:

	Amount in Pesos.		Amount in Pesos.
1690–99	43,971,340	1750–59	130,219,836
1700–09	51,933,145	1760–69	119,556,109
1710–19	65,828,482	1770–79	174,772,560
1720–29	84,151,727	1780–89	193,403,561
1730–39	93,677,484	1790–99	231,080,280
1740–49	108,124,854	1800–08	200,112,734
	Total yield.....		$1,496,832,112

The statistics given by Zamora, *Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. 25–8, which have served as a base, contain evidently information from official sources, some of which have not been seen by Humboldt.

annual produce in the beginning of the century may be placed at 23,000,000 pesos.[90]

The revenue derived by the crown from this flood of wealth amounted to about sixteen per cent on silver, and nineteen on gold admixtures.[91] During a term of twenty-five years, comprising part of the most flourishing mining period, from 1765 to 1789, the total revenue, according to official statements, amounted to $43,641,469.[92] The district of Guanajuato alone paid from 1760 till 1780, more than $13,000,000, and during the whole eighteenth century about $41,000,000. There is no doubt, however, that a wiser policy on the part of the crown, especially if initiated at an earlier period, would have produced a still better result. Before reformations were firmly established, political convulsions came to neutralize their influence, and reluctant admission had to be given to foreign capital to effect that for which Mexico felt herself unequal, as I shall have occasion to explain in a later volume.

[90] Revilla Gigedo asserts that but a small amount of metal failed to pass through the mint, but he would hardly have cared to disclose a high figure had it been known to him. *Instruc.*, 118.

[91] Besides the tenth, one per cent was charged, and the *derecho de monedage y señoreage*, of 3 2-5 reales for every mark of silver. The duty on pure gold was reduced to 3 per cent by royal cédula of March 1, 1777. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 39.

[92] In 1777 alone it was $1,636,577. *Vireyes*, *Instruc.*, MS., série i. pt. iv.

Numerous as are the authorities consulted by me for this chapter, not one among them affords a complete view of the development of the mining industry, although the voluminous matter in Humboldt and other writers might lead one to expect a more thorough result. Here, as in many other places, I have had literally to grope my way in search of long-hidden material ere I could apply the refining process. One of the most valuable aids for the task which covers not only a special subject, but between lines gives many items of mining history, is the compilation of laws, published in 1783, and repeatedly quoted, the *Reales Ordenanzas...de la Mineria*, Madrid, 1783, pp. 214, of which I possess an official copy with the *rúbrica* of the minister Josef de Galvez, besides such modern editions as that of Paris, 1870, pp. 335, xlviii. It is indeed remarkable not only for contents, but for style, differing as it does from the verboseness so common to Spanish writings. The language in the petition of the mining body has a clear business ring, and conveys the impression of men animated by stanch energy, patriotism, and

far-seeing prudence; and the same spirit seems to pervade the laws annexed, which savor of mature deliberation. It is to be regretted that this important collection has met with so little attention from Humboldt. In his *Essai Politique*, nearly 200 pages are devoted to the description of the mines in New Spain, chiefly of sections, and to statistical material, while the history of mining receives comparatively little attention. The view taken by this scientist refers rather to its condition at the time of his visit, and even the recently established code of laws did not elicit from him any special comments. This leaves another void in the mass of information furnished by him, yet its value is undoubted. Subsequent writers have nearly all followed his steps, and it would be impossible to write the mining history of New Spain without consulting the statistics which form the chief fruit of his researches.

The want of a commentary on the mining ordinances was early recognized by the able Mexican mineralogist, Joaquin Velazquez de Leon, and supplied by him in the *Comentarios de las Ordenanzas de Minería*, MS., pp. 62. They by no means exhaust the subject, and cover only special points, but they have an additional interest in coming from the pen of a man who took active part in the compilation of the code, and whose ability gave him a right to interpret not only the letter but the spirit thereof. Among other authors who have thrown some light on the mining industry of New Spain are Fonseca and Urrutia, who in their *Historia General de Real Hacienda*, i. 5–44, 297–387, iii. 6–140, iv. 521–636, v. 43–57, give much information, together with copies of official documents which in many cases are unattainable to foreigners. The value of the work is, however, much impaired by a deficient arrangement and their method of handling the bulky material at their disposal. Of modern writers, Alaman ranks prominent, less on account of the extent of his information, than for the reliable statements which he presents in different parts of his *Disertaciones* and *Historia de Mejico*. His ability has been acknowledged by Ward, who, in his *Mexico in 1827*, several times confesses his indebtedness to Alaman in no stinted terms. Ward admits also to have largely drawn from Humboldt, but his work dwells chiefly on the condition of Mexican mines after the Independence, and belongs therefore more properly to that period. This applies also to Burkart, *Aufenthalt und Reisen in Mexico*, Stuttgart, 1836, 2 vols, pp. 392, 286, with maps and cuts. This author was at different times manager of the mines of Tlalpujagua and Bolaños, and the ample opportunity thus offered him to make investigations, united with his professional knowledge, has been freely exercised with good result. I shall have occasion to speak of him again as well as of Duport, whose *Métuax Précieux*, Paris, 1843, pp. xiii. 429, with cuts and maps, corresponds with about the same period.

In addition to these a number of treatises exist, bearing on special subjects, one of the oldest being the *Providencias sobre Azogues*, 44 folios, a manuscript coetaneous copy on stamped paper of the regulations and orders issued from 1670 till 1673 by Viceroy Mancera, for the distribution of quicksilver to the miners. The influence of that metal on the mining industry of New Spain and the opportunies for raising or lowering its price gave repeatedly occasion for troublesome questions. Instances of these disputes are found in *Compendiosa Demostracion*, Mexico, 1743, pp. 178, and *Segunda Demostra-*

cion, MS., the same place and year, pp. 616, by Joseph Antonio Fabry, general mining attorney. Both works aim at a reduction of the prices for quicksilver, and give a description of the methods employed for the extraction of ores, and are essentially directed against the *Respuesta* of Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Mexico, 1742, pp. 136. The latter writer, so well known through his voluminous *Theatro* of New Spain, opposes as one of the chief officials of the quicksilver department any reduction in the price, and adduces in support the judgments rendered by several of the district tribunals. Of a later date is Joseph Garcés y Eguia's *Nueva Teórica y Práctica*, Mexico, 1802, pp. 168, a work written by order of the crown to diffuse a knowledge of amalgamation and smelting processes. A specimen of another class of material is the *Descripcion de la Serrania de Zacatecas*, Mexico, 1834, pp. 39, by C. de Berghes, which gives a detailed description of the mining region of Zacatecas, containing many historical and statistical items, part of which belongs to the period after the Independence.

Authorities of more or less value, consulted in the preceding chapter: *Puga, Cedulario*, 11–12, 21, 43, 79; *Ordenes de la Coróna*, MS., iii. 96–8; iv. 163; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 32, 38–9; ii. 51; *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 61–2; iv. 42; *Azanza, Ynstruccion*, MS., 70–1, 82–7, 122–6; *Leyes Varias Anot.*, MS., 123–7; *Providencias sobre Azogues*, MS., passim; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 218; ii. 68–87, 94, 446–8, 493–4, 577; iii. 131–2; *Revilla Gigedo, Banco*, passim; *Bandos*, nos 45, 51; *Instruccion*, MS., i. 365–552; ii. 1–391; *Lassaga, Representacion*, passim; *Ordenanzas de Minería* (ed. Madrid, 1783), passim; *Id.* (ed. *Paris*, 1870), passim; *Velazquez, Comentarios*, MS., passim; *Cuevas, Informe*, passim; *Gamboa's Commentaries*, i. ii., passim; *Fabry, Compend.*, passim; *Id., Segunda Demostracion*, MS., i. et seq.; *Garces y Eguia, Nueva Teórica*, passim; *Berghes, Decrip.*, i. et seq.; *Lombardt, Informe*, passim; *Humboldt Essai Pol.*, i. 73–4, 127, 202, 237, 288; ii. 488 et seq.; *Id., Life and Travels*, 275–88; *Id., New Spain*, iii. 104–454; iv. 279–81, 356–72; *Id., Tabla Estad.*, MS., 54–65; *Id., Versuch*, iv., passim; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 177–8; ii. 73–8; *Id., Hist. Méj.*, i. 23–4, 43–4, 60–4, 99–102, 144; iii. 39–48; v. 32–4; *Burkart, Reisen*, i. ii., passim; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 112; *Vireyes de Méx.*, MS., 2; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 55–8, 205–7; *Torquemada*, i. 336–7; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, 8–24; *Villa Señor y Sanchez, Respuesta*, passim; *Id.*, i. 23–6, 38–41; ii. 267–8; *Disposiciones Varias*, 28–31; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, ii. 226; *Medina Chrón. S. Diego*, 250–3; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 49; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 209; iii. 487–8, 530–3; vi. 487–8; xiii. 218–19, 259; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., 227; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 502–3; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 532–4; *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 1–7; *Cartas de Indias*, 340, 876; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 299, 544–6; iv. 475–82; v. 71–98; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 106–9, 311–12; ii. 212–96; *Pinart, Doc. Sonora*, MS., 16–22; *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Real Hac.*, i. 5–44, 297–387; iii. 6–140, 521–636; v. 433–57; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i. tom. i. 34–5, 427, 499; *Id.*, série ii. tom. iv. 196, 210–12, 272–4, 301–3, 343–5; *Galvez, Informe*, 63–77; *Arlegui, Hist. Chron. Zac.*, 132 et seq.; *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 12–58, 145–8, 160–2, 320–9, 373–97, 464–548, 612–18; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 71–9, 95–6, 110, 119–20; *Castelazo, Manifiesto*, 1–63; *Guijo, Diario*, 34–5, 427, 499; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 178–9, 223, 327; *Laet, Am. Descript.*, 288; *Galvan, Ordenanzas*, 43–7; *Michoacan, Prov. S. Nicolas*, 95, 107; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 177–8; *Gonzales, Col. N. Leon*, 72–8; *Rivera, Diario*, 4; *Mina de S. Nicolas*, 27–35; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 18–22, 32–3, 40–1; vii. 307, 313; ix. 89, 94, 101; xi. 267; *Id.*, 2da ép. iii. 25; iv. 389; *Romero, Mich.*, 158, 165; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 68, 105; ii. 138–9, 145, 164, 171; iii. 22–3; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 332; *Arroniz, Biog. Mex.*, 309–11; *Id., Hist. y Cron.*, 139–40, 153; *Estalla*, xxvii. 15, 212–14, 221–4, 232–3; *Berlandier, Diar. Viaj.*, 45–50; *Castillo, Mem. Azogue*, 29, 78–84; *Busta-*

mante, Cuadro Hist., iv. 68–76; *Id., Voz de la Patria*, v. 66–8; *Pap. Var.*, xxxvi. 75–6; ci. 63, passim; cxiv. 27–35; *Alzate, Diario*, 18–21, 53–6, 118–23, 197–208; *Id., Gacetas*, i. 206–8; ii. 67–8, 177–9, 380–2; iii. 7–21, 311–16, 319–21, 433–5; *Beltrami, Mex.*, i. 260; *Cortes, Diar. Ofic.*, x. 278; *Gac. Mex.*, i. 9 et seq.; ii. 11, passim; iii. 125, 209, 245, 319, 383; iv. 9, 65, 218, 249, 345–6; v. 6, 57, 217–18, 271; vi. 317, 442–3, 534; viii. 51 et seq.; ix. 461; x. 76, 211–15; xi. 192; xii. 73–5; xv. 331–2, 543–5; *Diario Mex.*, ii. 56, 84; iv. 175, passim; v. 117–18; vi. 69–71; vii. 226 et seq.; ix. 452, 486; x. 16; *Campillo, Nuevo Sistema*, 155–71; *Rivera, Gobernantes*, 234, 246, 249; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 235, 238, 249; ii. 95–6; *Willie, Not. Hac.*, 2–3, 19–23; *Compañia de Minas*, passim; *Alegre, Poblana*, 75–6; *Wapp, Mex.*, 68–76; *Album Mex.*, i. 354, 451; *Calvo, Anales Hist.*, i. pp. xxix.–xxx.; *Gallo, Hombres Ilustres*, ii. 227–36; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, 374–83, 424–5, 447–86; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 560; v. 21–2, 245–6; 457, 479–83, 550 et seq.; vii. 20; viii. 504–7, 755–6; x. 1317–18; xi. 3–6; *Almanac. Calend. Galvan*, 1841, 3–10; *Fossey's Mex.*, 301–2; *Lafond, Voy.*, i. 163–4; *Zamora, Bib. Leg.*, iv. 313–48; v. 318–19; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 370–4; iii. 177–8; v. 343–60, 409–10; vi. 829–34; ix. 342, 393–4; x. 36, 105, 326–7, 781–4, 798–804, 1032–4; *Campbell's Span. Amer.*, 114; *Anderson's Commerce*, ii. 139; *Id., Silver Country*, 29–78; *Jacob's Hist. Enquiry*, ii. 123–4, 145–54; *Id., Precious Metals*, ii. 48–9, 59, 152–3; *Conder's Mex. and Guat.*, 32–3; 165; *Andrew's Illus. of W. Ind.*, 63; *Carey and Lea's Hist. Am.*, 338; *Rockwell's Span. and Mex. Law*, 1–110; 653–63; *Blomfield's View*, ii. 632–3; *Arrillaga, Informe*, 9; *Stricker, Bibliothek*, 85–7; *Winterbotham's Hist. U. S.*, iv. 84–5.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

1521–1803.

Aztec Land System—Spanish Policy and Influence—Cortés as a Farmer—Maize—Maguey and its Manifold Use—Cacao and Vanilla—Introduction of Sugar-cane and Wheat—Fertility of the Southern Provinces—Plantains—Culture of Silk, Vine, and Olives—Tobacco and its Monopoly—Stock-raising—Woollen, Cotton, and Linen Manufactures—Production of Spirituous Liquors—Minor Products—Fisheries and Pearls—Aztecs as Artisans—Feather-work and Jewelry—Oppressive Colonial Policy—Industries at the Close of the Century—Bibliographical.

Of all the native American nations the Aztecs had for centuries held the most prominent position, and their advancement was surprising to the Spaniards, who, instead of encountering a nation of barbarians, were faced by a people to whom they could not deny a great degree of culture. Their large cities, their skill as artisans, their well tilled fields, all gave evidence of a civilization quite unexpected by the Castilians. When Cortés and his followers advanced from the coast regions to the capital, the country that they traversed was a fair specimen of what human energy could accomplish on a soil bountifully gifted by nature. Still it was in southern regions where the inhabitants displayed most inclination for husbandry, those of Jalisco and the northern territory being more employed in the chase, and in some places in manufactures and other industries. This favorable condition of affairs was due to just and wise laws, and to the fact that the greater share of the land belonged to the crown and to the nobility, a circumstance

which stamped farming as an occupation not unworthy of men of the highest rank. The remainder of the ground belonged to the temples and the different tribes, and was worked in accordance with strict regulations. These not only set forth the inalienability of the land given to communities for the benefit of their members, but provided that every one of the latter should receive a lot of such extent and quality as his necessities and rank entitled him to. Possession was subject to liberal conditions, and although given only temporarily, it could, through prudent conduct on part of the holder, be transmitted to his heirs. Thus a peculiar system was created, which for wisdom challenges comparison with the best among old-world institutions. And while land belonging exclusively to communities could not pass into other hands, full scope was given to the industrious member to improve his share, and draw the greatest possible advantage from his labor.[1]

It would have been prudent and beneficial for the Spaniards to maintain in force so admirable a system, and it would certainly have been just to do so. Cortés did indeed allow certain forms of native government to remain, but this policy was not observed in the distribution of land. The greater number of conquerors disliked the humble sphere and toil of a farmer, and preferred the possession of an encomienda, where they might play sovereignty and king-craft a little on their own account. Fertile as the soil might be, it had little attraction if they were to till it by their own labor, and thus agriculture in the early times after the conquest was carried on only where the work could be done by slave labor. But Cortés on his first stay in Mexico, when a guest of Montezuma, had sent exploring expeditions in a southerly direction, with orders to establish plantations of maize and cacao, and was not inclined to leave undeveloped the resources

[1] For details concerning the various systems in force before the conquest, I refer to my *Native Races*, i. 625, 652–3; ii. 223–30, 342–50, 445; iv. 429–31.

of a territory which, situated between the fifteenth and thirty-third degrees of latitude, possessed such variety of climate that nearly all the food plants known in Europe could be raised there. Something was also gained when he issued his celebrated ordinances of 1524, and caused the introduction of foreign grains, plants, and live-stock.[2]

Although the southern provinces were far more fertile than the northern, agriculture gradually progressed in the latter, stimulated by the mineral wealth, which gave new impulse to population. The hold once gained by the settler was in most cases maintained, although the mines which created it were abandoned. A certain influence was exercised by the clergy, from whose orchards and gardens new plants were distributed over other parts of the country.

The crown also displayed some interest; old laws were remodelled; new ones framed in quick succession; and the representatives of the government in the colonies urged to encourage the cultivation of the soil. Settlers in new districts were entitled to land according to rank, being obliged to build houses, plant their ground within a certain time, and possess a certain quantity of stock.[3] The right of property was not acquired till after a residence of four years, when the owner might sell it, though not to a church or convent. Nor was he allowed to hold within the same term two grants in different settlements. The distribution was made by the viceroy or the governor, with assistance of the city council,[4] the regidores being entitled to

[2] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 132–4, this series.

[3] 'Haciendo distincion entre escuderos y peones y los que fueren de ménos grado y merecimiento.' The dimensions to be granted were either *peonías* or *caballerías*. The former comprised a ground-plot 50 feet wide by 100 in length, sufficient land to sow 100 fanegas of wheat or barley, and ten of maize, two patches of terrain for orchards, eight for other trees requiring dry ground, and pasture land for ten breeding sows, 20 cows, five mares, 100 sheep, and 20 goats. A caballería included a building lot of 100 by 200 feet, and the other grants were five times the size of that of a peonía. Good and inferior land was to be distributed in just proportion. *Recop. Ind.*, ii. 39.

[4] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 40–1; where detailed ordinances may be found as to the manner of making applications.

preference, but in all cases the rights of the Indians were to be respected.

These regulations were gradually disregarded, and fifty years after the first grants had been made, quite a number of persons had appropriated extensive tracts belonging to the crown. To put a stop to such abuses a law of November 20, 1578,[5] ordered all holders of land to exhibit their titles, and all taken in excess to revert to the king. In later years, however, the temporary owners were permitted to obtain possession by paying a small amount into the royal treasury, and the restitution of land became obligatory only when it had been the property of Indians.[6] Land occupied or improved by them could not be sold to another person; nor were cattle allowed to stray there; and one square league of common was assigned to each village so that there might be sufficient space for the grazing of stock.

In addition to the laws defining the rights of the native population, there existed minute regulations for the organization of all new settlements. Besides the tracts appropriated to the first settlers, others were given as *propios,* or property of the community, while still others were assigned as *ejidos,* or common lands for the benefit of the inhabitants.[7] In 1536 orders were issued providing for irrigation, and soon afterward encomenderos were directed to plant trees, so as to prevent scarcity of fuel. But unfortunately this latter measure was rendered inoperative by an order issued in 1541 that the forests should be free to all for common use; and still later the native population was allowed to cut wood, almost without restriction. This gave rise to such a wholesale destruction of the forests that toward the close of the

[5] It was repeated in 1589 and 1591. *Id.*, 42.

[6] In 1681 even the compensation in money was dispensed with, and holders allowed undisturbed possession. *Id.*, 43.

[7] The ejidos were to be situated at sufficient distance so as not to impede the growth of the settlement. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 22. For other laws regulating new settlements, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 496 et seq., this series.

eighteenth century Viceroy Revilla Gigedo considered it necessary to dictate measures to remedy the evil.

The most important agricultural product of New Spain was maize, which both to the Aztecs and the Spaniards was the principal article of food, as some time elapsed before the cultivation of European cereals became general. A failure of this crop was generally equivalent to a famine, as the inhabitants seldom accumulated sufficient supplies in granaries.[8] In the southern provinces the average yield was a hundred and fifty fold, and, under very favorable conditions, as much as eight hundred fold.[9] The plant was used for a great variety of purposes, and furnished food for animals as well as men. From it was manufactured the liquor called *chicha;* the stalks were extensively used to make sugar, while the leaves served as wrappers for cigarettes. Although an important factor in the internal trade of New Spain, no early statistics have appeared as to the total yield of the country. In the beginning of the present century it was estimated at 17,000,000 fanegas.

Nearly as indispensable to the Mexicans as Indian corn was the maguey, or agave Americana.[10] Its cultivation dated from very ancient times, and the esteem in which the plant was held is not to be wondered at when we consider the variety of purposes for which it was used, and that it could be raised with so little labor and on so small an area of fertile ground. To the Indian it not only gave food, but its leaves covered his hut, and cloth was woven from its fibres; its medicinal qualities were highly valued, and its juice was his favorite beverage, being known

[8] The Aztecs, however, possessed granaries. See *Native Races*, ii. 347–50, where also many details about the cultivation of maize in aboriginal times may be found.

[9] Humboldt says that at New Valladolid a yield varying from 130 to 150 fold was considered as a bad crop. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 374.

[10] The Aztec name of the plant, *metl*, was after the conquest changed to that of *maguey*, which, according to Motolinia, the Spaniards brought from the Antilles. *Hist. Ind.*, 243.

to the Aztecs by the name of *octli*, but under the rule of the Spaniards the name was replaced by that of *pulque*,[11] which to this day forms the favorite drink of the lower classes. Only some of the many kinds of maguey in New Spain were used for the manufacture of pulque, which was made from the plant when about ten years old. On approaching the time of blossoming the heart of the plant was cut out, after which the cavity gradually began to fill with the juice. This was removed two or three times every day as long as sap continued to flow—generally for four months[12]—and the average yield amounted to about one hundred and twenty gallons for every plant. In an earthen vessel, or more often in a skin, it was then exposed to fermentation, which begins after thirty-two to thirty-six hours, though this process is often effected within several hours by adding some well fermented pulque. According to the care and skill used in its manufacture there are different qualities of this liquor, but nearly always it is repulsive to the unaccustomed palate,[13] though it possesses, when pure, good wholesome properties. Adulteration, however, was practised even before the conquest, and was continued under the Spanish rule, although prohibited, especially if its intoxicating qualities were increased thereby.[14]

Occasionally the sale of pulque was entirely forbidden,[15] as after the riot in Mexico in 1692; but later the prohibition was removed, as before narrated, owing perhaps in part to the decrease of revenue which it

[11] *Pulque*, or *pulcu*, is a word of Chilian origin, according to Clavigero, who adds that it is difficult to explain how it was transmitted to Mexico. *Storia Mess.*, ii. 221.

[12] The flow of sap sometimes lasts only a few weeks; occasionally, however, as long as six months. *Payno, Memoria sobre el Maguey*, 56.

[13] Especially on account of its smell, which, as some presume, may be caused by the skin vessels used in fermentation and transport.

[14] By cédula of August 24, 1529, *Puga, Cedulario*, 70, and repeated subsequently in other laws. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 197 et seq.

[15] The viceroy on that occasion asked the opinion of the professors of the university whether its use should be abolished. The faculty recommended such a measure. *Informe que la Real Universidad hase*, 1–17, Mexico, 1692, a curious document full of Latin quotations and written in a confused style.

entailed. In accordance with the usual policy, the sale of an article of such extensive consumption had been monopolized, the government granting to one individual the exclusive right to sell pulque to the thirty-six establishments allowed in the city of Mexico for that purpose. The amount paid for it almost doubled between 1669 and 1763,[16] but this by no means indicates the real extent of the consumption, for during the eighteenth century the fraudulent manufacture of pulque and other beverages, chiefly adulterated with unwholesome roots, assumed great dimensions. A number of cédulas and orders were issued both in Spain and Mexico to suppress the abuses,[17] but with so little result that, in 1763, the contract was not renewed, the government taking charge of its sale, and ten years later, the net profits derived therefrom exceeded 930,000 pesos annually.[18]

Of Aztec origin, like the pulque, is the sugar made of the sap of the maguey by condensation;[19] but its manufacture decreased after the introduction of the sugar-cane. In the second half of the eighteenth century the juice was also more freely employed in the distillation of a brandy called *mescal*.[20] This branch, however, was little developed, owing to the efforts of the Spanish government to protect the industry of the mother country. Medicinal properties have also been attributed to the plant,[21] but it does not appear to have come into general use for this purpose. In their

[16] In 1669 it was $66,000 against $128,500 in 1763. *Fonseca* and *Urrutía, Hist. Real. Hac.*, iii. 344, 422. Mancera, in *Instrucc. Vireyes*, 298, indicates that the amount in 1671 and 1672 was $92,850 annually.

[17] In 1755 a special justice was appointed for that purpose, *Órdenes de la Coróna*, MS., i. 50–9, and in 1760 it was even under consideration to place the matter in charge of the acordada. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 76–7. See also *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 64–5, 67–8; *Revilla Gigedo, Real Cédula* of 1753, 1–32, 1–39.

[18] Tables with details are given in *Fonseca* and *Urrutía, Hist. Real Hac.*, iii. 423–4; they differ essentially from those given by Payno. *Memoria sobre el Maguey*, 94–7.

[19] 'Sacan de este licor unos panes pequeños de azúcar,' though not as white nor sweet as that of sugar-cane. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 244.

[20] In 1792 the duties derived from mezcal amounted to over $24,000. *Queipo*, 109–10.

[21] See *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 422; *Payno, Memoria sobre el Maguey*, 40–7.

natural state the leaves served for roofing, while the fibres were manufactured into cloth, cords, slings, sandals, and paper.

Other products, unknown to the Spaniards on their arrival, were the cacao and the vanilla, the first of of them being made into a favorite beverage[22] of the Aztecs under the name of *chocolatl*, the modern chocolate. It was chiefly grown in the regions south and south-east of Mexico, but its cultivation decreased gradually, and the want was mainly supplied, as at present, by importation from other countries. The vanilla, however, was for a number of years almost exclusively obtained from New Spain, where its cultivation was confined to the intendencias of Vera Cruz and Oajaca.[23]

It was only natural that the Spaniards after establishing their dominion in New Spain should make efforts to raise also those plants to which they had been accustomed in the old world and in the Antilles. Among such new introductions was the sugar-cane, of which Cortés himself established two plantations at Izcalpan.[24] Others arose simultaneously or in quick succession, and in 1553 sugar formed an article of exportation to Spain and Peru. The cultivation centred in the intendencias of Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Valladolid, Puebla, Mexico, and Vera Cruz, but on the coast this industry was of little importance. Encouraged by the crown on different occasions,[25] and especially by a reduction of the tithes to four per cent, a more effectual impulse was given toward the close of the eighteenth century by the failure of the crops in other countries, and the uprising of the negroes at Santo Domingo. Nevertheless the production increased less than might have been expected, and after

[22] See *Native Races*, ii. 359–60, this series.

[23] For details about the production of cacao and vanilla, see *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 435–43; *Alzate, Diario*, 26–9.

[24] *Memorial* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 279. See also, *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 320, 333; *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 378.

[25] Among others by a law of February 27, 1793, allowing the free establishment of sugar refineries. *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 100.

supplying the home consumption there remained in 1803 only 125,000 quintals for export. The restriction on the sale of liquors made from maguey was applied also to those manufactured from sugar, the most common of which was generally known as *aguardiente*. The prohibitions could not, however, be effectually carried out, and when investigation had revealed the comparatively limited consumption of the article introduced from Spain, its free manufacture was allowed in 1796 under certain regulations.[26]

Of European cereals only wheat was raised to any extent,[27] and although in different parts of the cordillera the climate was extremely propitious, the want of moisture, which could be supplied only by irrigation, would frequently check its cultivation. This defect was at an early time recognized by the crown, and in 1612 an order was issued that no cattle should be allowed on irrigated land suitable for raising wheat.[28] Notwithstanding this drawback the yield exceeded the average returns obtained in Europe, being in some instances as high as seventy or eighty fold.[29]

One of the different kinds, cultivated chiefly in the neighborhood of Puebla and called *trigo blanquillo*,[30] was remarkable for its abundant yield. For some unknown reason the medical board declared it to be injurious to the health, and a decree of the viceroy and audiencia, of May 4, 1677, ordered the consumption of the stock on hand within a limited time, and forbade its cultivation under severe penalties.[31] During several years the order was in force, but when a famine

[26] The viceroy's edict was of December 9, 1796, *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 102, iii. 84–96; *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 169–76. Cédulas bearing on the prohibition had been issued August 6, 1747, July 15, 1749, and March 24, 1753. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 45–50; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 223–4.

[27] For an account of its introduction, see *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 132–3, this series.

[28] In 1624 the law was repealed. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 42. Other laws also fostering the cultivation of wheat are given in *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 63; *Intendentes, Real Ordenanza*, 73–4.

[29] The average yield in New Spain was 25 to 30 fold. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 385–6.

[30] Literally meaning white wheat.

[31] *Montemayor, Autos*, 60–1; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta*, MS., 38.

threatened Mexico, Viceroy Galve revoked it in 1692, and after that time it was again cultivated. It is impossible to form reliable estimates of the total amount of wheat or flour produced and consumed, both on account of the lack of statistics and the mixed character of the population, a great part of which lived exclusively upon maize.

During the first half of the sixteenth century one of the chief articles of food was the plantain, though there is no evidence in support of Humboldt's conjecture that certain species of the Musa Paradisaica are indigenous to America.[32] After its introduction from the East Indies, its rapid growth and the variety of purposes for which it could be used brought it into general favor throughout New Spain. To this day it forms a staple article of food throughout tropical America, while its juice, when fermented, affords a palatable drink. The dried and powdered fruit resembles the arrow root; the leaves of young plants were used for medicinal purposes, while the fibres were made into textile fabrics, those of the outer stem in certain varieties being strong enough for the manufacture of cordage, while from the inner fibres a garment can be made light enough to be contained in the hollow of the hand.

In addition to these products early experiments were made in the cultivation of silk, olives, and the grape, all of which were encouraged by Cortés, who had himself plantations of mulberry-trees at Yauhtepec, Tetecla, and other places.[33] At first sericulture made fair progress,[34] but subsequently the competition arising from the Manila trade, and the partiality in favor of the product of Spanish looms, caused the plantations and factories, which were chiefly in Puebla

[32] *Essai Pol.*, ii. 359–62.

[33] Some authors, following Herrera, attribute the introduction of the silkworm to the oidor Delgadillo, but it was more probably due to Cortés. See *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 263–4, 1st app. 28; ii. 67–8.

[34] A law of 1548 allowed all the inhabitants in the district of Puebla to apply themselves to this industry without any restriction. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 108.

and Oajaca,[35] to be neglected. In 1790, under the rule of the second Revilla Gigedo, great interest was taken in this branch of industry, and printed instructions were sent to persons engaged in silk culture, but the result was insignificant and of little practical value, as were the later efforts made by Hidalgo in the beginning of this century.

The cultivation of olives and the vine labored under severe restrictions. Admirably adapted as both soil and climate were for both purposes, the few plantations of olives were merely allowed to exist because they belonged to pious or charitable establishments,[36] while as to the vine, the viceroys were repeatedly instructed not to permit the planting of new cuttings, nor even the replacing of vines in decay.[37] Wine could only be made on condition of paying taxes to the crown, and it was not till 1796 that a more liberal policy in this respect was adopted.

The cultivation and manufacture of tobacco, the *yetl* of the Aztecs,[38] the use of which soon became common among the Spaniards, was not seriously restricted for nearly two centuries and a half after the conquest, though as early as 1642 a suggestion had been made to include this article in the list of monopolies.[39] In 1764, however, the crown appropriated the right to the manufacture and sale of the different preparations of tobacco. At the same time, to prevent contrabands and frauds, its cultivation was confined to the districts of Orizaba, Córdoba, Huatusco, and Zongolica, being forbidden in all other places[40] under

[35] From Mizteca in Oajaca there came also an inferior class of silk, which was already known to the Aztecs before the Spaniards introduced the genuine silk-worm.

[36] Most of them were the property of convents or churches; the best of all belonged to the archbishop of Mexico and was at Tacubaya. *Alaman, Mej.*, iii. 31, and yielded yearly 200 arrobas of oil. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 416.

[37] This was forbidden as early as 1595. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 60–1.

[38] For mention of the use of tobacco among the Aztecs see *Native Races*, ii. 287–8, this series.

[39] By Palafox in his instructions to Viceroy Salvatierra. *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 19.

[40] In the northern states the monopoly created apparently no particular discontent. See *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. iv. tom i. 195–200.

severe penalties, and special officers were selected to enforce these regulations. The product was purchased by the government at a stipulated price,[41] as a rule low enough to make its growth almost unprofitable, and then resold, either raw or manufactured, chiefly as cigars and cigarettes. This soon became a considerable source of revenue to the government, giving in 1801 and 1802 net profits of about $4,000,000[42] for each year. An attempt made by the crown to establish plantations failed, and the old system of purchasing was continued. Regular importations were also made from Cuba and Louisiana, to supply certain kinds which could not be raised in New Spain.[43]

Tobacco and cigar factories were established in many cities and towns, but the most prominent were those at Mexico and Querétaro, each of which employed about 7,000 persons of both sexes, whose pay aggregated more than $700,000 a year.[44] The annual product of all the establishments represented about $7,500,000, of which nearly one half fell to the share of the crown.[45]

Among the chief sources of wealth to the Spaniards during the eighteenth century, and the one least restricted by the government, was the raising of livestock. New Spain with its sparse fauna and rich

[41] The average price at which leaf tobacco was purchased by the government was three reales a pound, and it was resold for ten, at a profit of 233 per cent. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 282. Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 445, is evidently mistaken when he gives the price at two and a half reales per kilogram.

[42] In 1801 they amounted to $3,993,834, in 1802 to $4,092,629. The total since the establishment of the monopoly till 1809 exceeded $123,000,000. *México, Analisis*, 44. For partial statistics of the period mentioned, see *Fonseca* and *Urrutía, Hist. Real Hac.*, ii. 437.

[43] The produce of the districts of Vera Cruz and Orizaba amounted annually to about 20,000 quintals. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 445.

[44] From $777,651 paid in 1783, it declined to $684,109 in 1792, but again rose in 1794 to $773,442. *Gazeta Mex.*, i. 12; ii. 276–7; iii. 10–11, 223; iv. 11–12, 248; v. 265; vii. 33.

[45] Details concerning this monopoly may be found in *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 281–99; *Galvez, Instruc.*, 18–54; *Fonseca* and *Urrutía, Hist. Real Hac.*, ii. 353–486.

pasture lands afforded a splendid field for this branch of industry; and soon after the conquest, Cortés made importations from the Antilles, of such domestic animals as did not exist in Mexico. They increased rapidly, and before long vast herds of cattle and horses, almost in a wild state, formed, as they do at the present day, an important feature in the wealth of the country. Fostered by special legislation[46] and placed under the jurisdiction of the *alcaldes de la mesta*, first appointed by Viceroy Mendoza,[47] the raising of stock, and especially of cattle, soon became a favorite occupation. In earlier times cattle were of little value except for their hides, which formed an important article of export. Later, however, they were turned to better advantage, the hides being manufactured into leather, while the tallow was used for making soap. These industries flourished chiefly in Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Puebla,[48] and Mexico, and being undisturbed by the government, competed successfully with those of Spain.

No comment is needed as to the well known qual-

[46] In addition to laws already mentioned, one of 1533 ordered all pasture-ground to be free for common use both to Spaniards and Indians. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 58. This gave rise to disputes; but the audiencia ordered the spirit of the law to be carried out. *Provid. Reales*, MS., 143–4. When cattle became so abundant that they were killed only for their hides, little care was taken to exempt the cows, until a law forbade the slaughtering of all female stock without permission of the viceroy, thus insuring further increase. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 464–5. This law was enacted in 1619 and repeated later. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 138. *Provid. Diocesanas*, MS., i. The prices of horses, mules, and other domestic animals about the year 1550 are given by Mendoza in *Ternaux-Compans*, ser. i. tom. x. 351.

[47] The *mesta*, established after that of Spain, was a league of stock-raisers for the promotion of their interests and held ordinary jurisdiction for the punishment of petty offences, as thefts of cattle, encroachments, and damage to property and the like. Every year the city council appointed two as alcaldes de la mesta from among the owners of cattle. These together with five other members of the league met in session twice a year, on January 16th and August 31st. On these occasions all disputes about the right of property and other questions were decided. Regulations might then also be issued for the guidance of stock-raisers, but required the viceroy's or governor's approval to become valid. Owners of three hundred head of small stock and 20 mares or cows were ipso facto *hermanos de la mesta*, that is members of the league. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 135–8.

[48] Puebla produced in the beginning of this century every year about 200,000 arrobas of soap; Guadalajara $268,400 worth, and prepared hides to the value of $418,900. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 449, 666–9.

ities of the different breeds of horses in use throughout New Spain. More than three centuries ago those of Arabian stock were usually possessed by the wealthy, while the more common breeds differed but little from those in existence to this day. Mules were largely raised in many districts, and were of course preferred for the transportation of goods and for work in the mining regions. At one time it was intended to introduce camels as beasts of burden, but beyond an experiment which is said to have been successful nothing was done in the matter.[49]

During the eighteenth century sheep-raising was of some importance in the northern and central provinces,[50] owing in part to the increased manufacture of woollen goods. Originally, when introduced by Viceroy Mendoza, this branch was exclusively in the hands of the Spaniards, though the labor, of course, was performed by Indians and mestizos, into whose hands the industry passed in after years.[51] The conduct of the crown in this case differed somewhat from its usual policy. No open prohibitions were issued, but under the pretext of protecting the Indians a number of laws were made, amounting virtually to restrictions.[52] Nevertheless this industry made good progress, having met with more favor on the part of the crown during the eighteenth century,[53] and a con-

[49] Romero, *Not. Mich.*, 245, says the attempt was made in the beginning of this century, but that the animals were killed during the war of independence. A glowing report of the immense benefit their introduction would cause is given in *Alzate, Gaceta*, ii. 241–7.

[50] Arlegui states that in 1736 there were over 1,000,000 sheep raised, and more than 1,500,000 pasturing in Nuevo Leon. *Chrón. Zac.*, 82, 133. Humboldt, however, says that the breeding of sheep was very much neglected in New Spain. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 450.

[51] In 1590 Viceroy Luis Velasco the younger took active interest in furthering the manufacture of woollen goods, and established a factory at Tezcuco.

[52] Licenses for factories could only be granted by the king through the mediation of viceroy and audiencia. Indians were to be dissuaded from working in the factories, although without their labor they would have to be closed; all laws on the good treatment of the Indians should be most rigidly enforced in manufacturing establishments. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 106 et seq.; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 81, 84. To favor the industries of Spain raw wool from Mexico was exempted from duties. *Intendentes, Real Ord.*, 73.

[53] The second Revilla Gigedo took great interest in these matters, and at-

siderable number of persons were engaged in it. The principal factories were in Querétaro, Puebla, and Valladolid, and in the beginning of this century the annual consumption of raw wool was estimated at about 16,000 quintals.[54] The result was somewhat remarkable considering that the native artisan generally used only the most primitive machinery.[55] He could, however, produce articles which, though inferior to European fabrics, would nearly always successfully compete with them.

Of an earlier date was the manufacture of cotton, a process long known to the Aztecs, who had formed plantations, chiefly in the regions bordering on the South Sea. Imperfect as was their machinery, they produced a variety of fabrics, the greater part of which were used for the dresses of the wealthier classes.[56] After the conquest the production of cotton goods decreased in consequence of the competition with European commodities, although the latter could never entirely supplant those of the natives. There were few large factories in later years, but looms were distributed over Cholula, Puebla, Tlascala, Querétaro, and Guadalajara. The total produced was considerable; in the intendencia of Puebla the product amounted to $1,500,000 a year.[57] In 1792, Revilla Gigedo supplied a long-felt want by founding the weaving-school of Tixtla. Whenever Spain was at war with a European power, and the importation of fabrics interrupted, the native industry flourished, but

tempted to form a collection of specimens of all articles manufactured in the different intendencias.

[54] Querétaro alone produced woollen fabrics worth about $600,000 every year, and employed in 1793 more than 1,700 persons. In 1803 there were 320 establishments of different sizes. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 667.

[55] 'Estos naturales no necesitan de todos las oficinas y utensilios, que regularmente se emplean en España...Siendo tanto mas admirable el que con tan malas disposiciones salgan algunas obras dignas de atencion.' *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 92.

[56] For details as to the manufacture of cotton among the Aztecs, see *Native Races*, ii., passim, this series.

[57] Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, ii. 666, gives several details about the consumption of cotton in the different factories. Other statistics relating to the same subject are given in *Cancelada, Ruina*, 16–22.

only again to relapse into its former state, as soon as peace was concluded. The export of raw cotton, though favored by exemption from duties and customs, never acquired any commercial importance,[58] and was inconsiderable compared with that of the United States.

Though at an early date the raising of flax and hemp was encouraged,[59] little progress was made for more than two centuries. In 1777 and later, numerous orders were issued to the viceroys, urging their cultivation and manufacture,[60] and in the same year twelve experts were sent from Spain to give practical instruction. Privileges were also granted to persons willing to engage in this industry;[61] but all efforts were fruitless, despite the large amounts of money spent in experiments, and finally the effort was abandoned.[62]

In addition to the products already mentioned, others were raised in New Spain of less importance, though still of value for domestic or commercial purposes. To the former class belong the manioc, yam, potato, the different kinds of pepper, or *chile*, a necessary ingredient in the national dish, tortillas de maiz, and manifold varieties of fruit. Of the latter, mention will be made later.

After the Spanish dominion was established, and strange plants and animals introduced, aboriginal occupations were placed more and more in the background. This was apparently the case with the fisheries, a well developed industry among the Aztecs,[63] but little encouraged since the conquest.

[58] Amounting only to about 6,000 quintals at the beginning of the present century.

[59] Since 1545. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 67.

[60] From January 12, 1777, till May 9, 1795, ten decrees were issued, all for this purpose. *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 189; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 219–20.

[61] *Zamora, Intendentes, Real Ord.*, 71–2.

[62] More than $100,000 had been spent by the crown. See also on this subject, *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 98–100; *Id., Bandos*, no. 39; *Cancelada, Ruina*, 33–4.

[63] See *Native Races*, ii. 352–3, this series.

The pearl fisheries, however, were an exception, and from an early date attracted the attention of the crown and its vassals. A number of laws were issued for their regulation,[64] and for some time they attracted many explorers to the gulf of California; but as this belongs to another division of my work, I shall speak of it elsewhere.[65]

The skill of the natives in certain branches of manufactures created astonishment even among the Spaniards, though they were little inclined to recognize any such ability. No less surprise was caused among the Aztecs by the first examples of European skill in manufactures, not so much on account of their workmanship, as the facility with which they were produced. They immediately discerned the advantages which they could derive from their European masters, and seized eagerly the opportunity, whenever it offered. Instances have already been related, among which may be mentioned the manner in which they contrived to learn the weaving of a certain kind of cloth and the making of saddles.[66] Soon after the conquest such occupations as those of carpenter, bricklayer, shoemaker, and tailor, fell into their hands, and they not only imitated the Spanish artisans, but exhibited some ingenuity as inventors. Occasionally, however, their enterprising spirit would lead them astray. Of this a rather humorous instance has been recorded by an early chronicler, who relates that an Indian tailor on observing in a procession a man dressed in the sambenito, the badge worn by those sentenced by the inquisition, supposed it to be a new kind of garment to be used in church festivals. A few days later he surprised the Spaniards by offering a number for sale, until the laughter which he excited made him aware of his mistake.

[64] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 96–106.
[65] In *Hist. North. Mex. States*, vol. ii., this series.
[66] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 172, this series.

Long before the conquest the Indians had been experts in the manufacture of earthenware and pottery, numerous specimens of which are found throughout the country. Under Spanish rule the variety of design was greatly increased and a larger field was opened to them. They also learned the fabrication of glass, and as this industry gradually developed, several factories arose, chiefly at Puebla, where forty-six establishments for the making of glass and pottery were in a flourishing condition in 1793. Subsequently a decline took place, and in the beginning of this century the number was reduced to eighteen.

The fabrications of iron never made any notable progress in New Spain, and the iron implements in use came almost exclusively from the mother country. It was only when communication with the old world was interrupted or difficult that an impulse was given to this branch of industry.[67]

There were, however, other branches in which the natives excelled the most skilful European artisans, and chief among them was the manufacture of cochineal and indigo. Both were produced mainly in Oajaca; but owing to failures of the crop and the oppressive policy of the government,[68] the indigo trade declined considerably, and toward the close of the eighteenth century the yield was not enough for home consumption,[69] and the want was supplied by importations from Guatemala.

Cochineal long maintained its place as one of the leading exports of new Spain, its production being encouraged by the crown from the earliest days.[70] It

[67] Revilla Gigedo, *Instruc.*, 92, attributes the small progress of the iron industry to the unwillingness of the merchants to introduce the instruments and machinery required for the production of that metal. Estalla, xxvii. 46, speaks of some excellent work in steel, manufactured at Puebla, but this is rather doubtful.

[68] A law of 1563 prohibited the employment of Indians in the cultivation on the ground that it was injurious to their health. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 307–8.

[69] The second Revilla Gigedo estimated the yearly production in 1794, at 1500 arrobas. *Instruc.*, 100. For details as to its cultivation see *Alzate, Diario Lit.*, 50–2.

[70] Cochineal was exempted from tithes. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii.

was procured entirely by the natives, and efforts were made to protect them from the usual extortions of the Spaniards, though apparently with little avail, as the yield decreased and finally was almost confined to the districts of Oajaca.[71] Nevertheless at the beginning of the present century the exports from Vera Cruz represented about $2,000,000.[72] A few years previously this industry had occupied from twenty-five to thirty thousand persons, but the profits were apparently moderate.[73]

But the skill of the Aztecs in producing feather-work excited the most remark. Marvellous stories were related by the first Europeans who saw specimens of this art, and the choicest patterns were deemed worthy to be offered to the sovereign. The novelty soon lost its charm, however, and an industry which in aboriginal times had been fostered and developed with the utmost care, was neglected by the representatives of civilized Europe,[74] until it lost all its importance for practical purposes, and merely served to satisfy occasional curiosity. A worse fate befell the manufacture of jewelry, which had attained the highest perfection among the Aztecs, whose skill was considered as unrivalled by Europeans.[75] Though it was well known that they possessed the knowledge of working the metal in certain forms absolutely unknown in Europe, when in 1507 some mining regulations

185–7; *Alaman, Mej.*, i. 103. A decree of 1597, later repeated, directed the viceroy to stimulate its production, and if necessary to compel the Indians to labor at this industry. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 60. See also for other instructions bearing on the subject, *Id.*, ii. 67, 179, 350–1, 573; iii. 406, 513.

[71] Formerly cochineal was produced also in Guadalajara, Puebla, and Yucutan.

[72] Authorities differ essentially about the value. Revilla Gigedo, *Instruccion*, 102, gives in 1793 the annual yield at 23,600 arrobas, representing at the price computed by Humboldt, $1,770,000. The latter authority gives the figures of $3,368,557 and $2,238,673 for 1802 and 1803 respectively. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 457. Alaman, *Mej.*, i. 103, estimates the annual yield for that time at $1,200,000, and says that formerly its value amounted to $3,000,000.

[73] According to Revilla Gigedo only nine per cent on the capital invested.

[74] See *Native Races*, ii. 488–90, for a description of this art in Aztec times; also *Denis, Arte Plumaria*, 1 et seq.

[75] See also *Native Races*, ii. 475–82.

were issued in Mexico, severe penalties[76] forbade all persons interested in or connected with mining to employ native jewellers for making ornaments either of gold or silver. Thus European designs and methods prevailed, and although the manufacture of jewelry was extensively pursued, the style led in another direction, and processes which had only been known to the native workmen were irretrievably lost.

All jewellers were obliged to have their establishments in a certain street, and were forbidden to work any metal unless the payment of the king's fifth had been proved; nor were they allowed to employ coined gold or silver. Since early times they had been incorporated as a guild, with a patron-saint of their own, and subject to certain regulations or statutes.[77] Nevertheless there is no doubt that contraband trading was carried on in this branch as in most others, and therefore some addition must be made to the official returns, which indicate for the beginning of this century an average value of $270,000 for the gold and silver manufactured every year.[78]

The question has often been brought forward whether the agricultural and industrial resources of New Spain were sufficient to place her on an independent footing, and the answer has frequently been based on the condition of the country at the close of the eighteenth century. The propriety of selecting that epoch is at least doubtful, considering the character and influence of the Spanish dominion during the preceding three hundred years. Allusion has often been made to the policy of the government toward New Spain in all affairs where the interest of

[76] Loss of all property and perpetual banishment from New Spain. *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 198.

[77] Compiled by Viceroy Cadereita in 1638, and enlarged in 1701 by the Count of Moctesuma. They are given in the *Ordenanzas del Nobilissimo Arte de la Platería*, Mexico, 1715, 10 folios, and contain in 35 articles the regulations for the government of the guild, together with instructions for certain technicalities. In 1733 and 1748 additional rules were issued in Spain. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 99–104.

[78] The total consumption from 1798 till 1802 was 1,926 marks of gold and 134,024 of silver.

the mother country was supposed to be endangered. Branches of agriculture and industry, which might have insured progress, labored for centuries under difficulties, and not only were the markets of foreign countries closed to them, but the colonies were obliged to receive the products of the old world. It is true this policy was chiefly directed against the mining and manufacturing industries,[79] but it affected none the less the agricultural interest, which was intimately connected with it. This explains the little advance in the different methods of husbandry; the sharpened stick, the wooden shovel, the copper hoe and sickle of the Aztec being comparatively less primitive than the rude plow introduced by the Spaniard in early times and still in use in the eighteenth century.

About two hundred and fifty years elapsed before a more liberal spirit pervaded the colonial policy. One of the first steps was to settle the right to property in farm lands in an equitable manner, by granting for a small compensation the possession of such as had been held for years without legal title. The encouragement which these laws afforded,[80] was increased by giving the native laborer the much needed protection against Spanish oppression.[81] After that time the total value of agricultural products increased considerably, and amounted at the beginning of this century to more than $30,000,000 a year in those articles alone which were subject to the payment of tithes.[82] The injurious policy of several hundred years

[79] One of the ablest and best viceroys, the second Revilla Gigedo, was not entirely free from prejudice in this respect. He says in one place: 'It must not be overlooked that this (New Spain) is a colony which must depend upon its mother, Spain, and is obliged to make returns for the benefits which her protection affords.' And further: 'El único medio de destruir las fábricas del reino, es el que vengan á precios mas comodos de Europa los mismos efectos.' *Instruc.*, 90–1, 93.

[80] They were of October 15, 1754, and March 13, 1756, and granted power to settle any difficulties to the viceroy and audiencia. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 90–5; vi. 1–6; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 28–33; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 160–6, 189–95.

[81] The text of the law, dated March 23, 1773, is given in *Id.*, 188–9.

[82] The total of tithes in the bishopries of Mexico, Puebla, Valladolid, Oajaca, Guadalajara, and Durango during the years 1769 till 1779 was $13,-

had however wrought evils too serious to be quickly remedied, and whilst some industries had been abandoned, of others the knowledge had been entirely lost.[83] The statutes and ordinances of most of the different guilds were antiquated and inappropriate; the instruction of apprentices was generally very poor. Of the total yearly product of manufactures, valued at about $7,000,000, the greater part consisted of articles of prime necessity.[84] It was only, as we have seen, when war in Europe hindered communication with Spain, that some activity prevailed, but it always subsided, and the ground thus gained was soon lost.

The mining interest was, of course, a very prominent one, though its importance has been so greatly exaggerated as to cause the assertion that New Spain was of little value except as a mining territory. What the country under another form of government did accomplish, is a subject which I shall treat later.[85]

357,157 against $18,353,821 for the following decade. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 101–2.

[83] 'Habiendo entonces varios of[illegible]les aun apenas queda otra noticia.' *Id.*, 84.

[84] Such as soap, leather, [illegible] cotton, of wool, and others. The industrial produc[illegible] have been estimated at $1,000,000. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, [illegible]nacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 715, gives a glowing description [illegible]chievements of New Spain in 1799; according to him the[illegible]rpassed by European products.

[85] My observations m[illegible]eding part about the scarcity of authorities on the mining history of [illegible] Spain find still more application to this chapter. This want of information has obliged me to gather my material in the form of numerous items, scattered through a vast range of books; in addition, however, I have been aided by a variety of treatises, dwelling only on special subjects. Among writers of the latter class, a prominent place belongs to the scientist Alzate, who has endeavored to diffuse useful knowledge through essays in the different series of his *Gacetas de Literatura*, Mexico, 1788–95. A separate edition has appeared of his memoir on the cultivation of the cochineal, the *Memoria . . .del Insecto Grana ó Cochinilla*, Madrid, 1795, pp. 226, of which I have before me a manuscript copy in 280 folios, with the writer's autograph. Of similar color, only embracing one subject, is Payno's *Memoria sobre el Maguey Mexicano*, Mexico, 1864, pp. 132, and another work of the same title, Mexico, 1865, pp. 32, by Pedro and Ignacio Blasquez. Both, as their title implies, dwell exclusively on the maguey plant and its use, and the first contains much curious information, part of which, however, is of little or merely of local interest. Different in form and arrangement is a treatise on sericulture, written by order of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, under the title of *Compendio . . de las Moreras y Morales*, Mexico,

1793, pp. 34, taking as a base his instructions on the subject. More general information is furnished in his *Instruccion*, valuable especially because it throws some light on the spirit of the age and of the government, which then had recently adopted a more liberal policy. Fonseca and Urrutía in their *Historia de la Real Hacienda* chiefly view matters from a financial standpoint, and, though containing some details about maguey, tobacco, and other products, refer essentially to their relation to the royal revenue. Alaman, in his *Historia de Méjico*, has, strange to say, paid little attention to the period under consideration; still he furnishes some items of interest not found elsewhere. Of foreign writers Humboldt claims an important place, but his information is merely confined to a few historical data of specific character and a scientific description of the different plants which he found in the country when there. The remainder of the space allotted to the subject in his *Essai Politique* is principally absorbed by statistics of modern date, but the whole does not give the complete view which, one would presume, he might have been able to form. He has been followed by Ward, *Mexico in 1827*, Mühlenpfordt, *Republik Méjico*, and Mayer, *Mexico*, who in the respective parts of their writings have drawn largely from him, adding such information as it was in their power to obtain. The latter refer chiefly to a recent period, for which reason I shall consider them in another part of this work.

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mora, Bib. Leg. Ult., iv. 189; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 301, 435, 442-3; *Walton's Spanish Am.*, ii. 305–7, 318–20; *Macgillevray's Humboldt*, 315, 320; *Morse's Am. Geog.*, 480; *Burke's Europ. Settle.*, i. 223–8; *Winterbotham's Hist. U. S.*, iv. 111–12; *Morden's Geog.*, 579–82; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.*, 23–31; *Pinkerton's Modern Geog.*, iii. 234; *Taylor's Selections*, 50–3; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 214–17, 396; ix. 448–75; x. 44, 731–2, 994; *Mex., Mem. Justicia, 1844*, 7–58; *Album Mex.*, i. 183; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 150–1; *Abispa de Chilpancingo*, 391; *Niles Register*, xxii. 246; *Müller, Reisen in Mex.*, iii. 206; *Rivera, Gobernantes*, i. 246, 250; *Ogilby's America*, 240–2; *Carranza's Descript.*, 37; *Flint's Geog.*, ii. 146–7; *Torrente, Revol. Hisp.*, i. 19; *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 58; *Semanario Económico*, 1–65; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Libre*, 280–316; *Willie, Noticias Hac.*, 4; *Sanchez, Pueb. Sagrad. Prof.*, 112–13.

CHAPTER XXX.

COMMERCE.

1500–1800.

THE SELFISH POLICY OF SPAIN—COMMERCIAL AND MORAL EFFECT IN NEW SPAIN—CASA DE CONTRATACION AND CONSULADOS—DEPREDATIONS BY HOSTILE NATIONS AND CORSAIRS—EARLY TRADE WITH SANTO DOMINGO—INTERCOLONIAL TRADE WITH THE PHILIPPINES—DECADENCE—COMMERCE WITH PERU—NIGGARDLY REGULATIONS—MEXICAN HIGHWAYS—THE ROAD FROM VERA CRUZ TO THE CAPITAL AND ACAPULCO—STAGE LINES—INTERNAL NAVIGATION—THE POSTAL SERVICE—ABUSES—THE CROWN ASSUMES THE MANAGEMENT—INTERNAL TRADE—FAIRS AND MARKETS—RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS—INSURANCE COMPANIES—A BUBBLE BANK AND GULLED SHAREHOLDERS—EXPANSION OF COMMERCE UNDER FREE TRADE.

THE jealous and exclusive system adopted by Spain in her colonization of the New World has no parallel in the history of mankind. For three centuries the political and commercial dependence of the colonies upon the mother country was as complete and absolute as selfish policy, rigorous laws, and oppressive government could make it. To drain the Indies of their wealth and draw it to Spain was the sole aim which influenced the Spanish monarchs in legislating for their colonial possessions, and the prohibitive system of commerce pursued by them makes glaringly conspicuous their indifference to the welfare of the transatlantic settlements. The principles of the commercial code promulgated were despotic, and in order to secure a monopoly of trade, certain manufactures and the cultivation of the vine and olive were forbidden. Every European article of necessity or luxury called for by the colonists of New Spain had to be imported

from the Peninsula, and trade with foreigners was punishable by death. Even the carrying trade between old and new Spain was forbidden to the settlers, while intercolonial traffic languished under crippling restrictions, or was absolutely prohibited. Foreign articles were imported in such quantities that the demand generally exceeded the supply, thus securing to the shippers enormous prices. Vessels proceeding to and from New Spain were permitted to leave or enter only the port of Seville,[1] and those clearing for a certain port in the Indies were not allowed to touch at any other. In order further to secure the carrying trade and monopoly of commerce the registry of ships was made imperative,[2] and only those thus licensed could convey merchandise to and from the colonies. At first commercial communication with Spain was irregular, a fleet being despatched occasionally to Vera Cruz under the protection of convoys, and distinguished by the term *flota*.[3]

So closely did the government guard against possible independence of the colonists in trade that ships' companies were prohibited from purchasing goods of the country, and factors and traders on the fleets were not allowed to remain longer than three years in America.[4] No foreigner could trade with the colonies, nor was one permitted to enter a port without special license.[5] In fact both the prices of imports and exports of New Spain, with the exception of the precious metals, were under the arbitrary control of the merchants of Seville, and later of Cádiz. What further increased the drainage of wealth from America was

[1] In 1720 Cádiz, as being more convenient, was made the exclusive port for trade with America.

[2] In 1675 a vessel from the West Indies, freighted with wine, cocao, and Spanish goods, but with no register from the Habana, arrived at Vera Cruz. The captain was arrested for want of formality. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 184.

[3] During the period from 1565 to 1777 I find that the fleets arrived at Vera Cruz at intervals varying from one to five years. In the 18th century, however, a number of vessels annually entered that port independent of the flota. *Lerdo de Tejada, Comer. Ester., Doc.*, nos. 1, 12.

[4] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 100, 171.

[5] *Recop. de Ind.*, iii. 326–8.

the decadence of manufacturing industries in Spain, owing to the immense influx into the Peninsula of the precious metals. The riches poured into the mother country made labor almost unnecessary; hence a general decline in all kinds of industry, and Spain had to resort to foreign markets, not only to supply home consumption but also the demands of her colonies. Merchandise thus procured could only be exported to the American settlements at rates increased by additional duties and merchants' profits.[6] The moral effect of such a system upon the community is obvious. Contraband trade—and the consequent corruption of officials—was carried on in the Spanish colonies to a degree unequalled in any age or country, and organized troops of bandits in time infested the internal lines of traffic.[7]

In order to ensure the carrying-out of the restrictions imposed upon transatlantic commerce the casa de contratacion was established at Seville, with supreme power in all commercial matters, subordinate only to the council of Indies.[8] Commercial courts called consulados were also established in the colonies, the duties of which were to decide all questions and disputes relating to mercantile affairs, to supervise and administer in all matters affecting trade, such as the repair of ports and highways, and promote and protect commerce.[9]

[6] English goods shipped through Cádiz to the Spanish colonies have been estimated at one hundred per cent higher in price than if they had been shipped direct from an English port. *North Amer. Rev.*, xix. 178.

[7] 'Profanando los templos, y robando los vasos con las formas consagradas; habiendo llegado el caso de no poderse transitar los caminos, ni continuar el comercio.' *Diar., Mex.*, iv. 275, 286–7. This occurred during the administration of Viceroy Valero from 1716 to 1722. Very active measures were taken by him to suppress brigandage, and numbers of bandits were executed.

[8] A description of the composition of this board of trade, its powers and duties, can be found in *Hist. Central Amer.*, i. 282–3, this series.

[9] The first *tribunal del consulado* in New Spain was established in the capital by order of Philip II. who confirmed the action of Viceroy Velasco in the matter by cédula of December 9, 1593. In 1795 similar tribunals were established in Vera Cruz and Guadalajara, and the extent of their jurisdictions defined. Those courts were composed of a prior, two consuls, an assessor—or counsellor—a syndic, and nine voting members, called *consiliarios*. Attached to each court were also a secretary, auditor, and treasurer. The court in the

But apart from the commercial restrictions imposed upon the colonists by the home government, there were other causes, internal and external, which operated disastrously upon trade, and kept it in an almost continual state of depression. Forced loans and demands of the king for money,[10] flooding the market with copper coinage, the interference of the church,[11] the arbitrary action of civil authorities, and contraband trade, each in greater or less degree had an unfavorable influence on legitimate commerce.

But the blows which were most destructive to commercial prosperity were the losses inflicted by the English, French, and Dutch navies in time of hostilities, and the depredations committed by corsairs alike during war and peace. In time of war commerce with the mother country was reduced to the lowest ebb; European goods were poured into the Spanish colonies by neutrals, and the contraband trade was almost openly carried on. In the general necessity during such periods the authorities and custom-house officers relaxed their strictness; the prohibitive system was widely ignored, and illicit trade carried on in spite of all the measures employed by kings and viceroys to

city of Mexico occasionally felt the power of the viceroy. In 1653 the members were imprisoned and their property confiscated 'hasta que exhibiesen un grueso alcance que al consulado hizo el visitador.' *Guijo, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série i., i. 266. In 1663 the viceroy called upon the consulado for 200,000 pesos in two days' time to be collected from the merchants, and in spite of the prior's claim that such a proceeding was not within the court's prerogatives, the viceroy insisted upon the demand being carried out: 'Prosigue el virey en que los entere.' *Id.*, 507–8. On February 4, 1757, a decree was passed forbidding the usurpation of this tribunal's powers by the viceroy. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 46–9. Consult *Recop. de Ind.*, iii. 540–62; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 83, 88; *V. Cruz, Esposic.*, in *Pap. Var.*, 15, 17; *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 176; *Guadalajara, Real Céd. Erec. Consulado; Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. v. 326–37, 390; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 708–9.

[10]The king made a forced loan of one eighth of the gold and silver shipped on the fleet which arrived at Seville in 1620. *Reales Cédulas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvii. 215–16. In 1662 the crown demanded 200,000 pesos, and the merchandise embargoed till the owners paid the sum. *Guijo, Diario*, 495. Like demands were repeatedly made.

[11]Felipe IV. in March and April 1660 issued edicts requiring the archbishop and bishops to avoid the use of anathemas on the subject of privileged merchandise, pulque, and miscarried letters, as the management of such matters pertained to the viceroy, audiencia, and secular authorities. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 35.

arrest it. With the impetus given to it by hostilities with foreign nations and the fostering influence of a blind policy, smuggling was too firmly grafted to be destroyed.[12] A few intervals of animation in commerce during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is true, are perceptible, but they were but spasmodic revivals of the magnificent trade which Spain had carried on with her colonies in the days when her own industries were flourishing.

During the period immediately succeeding the conquest, the trade of New Spain was carried on almost exclusively with Santo Domingo; but this commercial intercourse soon ceased, by reason of the arbitrary proceedings of Cortés, and the ill-treatment of merchants.[13] At this time, owing to the scarcity of coin, internal trade was reduced to barter, mantas being the standard of value; but much inconvenience arose from the different prices demanded by the Indians[14] for the commodities they brought to market. To obviate the want of a convenient currency, the council of the Indies suggested in 1533 that gold and silver be weighed by ounces and traded in that form.[15]

Nor were the regulations which governed intercolonial traffic better devised. The selfish spirit which induced their promulgation led to evils similar to those in regard to commerce with foreign countries. Laws were incessantly violated, and the amount of smug-

[12] Humboldt considered that in time of peace this fraudulent traffic absorbed probably from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 pesos annually; and in time of war from 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 pesos without doubt. *Essai Polit.*, ii. 730–1. Consult *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 129–34; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 102–5; *Disposic. Var.*, i. 26–7, 44, 77; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., vi. 79–80.

[13] On one occasion Cortés seized the tackle of some carabelas from Santo Domingo to fit out the fleet which he despatched against Olid. The gold also which was paid to the merchants proved to be only of twelve carats, though set down at twenty. *Hond., Relac.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, i. 524–5; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 43.

[14] *Salmeron*, in *Id.*, xiii. 200–1. On the 25th of June 1530 the king issued a cédula ordering the authorities in New Spain to allow merchants to sell their goods where they wished, and to regulate their own prices. *Puga, Cedulario*, 10.

[15] *Mex. Parecer*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 141.

gling on the Pacific coast bore a fair proportion to that carried on at Atlantic ports.

Communication between New Spain and the Philippines existed at an early date, and during the latter part of the sixteenth century a vessel yearly left Acapulco with supplies for those islands.[16] This opened a way for trade; Chinese silks and goods were brought to New Spain by the returning ships, and an exceedingly thriving commerce might have been developed.[17] But Spain soon became alarmed at the prospects; traffic with the Philippines rapidly increased and affected Spanish commerce; so a law was passed in 1591 allowing the colonists of the islands to import goods into New Spain, but excluding merchants of the latter country from return traffic with the Philippines.[18] Moreover, only a limited amount of Asiatic merchandise was permitted to be shipped to Acapulco.[19] But even this restriction did not satisfy the merchants of Seville, and in 1610 the consulado of that city petitioned the king to close all direct trade between New Spain and the Philippines. Their petition, however, was not granted.[20]

For more than a century these regulations remained in force, but were as little acceptable to the merchants of the Philippines as to those of New Spain. Disputes as to the valuation of cargoes for the collection of the customs, evasion of the duties, and violation of the law in respect to the quantity of merchandise introduced were the consequence.[21] Owing to the rep-

[16] *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Ined.*, xxi. 488–9.

[17] The colonists of the Philippine Islands were allowed to trade with China and Japan.

[18] *Recop. de Ind.*, iii. 522–3.

[19] The Manila merchants were allowed to send annually only two ships, of 400 tons each. The value of the merchandise with which they were freighted was limited to 250,000 pesos, the returns of which, principal and profit, were not to exceed 500,000 pesos in specie. *Id.*, 524, 526; *Descrip. de Amer.*, MS., 196. The arrival of these vessels was attended with great activity. At Acapulco a great fair was held, to which flocked merchants and traders from all parts of New Spain. All this has before been noticed in another connection.

[20] The king consulted the conde de Montesclaros, viceroy of Peru, who advised his Majesty against the measure. *Montesclaros, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, vi. 298–314.

[21] *Philipinas, Hist. Com.*, 28–9. The law was repeated in 1697. In 1635

resentations of the Manila merchants a modification of the law was finally effected, and in 1702 merchandise to the value of 300,000 pesos, conveyed in two ships of 500 tons burden, was permitted to enter the port of Acapulco annually.[22]

The abuses which followed the establishment of these new regulations were extravagant. Residents of both Manila and Mexico contravened the law, and Asiatic goods were landed at Acapulco in such quantities that the return freight amounted to 2,000,000 pesos annually, instead of 600,000. Even the merchants of New Spain were discomfited, and addressed a memorial to the king petitioning for a discontinuance of the annual Manila fleet—for instead of two vessels as permitted by law many were now engaged in this trade. To remedy the evil the king, on the 8th of January 1718, prohibited the importation of silk goods from the Philippines, and issued a final decree on the 20th of June of the same year, extending the prohibition to all Asiatic manufactures,[23] limiting the imports to raw materials.

A new franchise with increased privileges having been granted in 1734, the Philippine trade flourished till near the close of the century,[24] the imports into

the merchants of the Philippines petitioned the king to remit certain duties on the imported goods. *Grau y Monfalcon*, in *Id.*, 345–64.

[22] The value taken back to Manila was 600,000 pesos in specie, less duties and expenses. The duties amounted to 17 per cent ad valorem. *Philipinas, Hist. Com.*, 29–33. The specie which was sent from Manila to China for the purchase of goods never returned from that country. *Descripcion de Amer.*, MS., 196. The Philippine galleon usually arrived at Acapulco in the months of December and January, and left during the month of March; delay after the 1st of April would make it liable to miss the favorable breezes on leaving port, and expose it to contrary winds on reaching the Mariana Islands. *Jaillandier, Extrait d'une Lettre*, 1711, MS., 10–11.

[23] *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 63; *Philipinas, Hist. Com.*, 31–7. The importation of silk fabrics was, however, conditionally permitted again by royal decree of April 8, 1734. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 30–41. On the same date permission was granted to import into New Spain merchandise to the amount of 500,000 pesos, and return with 1,000,000 pesos. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 127.

[24] In 1785 Cárlos III. established a trading company in Spain under the title of Real Compañia de Filipinas with a capital of 8,000,000 pesos sencillos divided into 32,000 shares, open to purchase by any subject of whatever class in the Indies and Philippine Islands, except ecclesiastics. Extensive privileges were granted the company, which was to carry on trade between Spain

New Spain consisting chiefly of raw silk, colored cotton fabrics, wax, and Chinese earthern ware. By 1794, however, the trade had so greatly decreased that in 1792 and 1793 no fair had been held at Acapulco owing to lack of attendance, and in the following year the fleet did not arrive.[25] The trade afterward revived considerably, since Humboldt states that the amount of bullion annually shipped averaged 1,000,000 pesos, and often reached 1,300,000.[26]

Besides the Philippine trade at Acapulco some commerce was also carried on between New Spain and Peru at the same port, but the restrictions put upon it reduced it to a very limited scale. Only two vessels of two hundred tons burden each were permitted annually to visit Acapulco, and the goods they took away paid an export duty of two and a half per cent. But even these niggardly conditions were regarded as too liberal, and the conde de Montesclaros, viceroy of Peru, expressed his opinion to the king that only one ship a year should be allowed to sail to Acapulco, and that the export duty at that port and the import duty at Callao should be made excessive.[27] Thus the clamp was tightened for the benefit of the Seville merchants, and both Peru and New Spain protested against restrictions which virtually precluded all trade between them. Even the sorry con-

and the Philippine Islands. It was, however, prohibited from interfering with the internal commerce of the islands, and that with China and Acapulco. *Reales Ordenes*, vi. 88–116; ix. 137–40.

[25] 'Se noticia que iba á salir, y no se puede atribuir su falta, sino á una desgracia.' *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 104. Viceroy Linares attributed the decadence to the depreciation of prices caused by the progress made in the manufacture of fabrics in Europe, and also to the extensive operations of the Compañia de las Filipinas, which introduced into New Spain great quantities of Asiatic goods via Vera Cruz. *Id.*, 104–5.

[26] Numerous passengers, among whom were many monks, always sailed with the fleet. In 1804 75 monks left Acapulco on the galleon which the Mexicans humorously described as being freighted with 'plata y frayles.' *Essai Polit.*, ii. 718–20.

[27] 'Cargando mucho los derechos de la salida de Acapulco y de la entrada del Callao.' Montesclaros complains in 1612, that in spite of prohibitions four or five ships had arrived that year from Acapulco under various pretexts, such as stress of weather, conveyance of despatches from the government of New Spain, and like excuses. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 342–4 and 304.

cession that one vessel annually from each port might trade between the two colonies was shackled with restrictions, and in 1634 finally withdrawn.[28] Yet this ungenerous legislation was not wholly effective, since we learn that Peruvian vessels directed their course from time to time to the port of Acapulco, and that even viceroys were apt to ignore the stringent statutes, whereupon the crown ordered that the penalty of death and confiscation of property should be imposed upon all Peruvian merchants trading with Acapulco.[29] Happy colonies! Nevertheless during the eighteenth century trade to some extent was reëstablished,[30] though it was not until 1794 that the eyes of Spain were opened and the monarch decreed free trade between the two colonies.[31]

The internal commerce of New Spain was conducted for a long time along the routes of the Indian trails; but these narrow lines of communication were soon widened and made practicable for pack trains and wagons,[32] while additional roads were opened later between important places. The principal routes were those from the capital to Vera Cruz through Puebla and Jalapa; that through Chilpancingo to Acapulco; the one to Guatemala through Oajaca; and that leading northward to Durango and called "el camino de tierra dentro." From these main arteries branches and ramifications extended to all the principal towns.[33]

[28] The vessel which left Callao was permitted to take 200,000 ducados to invest in produce or manufactures of New Spain, but nothing else, not even goods from Spain. Heavy penalties were enforced in cases of violation of these rules. *Grau y Monfalcon*, in *Id.*, 447–8.

[29] *Robles, Diario*, i. 212, 241; *Descrip. de Amer.*, MS., 196–8. Viceroy Linares with more liberal views suggested to the king the advisability of reopening trade with Peru, but his majesty disregarded this advice, and by cédula of July 3, 1712, peremptorily forbade all traffic between the ports of New Spain and that colony. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 74.

[30] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 105–6.

[31] *Gaz. Mex.* (1800–1), x. 125.

[32] Salmeron stated in 1531 that work had been begun on these native roads. *Ternaux-Compans*, serie ii. tom. v. 191–2.

[33] *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, ii. 682–8. The different halting-places were provided with mesones and posadas, and the justices were ordered by the king to see that travellers were supplied with provisions and other necessaries for the road at fair prices, 'y que no se les hagan extorsiones.' *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 56.

Many of these roads were dangerous in places, even the best of them, owing to the physical features of the country, presenting difficulties which taxed severely the traveller's nerves and endurance. Their condition, moreover, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century was rarely satisfactory; and though the viceroys repeatedly exerted themselves to effect improvements, merchandise was more generally transported by beasts of burden than wagons.

Of the important highways which led from the capital to Vera Cruz and Acapulco, especial notice must be taken. Along the first of these lines of traffic all European merchandise was introduced into the country, while by the latter Mexican trade with the Philippines Islands and Peru was carried on. In 1708 the Jesuit, Père Jaillandier, travelled across the continent from the first named port to Acapulco, and has furnished us with a detailed account of his journey. It being the dry season the priest and his party were enabled to follow a route not taken during the rainy season. Having passed through Buena Vista and crossed the river Jamaica eight leagues from the port, they travelled ten leagues farther over uncultivated land, arriving at the river and village of Cotasta. Their road thence led through fertile valleys covered with trees and cornfields to San Lorenzo,[34] Córdoba, and Orizaba. On the sixth day of their journey Puebla was reached,[35] after passing through a charming country abounding in fruit and grain. Proceeding to Cholula, and leaving Tlascala four leagues to their left, the party arrived safely at Mexico on the eighth day, having seen snow-capped mountains, and a volcano in a state of eruption. The distance travelled as

[34] Inhabited by negroes. *Extrait d'une Lettre*, MS., 1–4.

[35] Padre Navarrete made the journey from Vera Cruz to the capital in 1646 and says: 'We pass'd through places infested with mosquito's or guats...but met not with those uncouth roads, or mighty cold, which others who travelled the same way the next year so mightily magnified.' *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, i. 208.

given by Jaillandier was eighty leagues from Vera Cruz.[36]

The descent from the capital to the Pacific coast was more gradual than that to Vera Cruz, but at certain seasons presented difficulties which caused more delay and danger. Jaillandier represents the descent from the heights as perilous; and the accounts of both Navarrete and Humboldt prove that for more than a century and a half but little improved facilities for travelling had been effected on this highway. The former thus describes the route: "This road is indeed bad and troublesome; there are mountains that reach up to the clouds, and as uncouth as may be; mighty rivers, and the summer then beginning, high swoln. Bridges there are none, but abundance of musqueto's, or gnats, that sting cruelly."[37] Passing through Cuernavaca and crossing the Rio de las Balsas in the primitive method employed before the conquest,[38] the party arrived at Chilpancingo, at that time a town of four hundred families. Thence they travelled over a mountain range, continually ascending and descending, and reached Acapulco after ten days of fatiguing journey.

Since these travellers crossed Mexico from ocean to

[36] In Humboldt's time the road led from the capital to Perote 2,500 feet above sea-level; the descent thence to the ravine of Plan del Rio was very rapid. The latter roads leading to the coast were generally very difficult, and Humboldt called the attention of the government to the necessity of improvement. He includes among these routes 'que j'appelle transversales' those leading from Zacatecas to Nuevo Santander; from Guadalajara to San Blas; from Valladolid to Porô Colima, and from Durango to Mazatlan. *Essai Polit.*, ii. 683–4.

[37] *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, i. 209.

[38] Navarrete crossed this river in a similar manner 60 years before Jaillandier: 'people pass over it on canes, which are supported by only four calabashes they are fastened to; at first it is frightful to see so ridiculous and weak an invention; an Indian lays hold of one end of it, and the passenger being upon it with his mules and furniture, he swims, and draws it over after him.' *Ibid.* This river is the same as the Mescala, so called by Humboldt, who crossed it in the same manner. He describes it as being nearly as dangerous as the Papagayo, which frequently increased from a width of 65 feet to that of 300, cargo-trains being compelled to wait seven or eight days before being able to cross. An attempt had been made to erect a bridge across it, but the massive piers were washed away before its completion. In 1803 the government appropriated 100,000 pesos to construct a second. *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, ii. 684–5.

ocean, great improvements of the highways have been effected. Under the administrations of the viceroys Bucareli, Revilla Gigedo, and Iturrigaray, the most important lines of traffic were placed in tolerable condition and stage lines established.[39] The exertions of the latter ruler were particularly successful, and to him are the Mexicans indebted for the splendid Jalapa highway to Vera Cruz, the construction of which had cost nearly 3,000,000 pesos in 1812.[40]

Although the physical formation generally is unfavorable to river and canal navigation, such is not the case in the valley of Mexico, and thousands of canoes yearly conveyed grain into the capital by the lakes Tezcuco and San Cristóbal, which were connected by a narrow canal, or rather dike. Communication with Lake Chalco, and throughout the extent of the valley, might have been easily effected at an early date, and freight charges greatly reduced, but the government opposed all such projects until the time of Iturrigaray, who ordered the opening of the Tezcuco canal.[41]

[39] A stage ran in 1791 from the capital to Puebla, thence to San Andrés, the limit of the line, towards Oajaca, 'por no poder seguir carruage.' *Gaz. Mex.*, iv. 347. In 1793 six coaches called the 'coches de Providencia,' plied the streets of Mexico, the drivers dressed in livery. *Id.*, v. 419–23, 472. To the proprietors of these latter vehicles the concession was granted in 1794 to open a passenger line between the city of Mexico and Guadalajara, through Querétero, and also to Perote. The stages were to run weekly or monthly, and carry only four passengers. Should there be only one passenger to Guadalajara his fare was $200; two passengers paid $105 each; three $75, and four $62.50. The return fares were at half price. To Perote the prices paid were, for one person, $70; for two $76; for three, $82; and for four passengers, $90. An amount of freight in decreasing proportion to the greater number of passengers was allowed to be carried. *Id.*, vi. 51–6.

[40] *Lerdo de Tejada, Comerc. Esterior*, 43. This work was commenced in 1803, and the expenses were defrayed by the consulado of Vera Cruz. *Id.*, 22. A traveller in 1805 describes the principal roads as excellent, and expresses the hope that others will be made equally good, adding, 'pues he visto muchos que han muerto desbarrancados, asi eclesiasticos..., como arrieros.' *Diar. Mex.*, i. 348. Consult also *Azanza, Instruc.*, 71–5; *Panes, Extension, V. Cruz*, MS., 211–61; *V. Cruz, Esposic.*, 15–17; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i. 119–44. Opposing interests for many years delayed the construction of the Jalapa road, the merchants of the capital desiring that the proposed new road should pass Orizaba, while those of Vera Cruz were in favor of it being conducted through Jalapa. The old route led through the plain of Apa without touching Puebla. *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, ii. 685–6.

[41] *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, i. 231. In 1715 a memorial was addressed to the viceroy petitioning for the formation of a canal from the Goazocalco River

For many years after the conquest, postal communication with Spain was infrequent and irregular; nor was the system by which the mail service was conducted such as to secure secrecy or even safe delivery. At first all correspondence, including royal despatches, was ordered to be conveyed to its destination free of charge, and be punctually delivered; but during the last half of the sixteenth century a postal service was established by the crown, which being made salable to the highest bidder[42] was not only ill conducted, but opened a way to dishonesty and treachery. Correspondents whether political or commercial could seldom feel confident that their letters would reach their destination, or escape being tampered with by ecclesiastics or inimical secular authorities.[43] Nor did the Indian mail-carriers escape abuses, and from time to time laws were passed for the purpose of insuring to them payment for their hard services and relief from ill-treatment.[44] Even the natives trafficking on the mail routes suffered, their beasts of burden being taken from them and their cargoes cast down on the road side.[45]

During the seventeenth century the postal communication both internal and trans-oceanic was greatly increased, and in 1659 Viceroy Alburquerque

to Oajaca via Sarabia. The memorial was filed among the secret archives of Madrid, and an order was sent from the court to the memorialists forbidding them ever to refer to the subject again. *Nouv. Annales, Voy.*, cliii. 8.

[42] The right to transmit mails was made 'vendible y renunciable' that is transferable by the purchaser of the contract to another. When the management of the service was assumed by the crown in 1765, the sum of $61,770 was paid to Antonio Mendez Prieto to extinguish his right. *Galvez, Informe, Marqués de Sonora*, 55.

[43] In 1592 a royal órder was issued prohibiting ecclesiastics and secular persons from opening or detaining correspondence either official or private. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 655. From a cédula promulgated in 1662 it is known that letters were frequently opened and detained. *Id.*, 656. Postmasters were ordered to give receipts for the correspondence intrusted to them by tribunals. *Id.*, 659.

[44] *Id.*, 660, 658.

[45] The contractor, called the correo mayor, failed to place post horses at the proper places, and those of the Indians were pressed into the service without their owners being remunerated: 'veíanse obligados los indios á ir á pié tras el correo para volver con sus caballos, que les eran quitados por fuerza en los caminos tirándoles la carga que dejaban abandonada.' *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.*, i. 231.

ordered a mail vessel to be despatched every four months to Spain, touching at Habana to take on board Cuban correspondence.[46] From this time knavish mismanagement kept pace with the increase of public requirement and yielded corresponding profits. The eyes of viceroys, both good and bad, were not closed to this state of affairs, and in 1765 the crown assumed the administration of the mail service,[47] and greatly increased its facilities.[48]

Having presented a general sketch of the external commerce of New Spain, it remains to give some account of the methods of conducting internal traffic. Trade in the interior was facilitated by the establishment of fairs held at certain seasons of the year at various trading centres. Notable among these assemblages for the purposes of traffic were the fairs held at Acapulco, Jalapa, and San Juan de los Lagos.[49] Activity in trade was and still is greatly stimulated

[46] These despatch boats were small vessels which had no connection with the annual fleets, and were called 'avisos.' Such barks sailed to and from the Peninsula before the system of fleets was established and were allowed to carry a small quantity of merchandise. At first they were only despatched biennally, but ultimately every month, 'debiendo arrojarla'—i. e. the correspondence—'al agua luego que apareciera un peligro.' *Id.*, 99, 203–4; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. v. 301–2.

[47] Decrees were issued on the 27th of November and the 21st of December, and put in force on the 1st of July 1766. *Mex., Vandos*, in *Cedulario*, i. no. i. 155–6. In the year 1765 the receipts of the post-office were 121,179½ reales de plata, the expenses being 64,460 reales, leaving net proceeds 56,719½ reales or 7,090 pesos. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2a ep. iii. 45. A list of postal towns and their distances will be found in *Id.*, i. 788–94. Times of departure and arrival in *Zuñiga y O. Calend.*, 143–6.

[48] Till late in the eighteenth century the arrival of the mail from Spain was the occasion of rejoicing and celebration. The church bells were rung, 'cuyo estruendo es tan grande y molesto, que es menester hablar á voces para entenderse.' On the following day the viceroy and audiencia attended mass and offered thanksgiving in the cathedral. Not even the news of a Spanish monarch's death interrupted the ringing of the bells: 'y concluido este, se empieza á tocar á muerto.' *Estalla.*, xxvi. 297. Mailcarriers were infected with the prevailing weakness, and among other fraudulent practices were addicted to smuggling. They were prohibited from carrying packages or freight. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, nos. lxi. and lxxi.

[49] The latter fair had a religious origin. Multitudes of pilgrims from the year 1623 annually visited the town in order to venerate an image of the virgin. This attracted merchants and traders. In 1797 Cárlos IV. appointed the fair to be held during the first 15 days of December. It is estimated that 100,000 persons collected from all parts of Mexico at this time. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, vi. 310–11; *Disposic. Var.*, i. 40, 52; *Gaz. Mex.*, x. 230.

by the irregularity of the maize crops, and consequent exchange of productions in different provinces, the prices of maize often varying in neighboring districts in the proportion of nine to twenty-two.[50] In certain parts the consumption of commodities at the mines was the main support of commerce.[51] In every town a daily market was held in the public square; and in the capital itself, besides the general one in the plaza del Volador, there were various others assigned for the sale of special articles, such as that in the plaza de Jesus, where building materials only were sold, the plaza de la Paja or hay-market, and the alhóndiga where grain and flour were sold.[52] Notable also was the baratillo, a place where second-hand goods were bought and sold, and which was the thieves' emporium, since stolen articles could always be disposed of in that mart.

The great commercial gatherings at the fairs were, however, the events which marked the activity developed at the different centers of periodical trading. Wherever a fair was held, thither thronged the merchant with silks and foreign staples, the petty dealer and huckster, the gambler, and the thief. The day was passed in close dealing and cheating, and the night in gambling, fandangos, and carousal, the assas-

[50] *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, ii. 689.

[51] Humboldt mentions a curious system of traffic with the wild Indians in the north. The natives were accustomed to place small crosses on the road from Chihuahua to Santa Fé. A piece of deer-meat in a leathern bag was hung on a cross, and a buffalo hide spread at its foot. This indicated that the Indians wished to trade with the worshippers of the cross, and offered skins for provisions. The soldiers of the presidios took the hides and left salt meat in payment. This barter was carried on without the parties seeing each other: 'un système de commerce qui indique un mélange extraordinaire de bonne foi et de méfiance.' *Essai Polit.*, i. 304–5.

[52] The regulations by which these markets in the capital were conducted were strict. Producers could sell their articles only in the respective places of sale. Wholesale business was carried on by auction, under the direction of a corregidor. All cereals had to be delivered and sold at the alhóndiga, or corn-market. Retail shopkeepers could sell provisions of every kind. Prices in some instances were regulated by law, as those of poultry. *Montemayor, Svmario*, iii. 3–8, 43–4, 56–9; *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 48–53. Over the markets a juez de plaza presided, who daily attended office in the plaza del Volador and verbally decided disputes. In cases of rascality the culprits were sent by him to prison to be tried. *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, ii. no. xv. 30.

sin's knife being thrust ever and anon between a victim's shoulder-blades. At these fairs a great proportion of the commerce of the country was carried on. Cacao, cochineal, indigo, sugar, flour, sarsaparilla, vanilla, tanned hides, jalap, soap, dye-woods, and peppers brought thither were purchased by exporting merchants, and conveyed by long trains of pack-mules to Vera Cruz for shipment to Spain. In turn these traders sold their own commodities at a profit that would stagger the merchants of modern days. Gaudy linen and cotton goods, wines and oil, cheap trinkets, and trumpery were disposed of at enormous prices. The Indian and the country Spaniard alike paid exorbitant rates, whether the purchase consisted of a string of glass beads, or of an expensive costume.

It was late before Spain recognized that restrictions on commerce did not conduce to either her own prosperity or to that of her colonies. In 1765 the crown relaxed somewhat the prohibitions, and opened a number of ports in Spain to trade with certain colonies,[53] and in 1778 extended the privilege to all the Indies.[54] These liberal measures of Cárlos III. gave a great impulse to commerce; the port of Campeche and others were opened to trade,[55] the system of the fleets was forever abolished,[56] and in 1799, owing to the war between Spain and England, neutral vessels were allowed to trade directly between the Peninsula and the colonies.[57] Meanwhile the system

[53] Trade with the principal islands of the West Indies was opened at the ports of Cádiz, Seville, Alicante, Cartagena, Malaga, Barcelona, Santander, Coruña, and Guijon, 'aboliendo los derechos de palmeo, toneladas, extrangería, seminario de S. Telmo, visitas, habilitaciones, y licencias.' *Antunez, Mem. Hist. Com.*, 36–7.

[54] The additional ports of Almeria, Alfaques de Tortosa, Palma in Majorca, and Santa Cruz in the island of Tenerife were opened. *Id.*, 37; *Lerdo de Tejada, Comer. Ester.*, 19–20. This famous act of Cárlos III. was issued on the 12th of October, 1778, and was styled the '*Ordenanza ó pragmática del comercio libre.*' *Ibid.*

[55] *Corr. Merc. Esp. Ind.*, ii. 6.

[56] The last fleet sailed from Spain in the year 1776, and left Vera Cruz on the 16th of January, 1778. *Lerdo de Tejada, Comer. Ester.*, docs. nos. 10, 11.

[57] This permission was soon afterward abrogated, *Disposic. Varias*, iii. 45,

of insurance developed and several companies were formed. Mercantile adventures were covered by insurance policies at an early date, and Philip II. in the years 1556, 1587, and 1588 issued a number of laws regulating such transactions and the action of underwriters. This business, however, was confined to Spanish shippers and insurers, the policies issued by the latter being subject to the approval of the consulado in Seville.[58] But the stimulus given to commerce by the removal of restrictions in 1778 induced the merchants of Vera Cruz to establish a marine insurance company in 1789,[59] which was to last for five years, and again in 1802 a second one was formed on a larger scale, thus indicating the increase in commercial operations.[60]

In 1781 the conde de Cabarrus, who enjoyed a high reputation in matters of finance, addressed a memorial to the king of Spain advocating the establishment of a national bank. The proposal being supported by the minister Jovellanos, the king by cédula of the 26th of June 1782 authorized the creation of a joint stock banking company with the title of Banco de San Cárlos. The number of shares was fixed at one hundred and fifty thousand, open to all purchasers, and the capital at fifteen million pesos fuertes.[61]

On the 18th of June 1783 subscriptions were opened

and again granted from 1805 to 1809, when it was withdrawn by cédulas of the 17th of May and 27th of July. Concessions were, however, granted to certain merchants allowing them to introduce into colonial ports goods proceeding directly from foreign ports. The mercantile monopoly of Vera Cruz received its final blow in 1820, when a number of ports on both the Atlantic and Pacific shores of New Spain were opened to foreign trade. *Lerdo de Tejada, Comer. Ester.*, 20–1. Consult, also, *Reglamento y Aranceles Reales, Comer. Libre*, 1–262; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 45–8, and vi. 82–5; *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 141–57.

[58] *Recop. de Ind.*, iii. 474–90. In 1773 a royal cédula was issued correcting various abuses prevailing in the insurance business. *Rescriptos Reales Eccles.*, MS., 23–6.

[59] With a capital of $230,000 divided into 46 shares at $5,000 each. *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, v. 311.

[60] The capital of the second company was 400,000 pesos fuertes divided into 80 shares, 58 of which were immediately taken up by merchants of Vera Cruz. A list of the shareholders and a copy of the by-laws will be found in *Gaz. Mex.* (1802-3), xi. 97–101.

[61] *Reales Ordenes*, iv. 1–56.

in Mexico by decree of the viceroy, and not only were private individuals solicited to purchase shares, but even the municipalities of Indian towns and villages.[62] The consequence was that a large number of shares was sold, the people and municipalities in different parts of New Spain alone purchasing nearly one hundred and fifteen thousand pesos' worth of the scrip.[63] It turned out to be only a commercial bubble, however, which floated for a time, when finally there came a crash which brought ruin to thousands.

Nevertheless, in spite of occasional disastrous speculations the commerce of New Spain expanded actively and surely under the more liberal system. Statistics of the earlier trading operations are wanting, but a fair estimate of the impulse given to commerce by the so-called free trading laws may be gathered from documents which supply us with the tonnage of the fleets which arrived at Vera Cruz during the eighteenth century. During the period from 1706 to 1776 this varied from 1,202 to 8,492 tons,[64] and the value of return cargoes from ten million pesos to more than twenty-seven million in bullion and productions. Again between 1728 and 1739 not more than one hundred and sixty-four vessels, besides fifty-eight which composed the three fleets that visited New Spain during those twelve years, entered the port of Vera Cruz, whereas during the period from 1784 to 1795 no less than 1,142 ships arrived from the different ports opened in the Peninsula and the colonies.[65] According to the calculations of Humboldt, the total amount of bullion exported during the

[62] 'Queriendo S. M. que este beneficio comprehenda no solo á los Particulares, sino tambien á los Cuerpos de Ciudades, Villas y Pueblos, ha expedido su Real permiso para que estos se interesen con sus haberes propios y comunes.' *Disposic. Varias*, iii. f. 97.

[63] *Gaz. Mex.*, ii. 235–6 et seq.

[64] The fleet corresponding with the latter figures sailed in 1760 commanded by Carlos Reggio. It took back a return cargo in precious metals and productions of the country to the amount of $9,811,245, of which $7,459,803 belonged to private individuals, and the balance to the king. *Lerdo de Tejada, Comer. Ester.*, doc. nos. 2, 3.

[65] *Id.*, doc. nos. 12, 13.

thirteen years from 1779 to 1791 amounted to $224,052,025, while in the preceding thirteen years it was only $155,160,564.[66]

But a trying period of intestine strife awaited the colony of New Spain, and during the death struggle for release from the fetters with which she had been shackled for three centuries by the mother country, commerce again declined, until independence gave to Mexico free action and insured corresponding progress.

[66] *Essai Pol.*, ii. 734–7.

During the earlier period of the commercial history of New Spain, statistics showing the actual amount of trade carried on are meagre; of its limitations, however, a correct idea can be obtained from multitudinous royal cédulas and ordinances which exhibit thoroughly Spain's policy. The correspondence of viceroys also affords considerable information as to the fluctuating condition of trade and the prosperity of the country. Still more valuable in this respect are the reports of such rulers to their successors, among which especial mention may be made of *Mancera, Instruccion*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi.; *Linares, Instruccion*, MS., and *Revilla Gigedo, Instruccion Reservada*. This last work exhibits not only close observation on the author's part, but a more liberal tendency than might be expected in a viceroy of New Spain; for though he was somewhat biassed by the spirit of the government at that time, his views were singularly correct, and his administration just. The *Instruccion Reservada* was not published in Mexico before 1831. It supplies in 353 pages a complete account of every branch of the government, and was deemed so important that in the following year the supreme government ordered the publication of an index to it, which, however, not being alphabetically arranged, is of little service. Probably the most valuable contribution to information on commerce is Linage's *Norte de la contratacion*, in two books of 299 and 264 pages respectively, published in Seville in 1672, a work which describes fully the laws, customs, and practices which pertained to trade between Spain and her American colonies. Joseph de Veitia Linage was a knight of the order of Santiago, a member of the king's council, and treasurer and juez oficial of the casa de contratacion. He was thus fully competent to compile a work which for completeness can challenge any preceding publication of the kind. Not only does it include information upon commerce, but much relating to the revenue and assaying departments. The author in his preface informs his readers of the sources from which he made his compilation and drew his results. Naturally they were principally official documents, including royal cédulas and instructions, the correspondence of officers of the crown, the members of the council of the Indies and of the casa de contratacion. But besides these authorities he did not omit to consult the historians of his time.

With regard to the title of the book he alleges reasons for his selection of it. As mariners direct their course across the ocean by observing the polar star, so may his readers, he hopes, be guided through the intricacies of commerce by the perusal of his work; and as the needle by pointing to the same quarter instructs the mariner, so may his book instruct the readers of it. The edition contains a curious wood-cut frontispiece representing in the upper portion 'D. Ferdinandus & Elisabet' enthroned on the left, and 'D. Carolus II. & Regina Mater' on the right, supported by two columns on either side. In niches between the pairs of columns are full-length figures of 'Colon' and 'Cortés.' A representation of the ocean with galleons sailing on it occupies the center. Numerous scrolls with Latin inscriptions are scattered on the wood-cut. In 1702 this work was 'Made *English* by Capt. John Stevens,' who added 'Two Compleat Lists: One of the Goods Transported out of *Europe* to the *Spanish West-Indies*, the other of commodities brought from those Parts into *Europe*.' A comprehensive history of the Philippine trade is to be found in *Extracto Historial Del Expediente Que Pende En El Consejo Real, Y Supremo De Las Indias, A Instancia De La Ciudad De Manila, Y Demás De Las Islas Philipinas*, published in Madrid by order of the king in 1736, and containing 324 folios. This work comprises a large number of royal and other official documents, from early times, bearing upon commerce between the Philippine Islands and China and New Spain. The injury done to Spanish commerce by the introduction of Chinese silk fabrics into Acapulco, is especially entered into, and the restrictions which were imposed upon such articles induced the king, on the representations of Manila merchants, to cause a complete investigation to be made. Among modern authorities on the commerce of New Spain, Lerdo de Tejada may be mentioned as one conspicuous for research and with a correct judgment of causes and effects. His *Apuntes Historicos De La Heróica Ciudad de Vera-Cruz* was published in Mexico in 1850, and besides furnishing a general review of commerce from the conquest until after the independence, contains a historical sketch of events from the history of Columbus, and a description of Vera Cruz and the port of San Juan de Ulúa. In 1853 Lerdo de Tejada published another work on Mexico, entitled *Commercio Esterior de Mexico*, which contains tabular forms exhibiting the number of vessels entering Mexican ports during the period from 1728 to 1795, besides other information. The writings of this author are an important addition to the literature of Mexico.

The researches of Humboldt which embrace commercial matters may be considered defective and occasionally inaccurate. Embracing in his calculations the commerce of all the Spanish American colonies, and basing them more particularly upon the exports of the precious metals, his deductions are too general to afford information in detail relative to the earlier trade of New Spain. From the commencement of free trade, however, he has made valuable calculations and supplied figures setting forth the values of exports and imports, with comparative tables exhibiting the increase of commerce since the removal of the restrictions. *Essai Polit.*, ii. 733–8. In his description of the highways and roads of Mexico he shows excellent observation and supplies good suggestions for improvement.

Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias, Madrid, 1792–4, in 4 vols.

This work is a commercial monthly periodical, and contains information upon the commerce of Spain and her western colonies, together with the condition of her trade with the principal cities of Europe. Prices-current, rates of exchange, and shipping business appear regularly in the volumes. The most important information which it affords with regard to Mexico is that relating to the freedom of the ports, and the shipping business at Vera Cruz. Mention is also made of the agricultural condition of various parts of the country, and of the culture of certain valuable productions. The rapid development of commerce had opened a new literary field which demanded a special treatment not unworthy of the highest order of ability. Bishop Huet had in common with other learned investigators given a dissertation on the trade of the ancients, in which the middle ages found an exponent in *Ioannis Angelii a Werdenhagen de Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis Tractatus;* but these failed to meet the wants of the practical merchant. The well arranged maritime history of Morisot was more to his taste, but it was insufficient, and had to yield to *Richard, Traité Général du Commerce.* A still more practical work, and the most valuable so far issued, is *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, London, 1764, 2 vols, 4to, by Adam Anderson, a clerk of the South Sea Company for above forty years. Its success caused the issue of a new edition in 1787, enlarged to four volumes quarto, republished in 1801. Beginning with the earliest records of the Jews and Greeks, the development of industrial arts and sciences is reviewed in connection with trade, migration, and colonization, at first by centuries, but soon year by year. Legislative measures, finance, treaties, naval operations, and other projects affecting trade are also included. The first volume closes with the fifteenth century; the second with the seventeenth; the third with 1762; the latter containing to a great extent the personal observations of the author while connected with mercantile affairs. The fourth volume is a continuation by the publishers for the period 1762–88, bristling with details and statistics. The work is evidently the result of years of labor, and research into obscure as well as standard authorities. The earlier period indicates less judgment and completeness, but afterward it improves greatly, and shows more originality. The want of critical skill is a serious fault, and objections may be made to the abundance of statistical and unessential details in the text, and to the compilatory form, combined with a stilted, prosy style. England is of course the main object of the work, particularly in the later portions, wherein the spirit of national prejudice becomes rather glaring.

The success of Anderson's work, perhaps, rather than its faults, induced David Macpherson in 1805 to issue the *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation*, 4 vols, 4to, wherein he claims to present a complete revision of the former. He recognizes the care bestowed by Anderson upon the period after the discovery of America, and presumes only to prune it of cumbrous details and odd words, adding his own comments in notes; but the earlier period he found it necessary to rewrite. Somewhat over two volumes are devoted to the revision, and the remainder to a history of the last forty years, formed entirely by himself from official papers and public reports, and ignoring altogether the continuation by the publishers of the original work.

If Macpherson's endeavor to build up a reputation upon an esteemed standard work does not exactly inspire confidence, yet it must be admitted that the material he offers is not without value, and that his pruning has been of use; but other expected improvements of method and of style are by no means apparent. Altogether it remains a question whether the result warranted so bulky an issue.

The number of books on trade and industries increased rapidly in various forms, including not only works on special branches, but cyclopedias, as *McCulloch's*, and the *Dictionnaire du Commercant;* periodical reviews, as *Annuaire de Commerce Maritime;* and general statistical reviews, as *Dieterici, Statistics of the Zollverein.* One of the most thorough books of the latter class, comprising the varied phases of industries and resources of every country is, *John Macgregor's Commercial Statistics.* London, 1844–50, 5 vols, 4to. As secretary to the English board of trade, of extensive travel, and intimate with the leading men and institutions of more than one country, he had every facility for obtaining the necessary material and aid for his work, and he has certainly shown his ability to make good use thereof. A sketch of physical geography precedes the review of resources and industries for each country, and a series of commercial treatises is appended.

The importance of the New World, and the want perceptible in even its most complete histories of a statistical report on the growth of the various states, induced Macgregor to publish a special, ponderous set on *The Progress of America.* London, 1847, 2 vols, 4to. In order to present a thorough and satisfactory work he added historic and geographic material to the industrial reviews which form the main object. The United States, as the most important section, occupies the whole of volume II, forming one third of the whole text, while the ten books of volume I are pretty evenly distributed. The first book gives a review of the discovery, conquest, and settlement of America in general; IV–VI cover Mexico and Central America; and the remainder, South America, the Antilles, and the British possessions, including a review of English trade generally with the new world. Macgregor published several other works on this subject, chiefly relating to America.

In contrast to the practical English treatises on commerce we now turn to a work which in devoting itself to the development of trade with distant regions, ventured upon the innovation of allying philosophy and speculative thought to so material a subject. But it was the era of revolution, and before the author lay the flattering hope of becoming another Thucydides, the leader in a new literary field. Its fulfilment lies before us in the *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes;* par Guillaume Thomas Raynal; first issued at Genève, 1780, in 5 vols, 4to, and 10 vols, 8vo: The revised edition, Paris, 1820–1, was increased to 12 vols, 8vo, from the author's manuscripts, and from the review by Penchet on the progress of the colonies since Raynal's time. It opens with the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, and proceeds with the operations of other nations and the growth of trade in this region, including Africa and China. In livre VI is related the discovery of America, the conquest of Mexico, and the trade resources of New Spain, and in the following parts the progress of conquest and commerce in other

portions of America, particularly in the West Indies and the United States. In the nineteenth livre, forming volume X, Raynal concludes his own writing with a review of the development of institutions, moral and social, political and industrial, in both hemispheres, and their influence upon culture.

The departure implied in this work had more than a literary significance; it meant a warfare against social intolerance; and this required courage, particularly in a man moving in the supercilious, frivolous circles open to Raynal. It required also ability to face the learned hosts before him; and it demanded both qualities to undertake researches for so varied a field. The result was manifested alike by the applause of philosophers and practical men, and by the condemnation of the church and the government, which forced him into exile. An acknowledgment of its beauties was conveyed in the very charge that Diderot's hand was manifest therein; but there is no doubt that, whatever the work may owe to his advice, the elaboration is entirely by Raynal. It exhibits a not uneven form, and a sustained nobility of thought and style, which is never obscure, and always attractive. When principles, when human rights are the theme, then alone he breaks somewhat the bounds of calm review, and rising into the dramatic he discloses the Voltairian influence which has encompassed him, and shows himself the champion also of the negro slave.

Trained a Jesuit and later made an abbé, Raynal had amid his multifarious studies imbibed the teachings of Montaigne and Bayle. Becoming a writer from choice as much as from necessity, he at once attracted the attention of critics by the *Histoire du Stathoudérat*, wherein he rose as one of the first to combat the prejudice of the age against trade as a profession, to point out its glories in the Queen of the Adriatic, in the Medici family, and to demonstrate its influence and power in Holland, in raising a down-trodden people to a leading nation, while for England it was about to create empires. The researches for this subject, and the duties in editing for *Le Mercure*, chained him more and more to commercial interests, while the companionship of Rousseau and kindred spirits raised him above the rank of mere narrator, and instilled a philosophic spirit which soon evolved the *Histoire Philosophique*. Before fleeing from Paris to Genoa he had three copies of it printed, to be submitted to friends and critics for suggestions and improvements. The perfecting process occupied him after its publication till his death in 1796, at the age of about 83. England showed her appreciation of the work by a translation, in 1783, which was several times republished. Raynal left among other notes a *Histoire Philosophique, etc., des établissements dans l'Afrique Septentrionale*, which Penchet enlarged and issued in 1826, in 2 vols. 8vo; and which should form a part of the greater work.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

1500–1809.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT ESTABLISHED—ROYAL OFFICERS—THE DEPARTMENT AS FULLY ORGANIZED—REGULATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS—COLLECTION OF REVENUE—THE KING'S FIFTH—SMELTING—TRIBUTE—QUICKSILVER—CUSTOMS DUTIES—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—THE MANILLA TRADE—ROYAL MONOPOLIES AND SALE OF OFFICES—GAMBLING LICENSE—LIQUOR TRAFFIC—TAXATION—SALE OF INDULGENCES—TITHES—CACAO AS CURRENCY—ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINT—COINAGE—INCOME.

THE treasury department of New Spain may be said to have been organized early in 1524, with Cortés as governor and captain-general, when Rodrigo de Albornoz was appointed as contador, Gonzalo de Salazar as factor, Alonso de Estrada as treasurer, and Pedro Almindez Chirinos as inspector of smelting works. The interference of these officials in gubernatorial affairs, and their assumption of prerogatives not rightly appertaining to the treasury, led to the establishment of a more thoroughly organized department which, as occupation progressed and the sources of revenue increased, became enlarged by the creation, from time to time, of different branch departments at the ports, and in all important districts. From 1528 to the end of the eighteenth century, laws in great number were passed describing the duties and curtailing the independent action of the royal officers of the treasury, providing against fraudulent practices, and protecting in every way the interests of the crown. If a cédula was issued which became inoperative, it

was repeated; if an order proved ineffectual, it was revised.

The treasury department as fully organized was composed of three principal officers, the factor, auditor, and treasurer. Each of these chiefs, together with an escribano, had under him three officials who may be denominated the first, second, and third bookkeepers, and attached to the department was a number of employés, such as scriveners, who were occupied in despatching the business of the tribunal of royal officers,[1] and that of the various outside branches responsible to it.[2]

All the important affairs of each department were conducted by a tribunal of the royal officers who held their sessions weekly in the presence of the audiencia, or, where there was no audiencia, before the governor of the district. Their duty was to direct the management of the royal treasury; and in the collection of the revenue these courts had absolute jurisdiction, each tribunal being confined to its own district. During the sixteenth century the power of the royal officers was great. They opened in session the king's despatches to governors; could address the king conjointly or severally; viceroys and audiencias were ordered to put no impediment in their way; justices and alguaciles mayores were instructed to carry out their orders in all matters concerning the treasury, and in their court sessions their vote was final. But later the power of these courts was greatly curtailed,[3] and controlled by the audiencia and the higher Tribunal y Audiencia de Cuentas.[4]

[1] The tribunal de los oficiales reales of the city of Mexico was composed of five members, namely, the three chiefs of the treasury mentioned in the text and the contador de tributos y alcabalas. *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i. 39.

[2] Early in the 17th century there was a royal coffer and branch department at each of the following places, namely: the city of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Acapulco, San Luis de Potosí, Guanajuato, Pachuca, Guadalajara, Durango, and Merida in Yucatan. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 451. The first two treasury departments were those of the city of Mexico and Vera Cruz.

[3] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 419–25.

[4] This court was established by Felipe III. in 1605, as a further check upon the officials of the treasury department. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 385. At first it

That the reader may form some idea of the jealousy with which the crown attempted to guard against fraud or peculation, and of the methods by which dishonest officials might appropriate funds of the treasury, I shall mention a few of the multitudinous laws issued for the protection of the revenue.

Treasury officials were strictly prohibited from engaging in commercial or business enterprises of any kind.[5] They could not work mines, nor were their sons, brothers, or near relatives allowed to do so. All public appointments, such as those of corregidor and alcalde mayor, were closed against them and all near relatives, nor could they hold Indians in encomienda. The royal safe had three separate locks with different keys, one of which was in the keeping of each of the three chiefs of the department, while the door of the office in which the coffer was deposited was similarly fastened, so that all three officials were compelled to be present at the opening and closing of both the room and the strong-box.[6] Restrictions followed restrictions; royal officers were even forbidden to marry the daughters or sisters of contadores de cuentas,[7] nor were their own sons and daughters allowed to intermarry during the lifetime of their parents; and lastly, nepotism was so strictly guarded against that no relative of a treasury officer within

was composed of three auditors of accounts, two auditors of balance-sheets—contadores de resultas—and two royal officers 'para que ordenen las cuentas, que se hubieren de tomar.' *Ibid.* At a later date this court was enlarged and comprised the three contadores, an alguacil mayor, six contadores de resultas, four ordenadores, twelve contadores supernumerarios, and an escribano real. The accounts of all the branches of the treasury department were passed through this tribunal. Vetancurt informs us that at its sessions the three contadores were seated with the royal audiencia 'y en su Tribunal gozan de Señoria.' *Trat. Ciud. Mex.*, 30. In Villa-Señor's time further changes had been made. *Theatro Amer.*, i. 38.

[5] *Montemayor, Svmario*, 248. This prohibition was frequently ignored. The officials of the royal treasury at San Luis Potosí committed so many irregularities by employing the king's money in mercantile transactions that his Majesty in 1650 ordered it to be closed for a time. *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.*, i. 181-2.

[6] No one of the officials could surrender his key to either of his colleagues unless illness or other justifiable cause prevented him acting in person. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 431, 452. See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, vol. i. this series.

[7] Members of the tribunal y audiencia de cuentas.

the fourth degree of consanguinity and second degree of affinity could hold a position in the same department with himself.[8]

Moreover the laws which regulated the duties of the royal officers were equally stringent. All bonds and securities had to be received by the officials conjointly. They had to attend, in company with an oidor, the public auctions of all goods pertaining to the crown; if their accounts were not rendered in time their salaries were withheld; drafts on the treasury drawn even by the viceroy, or president and oidores, could not be honored unless they were supported by a special order from his Majesty;[9] the officers could not absent themselves from their posts without permission of the viceroy, nor return to Spain without that of the king. Any dereliction of duty was in most cases punishable by loss of position.

Nevertheless legislation availed not to prevent abuses; a study of the laws passed during a long period of time reveals the fact that fraudulent and irregular practices continually prevailed, and eventually the royal treasury in New Spain was placed under the absolute control of the viceroy as superintendent, no appeal being allowed against his decision except directly to the crown.[10] But it is time to consider the various sources from which the kings of Spain derived their revenue in the Mexican provinces.

The earliest recorded collection of revenue in New Spain was made during the captivity of Montezuma, and several remittances were sent to the mother country during the first years of occupation except in 1523; but in 1524 the sum transmitted amounted to nearly one hundred thousand pesos. From this time remittances to Spain declined somewhat for several decades,

[8] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 133, 134; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 133.

[9] By cédula of 1539 the viceroy's drafts on the treasury were ordered to be paid, the officers advising the king of the same. But in 1569 this was countermanded. *Montemayor, Svmario*, 249, 250.

[10] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. 221–2; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. f. 53.

until about the middle of the century when they gradually increased.[11] During the first few years of the colonial period the principal source of royal revenue was tribute money, and as this was partly paid by personal services no very correct estimate of the treasury receipts at that time can be formed.[12] But at an early date measures were adopted by the crown to ensure a better administration of this department, and an increase of revenue. Branches were established in the principal towns[13] to facilitate collection, and instructions issued for the guidance of officials.[14] As the revenue increased in value and importance, and the sources from which it was derived multiplied, fresh laws were repeatedly promulgated, more departments created, and a vast financial policy developed. No possible opportunity of drawing wealth into the royal exchequer was thrown away; and luxuries, industries, and vices were alike made to contribute their quota to fill the royal coffers. So numerous were the means employed that at the end of the eighteenth century the various sources from which the rental was derived numbered more than sixty, and during the period from 1522 to 1804 yielded $1,940,000,000, or an annual average of $6,830,986.[15] The proceeds fluctuated considerably during the above named years.

The earliest impost which was paid in New Spain was the royal fifth of the net value of all gold, silver, tin, quicksilver, or other metals obtained from mines.

[11] *Albornoz, Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 501–2; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 352–62; *Ternaux-Compans*, série i. tom. x. 451.

[12] *Chávez, Respuesta*, MS., in *Squier's MSS.*, xviii. 3–6.

[13] In April 1528 the king established the following towns as cabeceras: the city of Mexico, Tezcuco, Zamachula, Zacatula, Zempoalla, Tehuantepec, Tututepec, Tlascala, Vibtzilan in Michoacan, Acapulco, and Cuilapan. *Puga, Cedulario*, 27.

[14] A decree was issued May 16, 1527, enjoining officials not to compel any person to pay twice an indebtedness to the treasury. The duties of the contador and treasurer were then defined. Another decree of June 5, 1528, prescribed that payments made into the royal treasury should neither be to the prejudice of the person paying nor to that of the king. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 465–9. Nor were the royal officers permitted to farm land or engage in any business contract under penalty of a fine of 10,000 maravedís. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 248.

[15] *Notic. de Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 30.

This duty was established in the Indies by royal cédula of the 5th of February, 1504, and was payable by all vassals and residents in the domains of the crown.[16] In order to secure the collection of this tax an inspector of mines was appointed at an early date, and in 1528 royal officers were required to be present at the smelting of gold. This fifth on gold was found in some instances to be discouraging to mining enterprises, and the king caused it temporarily to be reduced to one tenth, which concession was extended from time to time.[17] After a variety of changes the tax was reduced in the last half of the eighteenth century to three per cent on gold, and eleven per cent on silver. This caused a considerable increase to the revenue, and in the twenty-five years from 1765 to 1789 inclusive, the amount collected was $43,641,468.[18]

Almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the royal fifth impost was that of the Indian tribute. The surrender of Montezuma to the crown of Castile made both him and his former subjects vassals of the king of Spain, and indeed that unfortunate monarch sent valuable presents to Cárlos V. in token of his recognition of him as his sovereign. Ac-

[16] The royal fifth was also paid on all treasures and treasure trove. On June 19, 1540, a royal cédula was issued, enjoining the strict collection of it on all treasure captured in war, discovered in graves or elsewhere, or received as ransom. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xix. 59–63. Cortés in 1552 appointed officers to collect this revenue. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Real Hac.*, i. 1–5.

[17] In 1572 the duty on silver was reduced to one tenth for six years. *Id.*, i. 16. During the next two centuries a great number of cédulas were issued relative to this duty, and for the encouragement of mining.

[18] Id., i. 43. In the single year of 1798 the yield amounted to $2,230,945. *Notic. N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25. Connected with this branch of the revenue were the assay offices, which were established in the Indies by royal cédula of September 14, 1519, *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 75–7, and in 1522 were made vendible. The proceeds of these offices thus depended on the conditions of sale, and regulations enacted. For melting, assaying, and stamping, one and a half per cent was ordered to be charged by royal cédula of June 5, 1552, which was renewed in 1619. *Id.*, 79. The system of selling this source of revenue proved unprofitable owing to fraud, and in 1783 it was incorporated with the crown administration; during the following seven years it yielded the small net amount of $27,375. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real. Hac.*, i. 45–51. In the year 1798, however, the net proceeds amounted to 47,944 pesos. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25.

cordingly orders were issued on the 25th of October, 1522, requiring payment of tribute to be made to the royal treasury officer. This tax was discharged either by the payment of a sum of money and contributions in kind, or by labor which was employed on public works and buildings, and in the cultivation of plantations. The amount paid was regulated by the quality of the soil cultivated by the Indians, and consequently varied in different districts, the land being appraised by the corregidores or sworn commissioners. Those towns which did not pertain directly to the crown paid the tribute to the respective encomenderos,[19] who in turn paid to the officers of the crown the royal fifth.[20]

At first the impost levied upon the Indians was probably the same as that paid to Montezuma, namely, one third of all produce, or an equivalent wholly or in part in the precious metals; but it soon became evident that so oppressive a tribute could not be borne, and reductions and exemptions were repeatedly made[21] during the period from 1550 to the close of the eighteenth century, when the tax which generally prevailed was about two pesos and a quarter per annum.[22]

Meanwhile the importance of this source of revenue was such, and the increase of business in the treasury department became so great, that in 1597 a general

[19] The encomenderos, however, were in the habit of exacting a higher tribute than that at which the land was assessed, and on the 30th of May, 1535, the king ordered the viceroy not to permit such exactions. *Torquemada*, iii. 260–1. This cédula was confirmed in 1549 and 1551.

[20] The viceroy in 1537 writing to the king says that there had been much neglect in compelling the encomenderos to pay the king's fifth on tribute paid in gold, and that it was his intention to enforce the payment. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 207–8. In 1569 there were in New Spain 155 alcaldías mayores, the tribute of which to the crown alone amounted in 1570 to 326,403 pesos; and in the following year that of the crown pueblos produced 83,553 pesos, besides 37,776 fanegas of maize and a large number of loads of cochineal, cacao, wheat, fish, honey, clothing, and poultry. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 416. This produce was sold at auction in the respective towns before an oidor and the fiscal of the audiencia. In 1536 orders were issued forbidding these officers to send deputies to represent them. *Puga, Cedulario*, 102, 111.

[21] Consult *Hist. Mex.*, vol. i. 153–4, this series.

[22] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 104–5. This tribute as regards Indians, negroes, mulattoes, and others was abolished in 1810. *Disposic. Var.*, ii. f. 6.

auditors' office for the united management of Indian tributes and the quicksilver branch was established by Viceroy Monterey. In 1651, however, the two branches were disconnected, and the contadoría de tributos became a distinct department, with an administrator general at the head whose jurisdiction extended over all New Spain.[23]

The next productive impost introduced into New Spain was the alcabala,[24] or excise, collected upon all salable commodities. This duty had its origin in Spain, at what date is uncertain; but in 1342, and for a long period afterward, the right of collecting it was periodically conceded by the córtes to different Spanish monarchs to defray expenses of war, till finally it became a fixed source of revenue. In 1558 Philip II. after consultation with his councillors decided to introduce the alcabala into the Indies, and in 1568 issued a royal cédula to the viceroys ordering it to be established in Peru and New Spain.[25] Some delay, however, occurred in the formation of a tariff, and the organization of the department; nor was it before October 1574 that the viceroy Martin Enriquez issued his proclamation, specifying in detail the articles to be taxed.[26] On the 27th of November following he appointed Gordian Casasano, secretary of the audiencia,

[23] *Villa-Señor, Teatro Amer.*, i. 45; *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Amer.*, i. 419, 424. The proceeds of this tribute in all New Spain paid into the royal treasury during the years 1765 to 1778 inclusive amounted to $11,345,224, and for the years 1779–1789, $8,438,704. *Id.*, 451. In 1798 the net amount was $1,214,217. *Notic. de N. Esp.* in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 25.

[24] Different opinions exist concerning the origin of the word *alcabala*. The Arabian *al-cabâla*, much used among the Arabs, meaning adjudication of certain land, or any other object, through a tax or tribute which it was obligatory to pay to the royal treasury; later it became the name of the tax itself. *Glosario*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 873–4. From the Arabic *cabala* or *cabele*, signifying to receive, to collect, to deliver. *Moreri and Miravel y Casadevante*, i. 292. From the Hebrew verb *caval*, to receive, or perhaps from the Latin *gabella*, by which the Romans understood duties on sales. *Escriche, Dicc. Legis. Juris.*, 118. In our own language *gabel*, tax, custom, duty, from the Anglo-Saxon *gafel*, and Gothic *giban*, to give; the German *Abgabe*. A prevalent Spanish notion is that the word is derived by corruption from *al que vala;* that is, *algo que valga*, something of import; the expression being used when the córtes were requested to provide necessary funds for the royal treasury.

Consult *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 498.

[25] 'Desde luego quedaron por entonces exentos los indios, las iglesias y las

to the office of auditor and superintendent-general of the new department,[27] instructing him at the same time to appoint receivers in each district, and commence the collection of the duties on the 1st of January 1575.[28]

Henceforward this impost under the ever watchful eyes of the grasping kings of Spain increased in productiveness to the crown and added greatly to the burdens of the inhabitants of New Spain. The smallest articles of merchandise and the commonest necessaries of life, as they passed from one owner to another, were taxed over and over again. Foreign goods, home productions, the fruits of the soil, native produce of all kinds,[29] landed property, sold or even leased, in time all came within the reach of the elastic alcabala. The two per cent first exacted was doubled and trebled. In the decade 1601 to 1610 the yield in the Mexican department alone was 2,671,190 pesos; that of the decade 1781 to 1790, 13,575,528 pesos. The total amount which this tax yielded in the whole kingdom during 1780 to 1789 was 34,022,552 pesos, giving a net profit of 31,302,941 pesos. In the single year 1798 the total amount of this impost was 2,765,-217 pesos, with net proceeds of 2,352,235 pesos, or nearly ten times the mean annual receipts during the first named decade.[30]

Nor was the alcabala the only impost to which internal trade was subject; the peage, or transit dues which were levied upon goods on their transportation from certain places to others, still further increased the price of commodities. The effect of this grievous

personas eclesiasticás, en lo que no vendiesen ni cambiasen por vía de negociacion.' *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, ii. 7.

[27] Casasano gave bonds in the sum of 30,000 ducados de Castilla, equivalent to 41,250 pesos. His salary was fixed at 1,875 pesos per annum. *Id.*, 8.

[28] The duty first imposed was two per cent on all articles bought and sold, until the king ordered otherwise. *Montemayor, Svmarios de Cédulas*, 237.

[29] By a cédula of September 23, 1588, the tax was imposed upon the Indians who were made to pay alcabala on fruits, produce, and merchandise of the country. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, iii. 176.

[30] *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, ii. 93–4; *Notic. de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25.

system is obvious. Internal trade was cramped, manufacturing and agricultural industries were fettered, and inclination to undertake local enterprises was choked.[31]

But the purchasers of imported goods paid still more highly for the satisfaction of their wants or luxuries. The *almojarifazgo*,[32] or custom duty, was charged on all merchandise entering or leaving the

[31] Rules and regulations affecting the management of the excise department were incessantly issued. From among the numerous laws passed I select a few. Colored people, though paying tribute, were not exempt from alcabala. This order was passed in 1653. *Montemayor, Ordenanzas*, f. 1, with *Montemayor, Svmarios de Cédulas.* The tax was not to be collected on sales, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to religious purposes, A. D. 1722; nor upon property sold for division among heirs. A. D. 1735. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 144–5, 223–5. In some districts the alcabala used to be farmed out; in 1776 this system was discontinued and the collection made on the king's account. *Disposic. Varias*, i. f. 53. In 1777 an order was passed prohibiting leases of 10 years or upward, unless the same alcabala was paid as if the property were sold. Town lots sold for building purposes were subject to half the alcabala duty. *Real Cédula*, Aug. 21, 1777, pp. 1–3. Tax suits could only be admitted on appeal when they related to money returnable. Royal cédula of May 22, 1760. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 27–34. Indians to be exempted when suffering from epidemics. *Id.*, 197–9. Royal magnanimity was also extended to paupers and travelling poor who sold 'maiz, granos, y semillas... para provision de los Pueblos.' *Recop de Ind.*, ii. 502. Churches, monasteries, prelates, and ecclesiastics were also exempt from alcabala 'de las ventas que hicieren de sus bienes;' but if any other article was sold the tax had to be paid. *Ib.* In 1796 a tax of 15 per cent was ordered to be paid on all property transferred. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. f. 129–32. San Ildefonso, Aug. 21, 1777. The king this day forbids in his dominions leases of 10 years or upward unless they pay the *alcabala* the same as if the property were sold. Town lots sold for building dwelling-houses or other edifices adorning towns to pay half the alcabala duty. *Real Cédula*, Aug. 1–21, 1777, pp. 1–3.

[32] *Almojarife*, or *almoxarife*, was the name anciently applied to the collector of the king's revenue. It is derived from the Arabic word *al-mochrif*, meaning inspector, an officer who collected the duties levied by the Moors at the ports of Andalusia. In New Spain this custom duty was ordered to be collected as early as 1522, under the name of almojarifazgo. The duty first charged upon imported articles of commerce was seven and a half per cent. At a later date it was fixed at two and a half, three, five, seven, and fifteen per cent, according to the quality of goods and the place whence they were shipped. *Glosario*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 874. In 1566, Philip II. confirmed former royal cédulas, and made the impost on merchandise imported from Spain ten per cent on the market value in New Spain. Two and a half per cent was ordered to be paid on exports, ad valorem, at place of shipment. On reshipments of Spanish goods to other parts of America, no duty was charged, but if they were again similarly reshipped, five per cent had to be paid upon the difference between their market value in Spain and at the place of destination. All such duties were only payable in specie. This cédula was reiterated in November 1591, and in August 1613. *Montemayor, Svmarios de las Cédulas*, ff. 251–4. At the close of the eighteenth century, the rate of duties levied at Vera Cruz on different classes of merchandise varied from two and a half per cent to twenty per cent. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, v. 59.

ports of the colony. During the seven years from 1785 to 1791 the receipts at the custom-house of Vera Cruz amounted to $3,185,192; those at Acapulco, for the five years 1786 to 1790 inclusive, to $660,532; while the total receipts in all the ports for the single year 1798 were $242,968. In the early period of the colonial history the principal exports at the port of Vera Cruz were aguardiente, dyes, and gold and silver bullion. A letter of instructions to the royal officers stationed there was issued on the 12th of July, 1530. It was also provided that one of the crown officers at Mexico, under whose superintendence custom-house affairs were placed, should reside at Vera Cruz, in order to appraise merchandise.[33] Particular directions were issued to prevent fraud and smuggling, and the penalty of death and forfeiture of goods was proclaimed against all persons illegally exporting gold or silver.[34]

From old documents of the port of Acapulco there appears to have been stationed there a paymaster who kept the accounts in connection with the building of vessels and the payment of workmen's wages, as also those of seamen employed in voyages of discovery. The almojarifazgo, however, was not collected until 1574. In 1597 royal orders were issued relative to the management of this port, the viceroy Velasco, however, having already in 1593 given instructions to the factor. The substance of these lengthy orders was to the effect that the factor should reside at Acapulco, and make a summary of the arrival of all vessels and merchandise from the Philippines; pay into his Majesty's treasury all moneys received;[35] at-

[33] The queen regent in April 1533 ordered the audiencia to investigate the practice of royal officials taking merchandise from importers at appraisement rates. This was defrauding the royal treasury, and the oidores were instructed to report on the matter. *Puga, Cedulario*, 87. In 1536 the treasury officials were ordered to provide a strong box with three keys, at Vera Cruz, for the money derived from the custom duties, as we have elsewhere seen. *Id.*, 111.

[34] *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, iv. 547.

[35] The duty on gold was at the rate of one and a half per cent. at this time, a mark of 18 carat gold being equal to 70 pesos de oro, and one of 23

tend to the proper equipment of all government vessels, and collect all duties.

Apart from these great sources of revenue, enormous profits accrued to the crown from the royal monopolies and the sale of offices. Salt, gunpowder, tobacco, and quicksilver were the most important of the monopolies. The first of these established in New Spain was that of quicksilver. For some years after the conquest, gold and silver were obtained without the necessity of quicksilver, or even a knowledge of its amalgamating properties, until, as we have seen, in 1557 Bartolomé de Medina, a miner of Pachuca, discovered the process of quicksilver amalgamation. The consequent demand was at once turned by the crown to an additional means of profit, and on the 4th of March 1559 a royal cédula was issued prohibiting the importation of quicksilver from the Peninsula and Peru into New Spain, even in the smallest quantity, except through the treasury department.[36] The net proceeds of this branch for the years 1779 to 1789 inclusive amounted to $4,745,318.

Then followed the prohibitions on the manufacture of gunpowder[37] and salt, stringent regulations with

carats to 80 pesos de oro. The same rules were applicable to vessels arriving from Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and other ports. Neither money nor horses could be shipped to the Philippines without royal permission; nor could any ecclesiastical or secular person proceed thither without leave. The purveyor and auditor at Acapulco was to obey all mandates of the viceroy, provision the fleets, and collect duty on merchandise sent to Mexico, which had hitherto been collected at the capital. But the most important item in the royal order of 1597 was to the effect that the valuation of the average duties was to be made by the viceroy and the treasury officials at Mexico. *Id.*, iv. 451–68.

[36] At this time the value of the commodity ranged from 55 to 58 ducados the quintal. At the end of the 18th century the price varied at different mines according to the expense of transportation. For instance at San Luis de Potosí the charge per quintal was 80 marcos de plata; at the mines in Michoacan and Oajaca, 90 ditto; at those of Guanajuato, 125 ditto. *Id.*, i. 298–9, 383.

[37] The first notice of the restrictions placed on gunpowder in New Spain occurs in 1571. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 573. In 1600 the factory of Chapultepec was completed by the crown and concessions granted to private individuals to manufacture powder. The privilege was purchased by the Ortega family during the period from 1606 to 1687, the periodical prices paid gradually increasing, being based upon pólvora de gracia, which was a quantity of powder annually presented to the government by the contractors. In 1700 the cost to the contractor was 24,000 pesos yearly, and in 1771 it amounted to 112,800 pesos. Thus the value of the monopoly became so great that the government in 1776 re-

regard to the production and sale of which articles were enacted.[38] The most productive of all the monopolies, however, was that of tobacco, which was established in 1765 by Visitador Galvez, and yielded to the treasury during the forty-five following years $123,808,685.[39]

There were moreover other monopolies of greater or less values, from that of stamped paper to that of ice brought from the mountains. The regulations with regard to stamped paper were especially vexatious, as no civil business transaction, whether public or private, was legal unless written on this paper.[40] The stamps were of four different values varying from three dollars to one sixteenth of a dollar, and every instrument, deed, judicial record, will, or contract had to be legalized by one or another according to the importance of the document.

Charles V. by cédula of August 27, 1529, absolutely prohibited gambling; but Philip II. considered that the vice could be turned to profit, and in 1552 ordered a royal monopoly on playing-cards to be established throughout his western dominions.[41] The

tained the management of it, established a separate department with a full staff of officers and agents, and in 1798 the net proceeds of this branch amounted to 490,226 pesos. *Notic. de N. Esp.* in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, ii. 190–5. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., ii. 212–28, 483–5.

[38] The monopoly on salt was established in 1580. The principal salt-works were at Santa María de Peñol Blanco. They were like most other monopolies at first rented out. In 1778 the administration of this branch was assumed by the crown, and in 1798 the net proceeds were 123,350 pesos. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25. The salt works in Jalisco during the four years 1792–95 produced gross proceeds amounting to $49,517. In 1828 they were farmed out for six years at $7,000 a year, and in 1834 for $14,000 a year. *Id.*, 2da ep. iii. 201–2.

[39] *Mex. Dict.*, in *Pap. Var.*, xii. 27; *Mex. Anal.*, in *Id.*, clxv. no. 7. Tabular statement. Miguel Urrea's estimates differ considerably from those given in the text. He states that the net yield to the treasury down to the year 1802 was $144,693,581, or a mean annual gain of $3,018,251. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 29. The tobacco estanco prohibited the cultivation of the plant, except under contract with the government. Seed was imported from Habana. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, ii. 353–438. Large sums of money from the proceeds of this rent were sent to Cuba and Louisiana annually for the purchase of tobacco for the Peninsula. *Ibid.*

[40] This duty was established in 1638. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 573–7. See also *Cedulario*, MS., i. 135–43; ii. 247–53.

[41] All cards were to be stamped with the royal arms. The monopoly of the

success of this device to wring money from the subjects of Spain led to others of a similar kind; and as cock-fighting was a most attractive sport, in 1727 the exclusive privilege to open a public cockpit was sold to Isidro Rodriguez;[42] then followed that curse of a community, the establishment of a government lottery,[43] the profits accruing from which to the royal treasury amounted in 1798 to $109,255.

I may mention here the taxes imposed upon the sale of the native liquors, pulque and aguardiente, the first of which in the above named year produced a net profit of $779,166, and the latter $217,723.[44] To enumerate all the complicated exactions, duties, and contributions imposed from time to time by the crown of Spain would be profitless; suffice it to say that every conceivable plan was adopted to increase the revenue. The salaries of royal and civil officials were taxed,[45] as were later even the stipends of ecclesiastics.[46]

There were three more sources from which a large

manufacture and sale of them was sold in 1578 to Hermando de Caseres who paid a royalty of one real for each pack. The value of the privilege gradually increased as well as the price of cards paid by the public. In 1635 the monopoly sold for $150,000 per annum, and the price of a pack was raised to 'un peso de plata,' which caused a corresponding increase to the royal coffers of $45,000, making the annual value $195,000. Owing to failures of contractors, the administration of the branch was assumed by the crown several times from 1673 to 1800, and the net proceeds gradually declined. Those for the quinquennium 1785 to 1789 amounted annually to $97,835, but in 1798 they reached the sum of $160,781. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, ii. 295–318, passim; *Guatemala, Autos de Parte*, MS., 1–41; *Villa-Senor y Sanchez, Teatro*, i. 40; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 236–8.

[42] In 1730 the right was sold at auction for the first time, and brought in $1,600 a year for a period of nine years. The total proceeds from 1727 to 1791 amounted to $1,473,928. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, iii. 1–23.

[43] By decree of December 20, 1769. *Id.*, ii. 120.

[44] *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25–6.

[45] The media anata tax had its origin in the retention of one month's salary of all appointees of the crown. It was first established in 1625, but was soon modified, and amounted virtually to payment of the tax in advance, the amount collected varying according to the value and term of office. 'Que de los oficios annales...se cobrase tambien la décima parte de lo que tuvieran de salario y emolumentos, de los bienales la octava, de los trienales la cuarta parte.' *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real. Hac.*, ii. 489. The salaries of governors were subject to it, but not the pay of other officers and of the soldiers of the garrisons. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., iii. f. 43. Copy of different laws can be found in *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 542–8.

[46] Under the name of mesadas y medias anatas eclesiásticas. The exaction was established in 1636.

portion of the revenue was derived, namely the *bulas de la santa cruzada*, the tithes of the church, and the mint. No more iniquitous system of taxation could be designed than that which was carried out through the instrumentality of the bulas de la santa cruzada, inasmuch as it worked upon the superstition of the people, perverted public morals, and fostered crime. These bulls had their origin in the times of the crusades, and were granted by the pope allowing dispensations to Spaniards who made themselves eminent by their christian zeal in those wars. In time they were extended only in favor of the kings of Spain to aid them in their wars against the Moors,[47] and were ever afterward continued in recognition of their services to the church.

In 1232 or 1533 the bula de la santa cruzada was first published in New Spain,[48] and in 1578 the virtue of the bulls was extended to a period of two years by sanction of Gregory XIII.[49] The bulls may be divided into two general classes, the *bulas de vivos*, or those which conferred dispensations and indulgences upon the living, and the *bulas de difuntos* which friends and relatives of deceased persons purchased in order to rescue their souls from purgatory. By virtue of the first class persons could be absolved from all crimes, special bulls of composition being issued for the benefit of thieves and robbers, by virtue of which they became the owners of the goods they stole. Bulls also were provided for the clergy, granting certain gastronomic indulgences during lent. The price varied

[47] In 1457 Calisto III. in the time of Henry IV. of Castile who was at war with the Moors sent Alonso de Espina to proclaim the bula cruzada for four years, and dispensations were sold during that period to the amount of 400,000 ducados. Later Sextus IV. ordered the church to pay Fernando the Catholic 'una vez para siempre' 100,000 ducados, and also granted him the privilege of proclaiming for three years this bull as a further aid in the war with Granada. After that time the popes renewed the bull every three years in favor of the kings of Spain. *Moreri* and *Miravel y Casadevante*, *Gran Dicc.*, iii. 554.

[48] *Beaumont*, *Cron. Mich.*, iii. 455.

[49] In Spain these bulls were efficacious as dispensations for only one year, and according to Solórzano their efficacy was extended to two years in New Spain 'por la gran distancia de los lugares,' which would cause their virtue to be destroyed before they were received by the people. *Polit. Ind.*, ii. 220.

according to the rank and wealth of the purchaser; but few persons, from the viceroy to the Indian laborer, neglected to avail themselves of the privilege they conferred.[50]

In order that the reader may rightly understand how the royal exchequer was enriched by the tithes of the church a few explanatory remarks are necessary. The construction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Spanish America was peculiar. The celebrated bull of Alexander VI., which divided the world in twain by a line drawn from pole to pole and bestowing on the Spanish sovereigns forever the dominion of the western hemisphere, was interpreted in its fullest latitude. By virtue of its infallibility the future kings of Spain claimed and maintained the right of jurisdiction in civil, political, and ecclesiastical affairs. In the earlier years of the conquest it was owing to the religious fervor of the sovereign that the first churches were erected and bishoprics established; and in recognition of work already performed, and in view of future expenses to be incurred by the monarch in the erection and endowment of cathedrals and other sacred edifices, the same pontiff, in 1501, granted to the kings of Spain the right to collect the church tithes in the Indies.[51] At first these tithes were wholly devoted to such purposes, but during the extension of the church throughout New Spain the crown perceived that no little addition to the revenue could be obtained from so liberal a grant.

In 1537 Viceroy Mendoza was directed to impose tithes upon the natives; and should there be any sur-

[50] The price was fixed by the commissary of the department. The amount received into the treasury during the 25 years from 1765 to 1789 was $5,272,433. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, iii. 336. In 1798 the proceeds amounted to $340,897. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 26. Consult also *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 179–81, and *Solórzano, Polit. Ind.*, ii. 218–25.

[51] A copy of the translation of this concession written in Latin is given in *Solórzano, Polit. Ind.*, ii. 2–3. The bula also conferred the right and imposed the responsibility 'de predicar, y propagar la Fé, fundar Iglesias, y poner en ellas Ministros Eclesiásticos, dotarlas, y sustentarlos competentemente.' *Ibid.*

plus after the payment of expenses for public worship and for the support of the prelates, it was ordered to be paid into the royal treasury, since according to papal concession such tithes belonged to the crown.[52] The collection of these ecclesiastical rents was not seldom a cause of dispute between the church and the state,[53] as well as between prelates.[54] Yet it cannot be denied that the king frequently devoted to religious purposes that portion of the tithes which accrued to himself.[55]

In June 1539 a royal cédula was passed, assigning to the bishops of Tlascala, Oajaca, and Michoacan one fourth of the tithes collected in their respective dioceses, and ordering that if their stipends could not be paid from that source the deficiency should be made good from other funds of the royal treasury; but in October of the same year a more permanent division was made. The crown ordered that one half of the tithes accruing to each cathedral should be devoted to the use of the prelate; and the other half divided into nine equal parts, called *novenos*, two of which were set apart for the crown, three for the building of the cathedral and hospital, and the remaining four ninths appropriated to the payment of the salaries of the curas.[56] Various modifications were made from time to time according to the requirements of circumstances, but the kings of Spain ever maintained their right to the two ninths. These novenos were not

[52] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 203. In 1539 a cédula provided that the comendadores of the order of Santiago should not be exempt from paying ecclesiastical tithes, and furthermore made the payment retrospective. *Puga, Cedulario*, 167–8.

[53] The bishop of Tlascala in 1537 claimed the tithes on wool, saffron, and silk. The viceroy, however, refused to let him have them, as the yield would be large and ought to go into the king's treasury. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 202–3.

[54] In 1539 the bishops of Mexico and Michoacan disagreed on this subject, and the king ordered the latter prelate to submit to the decision of the viceroy and oidores without appeal. *Puga, Cedulario*, 118.

[55] *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, iii. 175–6. For a number of laws relating to tithes see *Zamora, Leg. Ult.*, iii. 35–63; *Herrera*, iii. v. ii. and iii.; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. and ii. passim.

[56] *Puga, Cédulario*, 118–19; *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, iii. 146–70.

unfrequently farmed out, but at the auctions at which they were sold frauds were as repeatedly committed as at the sales of other royalties.[57]

In conclusion, with respect to tithes I may add that almost every article of produce or consumption from silk and cacao to lentils and pot-herbs was thus taxed, and that the Spanish colonists frequently endeavored to avoid the payment on certain productions, but, under the pressure of the united interests of church and state, their attempts were generally defeated.[58] Nor did the religious orders escape. In 1655 and 1657 the society of Jesus were condemned to pay tithes on all crops and productions of their estates.[59]

No sooner had the conquest of Mexico been accomplished than the necessity of a numismatic system of exchange became apparent. Previous to the arrival of the Spaniards trade had been mostly carried on by barter, and cacao beans and other articles were used as

[57] Instructions were issued directing the audiencia to investigate the nature of these transactions. *Puga, Cédulario*, 75, 79. The disorders in the administration of this and other revenues continued for many years. In 1670 Viceroy Mancera caused so strict an investigation to be made that a repetition of them was in a great measure prevented. *Instruc. Vireyes*, 298–9; *Revilla Gigedo, Bandos*, ii. no. xix. 1–3. In March 1728 the royal novenos were leased out for nine years at $19,000 annually. When the lease expired they were again let for a similar period at $20,000 a year. *Pattronatto*, etc., f. 129–30, 135, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., ii. no. 1.

[58] In *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, iii. 139–45, will be found copy of a decree specifying the articles on which tithes and first-fruits were paid. There are some few exceptions, noticeable among which are pine-nuts and acorns 'de que no se ha de pagar diczmo,' p. 141. On a few articles a lower percentage than one tenth was exacted. The total amount of tithes paid into the treasury collected in the archbishopric of Mexico during the decennary 1780 to 1789 was $6,972,923, one ninth of which sum would pertain to the crown. *Id.*, 260, tabular form.

[59] *Discurso Legal*, in *Diezmos de Indias*, no. vii. The tenacity with which the crown asserted its rights to the tithes of the church is frequently displayed. Although a papal bull granted to Cortés immunity from tithes, the king ignored the pontiff's authority in the matter, and ordered Cortés to pay. *Puga, Cédulario*, 84; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 49. Were the tithes insufficient to pay church stipends, it was ordered that they should be paid into the treasury under a separate account, and the clergy sustained from other funds of the exchequer. *Discurso Legal*, in *Diezmos de Indias*, viii. 12–13. About the middle of the 17th century the bishops in New Spain claimed exclusive right to the tithes, grounded on the fact that Fernando and his daughter Juana had made a grant in 1512 to the prelates and clergy of Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico of the tithes in those islands; but it was maintained that such grant in no way indicated that they had abandoned their claim to them in other parts of the Indies. *Id.*, 7.

currency, specie being unknown.[60] The comparatively small amount of coined money introduced by the conquerors was principally of the higher denominations, and the scarcity of small coin even for domestic purposes caused great inconvenience. To obviate this, the cabildo of the city of Mexico passed a resolution on the 6th of April 1526 to the effect that the citizens might have their tepuzque gold converted at the smelting works into pieces of one, two, and four tomines, and of one, two, and four pesos de oro.[61]

As trade and commerce increased, however, the necessity of a mint became urgent, and in January 1531 the oidor Salmeron in his letter to the council of the Indies strongly advised the establishment of one in the city of Mexico,[62] but it was not till May 1535 that a royal cédula was issued to that effect.[63] A portion of the house of Cortés was assigned by the viceroy for the new establishment; and in order to defray first expenses the crown granted one thousand marks of silver to be taken from the king's fifth, tribute, and other sources, to be coined.[64] It was furthermore ordered that to meet future current expenses one real out of every mark of silver should be retained for that purpose.[65]

[60] For the nearest approach to coined money and the different kinds of currency used in Mexico, see *Native Races*, ii. 381–2, this series.

[61] *Libro del Cabildo*, MS., 114. The tomin was the eighth of a peso de oro. On the 17th of August of the same year an order was given by the cabildo for the payment of 157 pesos de oro to two silversmiths for coining 2,951 pesos de oro. *Id.*, 152–3. For two years oro tepuzque was exclusively used, and the intrinsic value fluctuated so much that a standard was demanded. In September 1528 the cabildo adopted the resolution that all such money should be examined and stamped. The silversmith, Pedro Espinosa, was intrusted with the work. *Id.*, 237.

[62] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 193–4. The president Fuenleal reiterated this recommendation in April 1532. *Id.*, 217–18. As early as 1525 Luis Ponce de Leon, commissioned to go to New Spain as juez de residencia, had been instructed to investigate the convenience of establishing a mint. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. xv.

[63] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 88. The cédula ordered it be governed by the laws regarding mints in Spain. By cédula of May 31, 1535, it was ordered that Spanish money circulated in the Indies should have the value of 34 maravedis per real, and no more. *Puga*, *Cedulario*, 107.

[64] *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 111, 120. This was the first money coined at the mint.

[65] This amount was found to be insufficient, and later in the same year a

Laws were also passed to the effect that the officials of the mint should be appointed every two years, and by the viceroy only;[66] that civil suits against employés in the mint be adjudged by the alcaldes of the mint, and by no other judicial authority;[67] and that no silver should be received unless it bore the stamp which certified that the royal fifth had been satisfied. Persons who contravened this law were to suffer death and confiscation of property. The silver thus presented was to be seized.[68] No official could buy or sell bullion.

It must not be supposed that the appointment of the mint officials by the king or viceroy constituted them royal officers. From its first establishment the mint was leased to private individuals,[69] and the officials were as yet in the service of the lessees and not of the crown, which, however, retained the right of their appointment. The work of improving the specie system of exchange was at once begun. In 1536 the tepuzque coinage, the value of which had been arbitrary, fluctuating, and above par, was ordered to be called in and recoined into pieces of oro de minas.[70] A large quantity of silver coin[71] was struck off the

cédula was passed which provided that three reales should be deducted; two of which were to be devoted to the payment of expenses, and one paid to the king as royalty. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 89.

[66] Viceroy Mendoza in his letter to the king of December 10, 1537, complains that though he had been authorized to make these appointments, assayers, engravers, and other employés holding royal appointments had arrived from Spain. This had been the cause of ill-feeling. *Carta al Rey*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 126–8.

[67] This did not apply, however, to matters touching the king's fifth or other tributes. Such cases were to be tried by the justicias ordinarias. *Id.*, ii. 92. The alcaldes of the mint were officers who attended daily to adjudicate on business connected therewith. *Puga, Cedulario*, 131. The viceroy was instructed to appoint jueces de residencia of the alcaldes and mint officials every two years. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 90.

[68] Viceroy Mendoza in his letter to the king of December 10, 1537, urges the abrogation of this severe law, and suggests that all bullion should be sent to the mint before being *quintada*, and that it should be taxed the royal fifth at the establishment. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 191. Yet this law was restricted in 1565, 1620, and 1646. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 113.

[69] *Mex. Guia de Hac.*, ii. 59; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 675–6.

[70] The further coinage of gold, however, was prohibited.

[71] These coins were not circular, but of irregular polygonal form, and called *macuquina*. They were called in to be reduced to bullion in 1774. *Disposic.*

same year, and copper money introduced. This latter innovation was almost ludicrous in its operation. The new pieces of despised copper were held in contempt by the natives,[72] and they refused to receive them. They would sell their small articles of manufacture or a measure of maize for a few cacao beans, but not for an ill-shaped bit of copper with a mark on it. The circulation of the coin was, however, enforced by the viceroy. But though by stringent measures the Indian could be compelled to take in trade the objectionable medium, he could not be made to keep such a symbol of poverty,[73] and he cast it from him. He threw it into the gutters and hurled it into the lake that it might never more be seen, and in a year or two the natives succeeded in getting rid of more than one hundred thousand pesos' worth of the offensive trash.[74]

During the decade 1541 to 1550, more suitable denominations were put into circulation, but the amount coined does not appear to have been sufficient to meet the requirements of the increase in trade and commerce, and both Spaniards and Indians purchased goods with unstamped bullion and gold dust. This practice was prohibited by royal cédula of the 16th of

Varias, i. 39. A royal order of November 1537 provided that silver pieces of eight, four, two, one, and one half reales should be coined in the same manner as in Spain. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 88. In 1538 the value of the real de plata was fixed at 34 maravedís, the standard of the Spanish coin, *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 94, and in 1544 it was ordered that all silver pieces should contain the same alloy, have the same value, weight, size, and impression as those coined in Spain. *Id.*, ii. 89. Money coined in any part of the Indies was made current in other parts of Spain. *Id.*, 94.

[72] 'Hacian burla de tan baxa cosa.' *Torquemada*, i. 614.

[73] 'Diciendo que hera muestra de mucha pobresa.' *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Mon. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 81.

[74] *Ibid.* Torquemada says, 'y se perdieron, segun se dixo, mas de docientos mil Pesos de valor...en esta Laguna de Mexico, porque jamàs pareciese.' i. 614. Fuenleal had foreseen that the introduction of copper coin would meet with opposition, and in his letter of April, 1532, to the king, offered the advice that no moneda de vellon should be coined. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 217–18. About the year 1540 or 1541, the circulation of copper coinage had entirely ceased, *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 131, and an attempt was made to supply its place by that of the silver cuartillo, or fourth part of a real. The insignificant size of these coins made them as objectionable as their more bulky predecessors. But instead of being all thrown away, quantities of them were collected, melted, and cast into bars. *Torquemada*, i. 614. They were again coined in 1794. *Disposic. Varias*, i. 86.

April, 1550; in 1591 Philip II. repeated the prohibition and adopted measures for the purpose of making the supply of coin adequate to the demands of trade.[75]

By an act of 1552 the chief smelter and the assay master were made royal officials. This step appears to have been the first instance of the crown withdrawing any part of the management from the control of the lessees. The principal officials were the treasurer, smelter, marker, weigher, blancher, engraver, and secretary. By cédula of August 21, 1565, these positions were declared vendible and instructions were issued ordering the sale of them to the highest bidders, provided that they were duly qualified to fill them.[76]

From this time until the year 1731 no affair of great importance, with one exception, occurred in connection with the mint. A few events caused temporary excitement, it is true, and occasionally disturbed its management. About the middle of the seventeenth century three hundred thousand pesos of Peruvian money were imported into the country, and were so violently objected to that it required a special order from the king to enforce its circulation.[77] In 1663 the viceroy imprisoned Juan Vazquez Medina, the treasurer, and confiscated his property for refusing to pay into the royal treasury two hundred thousand pesos which he had demanded of him—a demand in contravention of the contract by which the office had been sold to Medina.[78] Permission was granted by

[75] In some districts there was a deficiency of the circulating medium, in the larger cities a superabundance. The viceroy and governors of provinces were instructed to purchase the bullion and gold dust of the former with the surplus coin of the latter. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 93–4.

[76] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 90. The minor offices also were made salable in 1625. *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 122.

[77] *Rivera*, *Gob. de Mex.*, i. 189; *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 125.

[78] *Guijo*, *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. i. 508. In 1664 restitution was made by the king ordering that whatever sums had been paid by Medina into the royal treasury should be restored to his son. *Id.*, 538–9. From this it may be inferred that Medina had died in the mean time.

cédula of February 1675 to issue gold coins similar in all respects to those coined in Spain. Accordingly in 1676 by order of the viceroy the standard was declared to be twenty-two carats, and the mark of pure gold ordered to be coined into sixty-eight escudos after the deduction of two and a half tomines for brassage.[79] On the 23d of May this privilege was publicly proclaimed, and received with much rejoicing. Bands of music played in different parts of the city, and all the officers of state issued from the mint on horseback, and marched in procession under arches of flowers which spanned the crowded streets. There is no mention, however, of any gold having been coined before the 23d of December 1679, on which day the viceroy and audiencia visited the mint to witness the coinage of doubloons.[80]

The original building in which the operations of the mint were conducted was soon found to be inadequate to requirements, and to the safe keeping of the large sums that were accumulated in it. Indeed the king had issued orders for a mint to be erected at his own expense; but these instructions were not carried out until, owing to the representations of the treasurer, Gabriel Diaz, he again in January 1569 ordered the erection of a proper building on a site selected and assigned for that purpose.[81] With the progressive increase in coinage this building became too small, and in 1731 Viceroy Casafuerte began the erection of the one which, enlarged and embellished, has developed into the fine mint which exists to-day in the city of Mexico.[82]

During this same year the king by cédula of the 26th of January ordered the establishment of a tribu-

[79] The escudo was the eighth part of a doubloon, and the tomin was equal to twelve grains.

[80] *Robles, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1st ser. ii. 217, 294; *Elhuyar, Indagac. Amoned.*, 3.

[81] *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real Hac.*, i. 120.

[82] The original structure was completed in December 1734, and cost with only a small portion of the machinery $449,893. *Panes*, in *Mon. Doc. Esp.*, MS., 165; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. ap. 102.

nal whose particular office was the suppression of counterfeiting. From the first introduction of a coined medium into the country false money began to be fabricated, at which illegal craft the natives showed themselves no less skilful than the Spaniards.[83]

This court was composed of six ministers, including the president, one fiscal, and a secretary.[84] There was besides a number of subaltern officers of different grades. The office of president was vested perpetually in the secretary of state for the treasury, who was made judge and superintendent-general of all mints. Two at least of the ministers, as well as the fiscal, were required to be graduates of law. His Majesty conferred upon this court absolute jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to it, without appeal, and free from all interference of the audiencia, other tribunals, or councils.[85]

From the year when the smelter and assayer were made royal officials, other officers from time to time were removed from the service of the lessees to that of the crown, till eventually, in 1732, the mint was incorporated, by royal cédula of the 14th of July, with the royal treasury, under the direction of a superintendent.[86]

When Humboldt was in Mexico this establishment gave employment to between three hundred and sixty and four hundred employés, and its machinery was such that without any extraordinary activity $30,-

[83] Viceroy Mendoza in 1537 stated to the king that the Indians displayed extraordinary skill in counterfeiting money. Even the cacao beans which were used as currency were counterfeited by them. *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 128.

[84] 'Con ejercicio y refrendata.' *Fonseca* and *Urrutia, Hist. Real. Hac.*, i. 131.

[85] Previously counterfeiters were tried by the audiencia, or any competent court of justice. *Id.*, i. 114. The members of this court were instructed to inform themselves thoroughly about all business connected with coining, and the operations of all silversmiths and workers in gold and silver. *Id.*, i. 131–2.

[86] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 123. The superintendent was made subordinate to the viceroy in 1735. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., ii. f. 70. The viceroy had supreme jurisdiction over all the ministers and officers connected with the department, 'bien que el conocimiento en primera Instancia de las causas civiles y criminales corresponde al Superintendente, y de sus sentencias se apela al Superior Govierno.' *Galvez, Informe del Marquez*, 15.

000,000 could be struck off yearly.[87] With regard to the amount coined previous to 1690 nothing can be stated with any degree of accuracy, but since that time the annual coinage is known. Its progressive increase, and the enormous sums eventually struck off, are shown by the following figures: In 1690 the amount of silver coined was $5,285,581; one century later it reached $17,435,644. In the year 1796 $24,346,833, and in 1797 $24,041,182 were coined. In 1733 gold was coined to the amount of $151,702; in 1796 the coinage of the same metal reached $1,297,794, and in 1797 $1,038,856. From 1690 to 1803 inclusive the total amount of silver coined was $1,329,119,173, and of gold $44,819,830; in all $1,373,939,003.[88] The net profit which accrued to the crown in the year 1798, after the payment of over $388,000 for expenses, was $1,280,746.[89]

Despite the numerous and lucrative sources from which the revenue was derived, the treasury department in New Spain cannot be regarded as an exhibition of successful financiering and organization. What with the demands of the king upon it, the peculation of officials, and the fraudulent practices of the public, the royal treasury could rarely show a creditable balance-sheet. Previous to 1644 statistics are so meagre that only a vague idea of the income and its gradual increase can be arrived at.[90] According to certificates of the royal treasury the average receipts during the period from 1644 to 1673 was $1,266,519, and the payments $1,363,677, leaving an annual deficit of $97,158. Viceroy Mancera who found the exchequer bankrupt on his arrival devoted himself assiduously

[87] *Essai Pol.*, ii. 676.

[88] *Zamora, Legis. Ult.*, i. 25–8. The figures are somewhat in excess of those of Humboldt, who gives the sum total of both gold and silver coined during the same period as $1,353,452. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 578, 676–7.

[89] *Notic., N. Esp.* in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 25.

[90] According to a statement of the Franciscan comisario-general Fray Buenaventura de Salinas the crown spent more than $10,000,000 on churches and hospitals from the conquest until 1647. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 101.

to the correction of abuses, and succeeded in bringing about a more healthy condition of the royal treasury, which in 1673 was free from debt. Mancera during his rule increased the revenue $213,000 a year.[91] But this improved state of affairs did not last long. Viceroy Linares in 1716 thus describes the condition of the exchequer and his own position: "The royal treasury is administered like a bankrupt merchant's estate, and the viceroys, playing the part corresponding to that of the assignees, only liquidate the most urgent debts."[92]

In 1765 the revenue amounted to $6,130,314, and in 1790 to $19,400,213; yet with this ever increasing income proportionately increasing demands were made, and Mexico had to bear the burden of wars and the support of sister colonies.[93] But it was during the wars with the English and French that the greatest strain was put upon her. Not only had the colonists to pay increased taxes, but their patriotism was appealed to, loans were raised, and voluntary contributions solicited.[94]

When Viceroy Branciforte entered upon his administration in 1794 he found the treasury exhausted and the sources of supply apparently stopped. But he immediately effected a loan from the commercial

[91] He moreover remitted to the king during his term $4,376,312. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 523–52.

[92] *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 54. The king required the viceroy to remit him annually $1,000,000, and Linares explains to his successor how impossible it had been for him to do so. *Id.*, 52–6.

[93] The appropriations—situados—disbursed by the treasury for the payment of military and civil salaries and the maintenance of garrisons, etc., abroad, during the period 1770 to 1811, amounted to $3,837,700 annually. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ep. i. 421–2. Remittances to Habana, Pensacola, and Cartagena during the five years 1755 to 1759 amounted to $7,884,176. *Certif. Merced*, MS., 124–31. According to Humboldt, during the years 1788 to 1792 $1,826,000 was sent to the island of Cuba. *Essai Pol.*, ii. 803.

[94] Loans were effected in 1748 at three per cent interest. In 1758 the interest was fixed at five per cent. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 11–12, 153–5. The merchants with great willingness loaned the government $2,800,000 in 1771 sin premio. *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 15. Conspicuous among those ready to lend their aid was Antonio Bassoco, who in 1778 loaned the government the sums of $100,000 and $200,000 without interest. At the same time he made presents to the amount of $115,000 in different sums. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, vi. 561.

and mining tribunals of $2,000,000, and others from the merchants and public, not bearing interest, so that in less than three years he despatched $32,000,000 to different parts for the king's account.[95] His successor Azanza almost despaired of raising another loan on similar terms though instructed by the king to do so.[96] By judicious financiering and squeezing, however, he managed to send to Spain and different colonies, during his short administration of less than two years, $26,600,000, besides paying government debts to the amount of nearly half a million, and leaving more than $6,100,000 in the treasury. But as the clouds gathered round the Spanish throne the needs of the monarch became greater and more pressing. In 1801 a war tax was imposed upon bequeathed property,[97] and in 1805 Cárlos IV. levied an annual income upon the revenues of the church, which between 1805 and 1809 amounted to $12,080,291.[98]

Meanwhile loans and more loans were asked for, and responded to with patriotic readiness and liberality; but when at last in 1809 one of $20,000,000 was called for immediately after a contribution of over $3,000,000,[99] the people murmured, and the money could not be raised.[100]

The receipts of the treasury from ordinary sources in 1809 amounted to $20,462,307; after payment of

[95] *Branciforte*, in *Linares, Instruc.*, 8–9.

[96] 'Me desalentaba el recuerdo de las repetidas contribuciones de la misma clase que habian hecho en los ultimos tiempos.' *Azanza, Instruc.*, 110–11.

[97] The tax varied from two per cent on the amount left to one half of one year's income, according to the amount and kind of property bequeathed. *Disposic. Varias*, i. 116–19.

[98] *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ep. i. 488–95.

[99] In 1809 Lord Cochrane was sent by the English government 'con una letra de la junta Central de 3 millones de duros' to negotiate a loan for that amount. The call was responded to with great readiness, and in a short time the sum of $3,210,435 was raised. *Cancelada, Tel. Mex.*, 32–6. A list of the subscribers is given. Consult *Alaman, Hist. Mex.*, i. 304–5. In the previous year $2,100,000 had been raised, and shortly afterward the resident Europeans contributed $2,700,000. *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 80–1.

[100] *Alaman, Hist. Mex.*, i. 306–7. A second attempt was again made in 1810. *Disposic. Varias*, ii. 3, 4, 15; *Gaz. Gob. Mex., 1810*, i. 797–801. The national constituent congress recognized by decree 'debts contracted by the government of the viceroys till September 17, 1810.' *Mex. Mem. Minist. Rel.*, iii. doc. vii. no. 4, p. 6.

the government expenses in New Spain, and remissions to the colonies and the mother country, there barely remained $2,000,000 in the treasury, while the public debt amounted to $29,929,695.[101] With regard to the shipments of treasure from New Spain to the royal treasury and the colonies on account of the king, the drain upon the country is prominently set forth by the fact that, during the period from 1690 to 1807 inclusive, $1,052,579,000 of coined gold and silver were shipped, $767,000,000 of which found its way into the royal treasury of Spain.[102]

[101] *Cancelada, Tel. Mex.*, 285–92.
[102] *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 37–8.

The bases which have been used in the preceding chapter have naturally been derived from volumes which contain royal ordinances and official documents on a great variety of subjects. Among such works are included the *Recop. de Ind.; Reales Ordenes; Reales Cédulas; Ordenes de la Corona; Montemayor, Svmario*, and a number of others containing laws and regulations for the administration of the treasury; laws which occasionally remitted some impost for the benefit of the Indians or even the colonists generally, but yet continually imposed fresh taxes and duties as time passed on. But in addition to such authorities a large number of others have been consulted. Prominent among these is the *Biblioteca de Legislacion Ultramarina*, of José María Zamora y Coronada, published in 1844–6. This work contains, besides royal cédulas and regulations bearing upon every branch of the government, a large collection of acts of the audiencia, proclamations, and orders issued from the year 1680. A clear conception of the wide difference between the old and new commercial systems is obtained from a comparison of the different tariffs of the custom-house which prevailed during the two epochs. Vetancurt in his *Tratado de la Ciudad de Mexico* treats casually and briefly of several branches of the revenue, such as the introduction of the alcabala, p. 10; demand upon the Indians for a loan, p. 11; the constitution of the tribunals of the exchequer, p. 28; the founding of the mint, and other matters connected with finance in early days. Villa-Señor gives a more extended account of these matters in *Theatro Americano*, i. 38–50, yet it is but a sketch of the numerous ramifications of the revenue office. Alaman, in his *Disert.*, and *Hist. Mex.*, gives some reliable and valuable information relative to both the revenue and the mint, but it is neither copious nor connected.

An extremely valuable work on this subject is the *Historia General de Real Hacienda*, compiled by Fabian de Fonseca and Cárlos de Urrutia, by order of the viceroy Conde de Revilla Gigedo. The six printed volumes which compose the work cost great research, and the authors, having had access to all necessary public documents, have produced as complete and accurate a history of the real hacienda and statistics connected with the gov-

ernment of Mexico under Spanish rule, as can well be found. The manuscript was not originally intended for publication, but upon its being found in the archives after the declaration of independence, it was printed by permission of the Mexican government. To the financier of the time when it was written it was an invaluable work; to the modern historian it is equally useful, as exposing the incessant drain made by the Spanish government, generation after generation, upon the American colonies. The volumes contain copies of numerous royal cédulas relative to every branch of the revenue, as well as the history of each one's origin and development. Statistical tables abound; and it rarely occurs that a fair estimate of the proceeds of every department cannot be formed from them. Nevertheless the work is not without its faults. The bad chronological arrangement of cédulas is confusing, and typographical errors in dates have been allowed to creep into the text. The oppressive burdens imposed upon the Mexicans were taxing their endurance beyond limit; of this Fonseca and Urrutia, however, saw nothing, and every new exaction imposed upon colonist or Indian was regarded as affectionate zeal on the part of the king to legislate for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

With regard to the mint and coinage I find the work of Fausto de Elhuyar, entitled *Indagaciones sobre La Amonedacion en Nueva España*, Madrid, 1818, to be extremely useful. His researches were conducted with great care, and supply a concise and correct history of the mint from its establishment down to the 10th of August 1814, when he laid before the mining tribunal of Mexico, of which he was director, the result of his labors. In this book, which consists of 142 pages, he gives an account of the different coins struck off and the modifications which they experienced at various periods, also of the new system when the administration was assumed by the government. He moreover considers with attention the causes by which the interests of the mining industry suffered and suggests remedies. Being a highly scientific man he did not fail to gain the appreciation of Humboldt, who describes him as 'le savant d'Elhuyar,' and 'Le savant directeur du tribunal de Mineria de Mexico.' *Essai Polit.*, i. 118, 293.

The authorities consulted for this chapter are: *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 8–9, 92–7; ii. 1–3, 10–11, 43, 70, 104–5, 209–24, 238; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 13 et seq.; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 133, 211–12; iii. 75–6, 111–12, 140–1; *Azanza, Ynstruc.*, MS., passim; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 99, 135–43; iii. 64, 78–80, 129–32, 230–2, 247–53; iv. 82–99, 202–24; *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 3–28; *Vireyes de Mex., Ynstruc.*, MS., 1–5; *Reales Ordenes*, i. 111–231, 314, 340–461; iv. 367–72, 405–6, 436–59; v. 173–8, 291–324; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., ii. passim; *Id., Bandos*, 17 et seq.; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, i. 33–61; *Torquemada*, i. 614; iii. 260–1; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 101, 541, 617; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 30–2; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 42–50, 60, 92, 112, 118, 183; *Puga, Cedulario*, 27 et seq.; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 126–8; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., v. 1–2; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 191; iii. 534; vi. 166–74; 447–8, 499, 512–13; vii. 208–9; xiii. 193–5, 200, 217–18; *Cartas de Indias*, 659–60; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 96–209; *Nueva España, Acuerdos*, MS., 4–6, 12, 73–4; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, séric i. tom. i. 4, 121–8, 297, 328, 470–8, 568–22, 536–9; tom. ii. 74–8, 207, 217, 294; tom. iv. 62, 91, 168–9, 175, 190–8; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 523–52; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 110; *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 49–50, 112–13, 152–63, 257–76; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 59 et seq.;

ii. 3–15; iii. 18, 25–39, 56–63; *Recop. de Indias*, i. ii., passim; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 30–2, 81, 123, 165–6; *Id., Hist. y Pol.*, MS., 373–46, 501–89; *Guijo, Diario*, passim; *Guatemala, Autos de Parte*, MS., 1–41; *Samaniego, Relacion*, passim; *America, Descrip.*, MS., 122–3; *Zurita, Relacion*, MS., 18–21, 44–75; *Alaman, Disert*, ii. 102–5, 310–16; *Id., Hist. Mej.*, i. 4 et seq.; *Leyes Varias Anot.*, MS., 53–5, 353–7; *Robles, Diario*, 74–8, 207, 217, 294; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, 301–9, 388; *Id., Comerc. Estad.*, 21–3; *Diezmos de Indias*, passim; *Monte Pio de Oficinas, Prontuario*, 1•50; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 38–78, 123–5, 166–7; *Mayorga, Derechos*, passim; *Arce y Echeagaray, Instruc.*, 1–96; *Mexico, Contestacion á los Observ.*, 71, 100–102; *Id., Derechos*, 1–14; *Id., Estado de Real Hac.*, 94; *Id., Exposicion al Sob. Cong.*, 30; *Id., Memoria Agric. 1843*, 2–4; *Id., Memoria Hac. 1844*, 3–7; *Id., 1849*, 4–18, 56; *Id., 1870*, 38, 61–5; *Id., Memoria Presentada*, 1–60; *Id., Memoria Rel. 1852*, 6; *Id., Not. Ciud. Mex.*, 132–3, 298–9, 307–28, 337–60; *Id., Reales Aranzeles*, 1–112; *Id., Rel. Estado*, 4–5; *Id., Reglamento*, passim; *Squier's MSS.*, ii. 18–21, 44–75; *Guerra, Modo*, 1–80; *Willie, Not. Hac.*, 1–6, 20–2; *Estalla*, xxvi. 284, 344; xxvii. 11–15, 217–46; *Intendentes Real Ord.*, 202–62; *Orozco y Berra, Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 168–71; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, pp. xiii.–xxiii. 121, 131; ii. 16–17, 147–60, 182–4; iii. 15, 265–71; *Manifiesto de su Justicia*, 1–58; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hac.*, i.–vi., passim; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 7, 17–40; v. 336; viii. 556–7; x. 505–11; xi. 320–1; *Id.*, 2da ep. i. 297, 330, 348, 376, 404–22; iii. 93–4, 179–81, 201–2; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, i. 25–8, 31; ii. 533–40; iii. 35–63, 209–12, 432–59; vi. 81–96; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 243–56, 451–3; série ii. tom. v. 85, 124–5, 170–2, 191, 246–74; *Zúñiga y O., Calend.*, 72–5, 88–98, 119, 146–8; *Rivera, Gobernantes Mex.*, i. 30, 99–100, 132 et seq.; *Museo Mex.*, i. 353–8, 393–402; iii. 407–8; iv. 94, 259–60; *Elhuyar, Indagaciones*, passim; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, x. 251–3; *Ordenanzas para el Gobierno*, 1–59; *Id., Real Renta Polvora*, 1–73; *Id., Real Rente Naypes*, 1–35; *Id., Labor Monedas*, 1–59; *Mayer's Mex. Azt.*, i. 141, 248, 274–5; ii. 92, 96, 107–8; *Cancelada, Tel. Mex.*, 32–6, 47–51, 166–9, 285–97; *Id., Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 37–8; *Denis, Arte Plumaria*, 8; *Tributos, Reglamento*, 1–14; *Id., Reglamento y Ordenanzas*, 1–66; *Arancel derechos*, 1–39; *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 133; *Nouv. Annales des Voy.*, iv. 254–5; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 279; ii. 578–82, 675–81, 734, 803; *Id., New Spain*, iv. 205–81; *Id., Tablas Estad.*, MS., 46–54; *Id., Versuch*, 1–29, 55, 120–21; *Gaceta Mex.*, i.–x., passim; *Alzate, Gacetas*, i. 82, 106–7; *Guia de Hac.*, i. 72–3; ii. 59–68, 116–28, 141–4; *San Milian, Juez Oficial*, 1–19; *Cortes, Diario*, iv. 106–8; v. 220; *Ward's Mex.*, i. 55; ii. 12, 15, 31–2, 49, 58; *Chevalier, Le Mexique*, 533–43; *Fabrica y Estampa de Naypes*, 1–16; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, i. 250–51, 278; *Tributos, Reglamento de*, 1–14; *Guerra, Rev. de N. Esp.*, i. 175–6, 299–301; ii. 630–31; *Arrillaga, Recop., 1830*, 453–523; *Id., Informe que dieron*, 12; *Galvez, Informe Marquis Son.*, passim; *Diario Mex.*, ii. 151–2; iii. 8, 36, 410–11; v. 194, 222, 285; vii. 120; ix. 158; xi., passim; xii. 56 et seq.; xiii., passim; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, iv. 599–631; v. 408–9, 420–4, 468, 476–9, 546–58, 571–91, 612 et seq.; vi. 19, 23, 40–96, 128–36, 182, 338–9, 561; vii. 149, 178, 380–1; x. 1318–19, 1334–5, 1390–2; *El Tiempo, 1834*, 199; *1849*, 92; *Pap. Var.*, v. 52–4; xvi. 132–48, 164; xxxv. 1–26; liv. 27, 67; lxxx. 1–27; cxlii. 39–40; cl. 23; clxi. 3; cxxxix. 39–40; ccxv. 37–8; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.*, ii. 23–6; *Condiciones del Real Assiento*, 1–25; *Yucatan, Estad.*, 7–12; *Salmon's Modern Hist.*, iii. 215; *Niles, Register*, xxiii. 133, 155; xxvii. 245; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 39–86; *Arroniz, Hist. y Cron.*, 153; *Juicio de un Americano*, 5; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 262, 424; *Instruccion de los Comisionados*, 1–30; *Reglamento para el Gobierno*, 1–63; *Pradt, Hist. Rev. Esp.*, 39–40; *Instituto Geog. Estad.*, 23; *Aguardiente, Reglamento*, 1–26; *Breves Reflex. Pulque*, 6; *Modo Aument. Donero*, 3; *Queipo, Col. Doc.*, 132–64; *Brasseur de Bourboury, Nat. Civ.*, iv. 775; *Abeja Poblana*, 1–76; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 52–3; ix. 265–7; x. 917; *Torrente, Revol. Hispan*, i. 13–18, 23; *Media Anata, Real Ced.*, 1–3; *Thompson's Recollections*, 191–6; *Querétaro, Not. Est.*, 73–4; *Pelaez, Mem. Hist. Guat.*, i. 251–56; ii. 184–206; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 59, 112, 144, 164, 198–9.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SECULAR CLERGY.

1600–1800.

VICIOUS ECCLESIASTICS—STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE REGULAR ORDERS AND THE SECULAR CLERGY—INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS ON THE MASSES—THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE—PRIVILEGES OF THE ECCLESIASTICS—RIGHT OF SANCTUARY—THE BISHOPRICS OF NEW SPAIN—RELIGIOUS FRATERNITIES—CHURCH PROPERTY—ITS CONFISCATION ORDERED—CHURCH REVENUES—THE INQUISITION.

DURING the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the secular clergy included many who had come to New Spain in search of fortune, having little prospect of success in their native country. These were for the most part mere adventurers, vicious, and a cancer in the body ecclesiastic. The natives among the seculars, with a few exceptions, had also become contaminated. Of this we have abundant evidence in papal bulls and royal orders, in the reports of several viceroys, of whom one was a distinguished prelate, and in the edicts of the inquisition. Violations of the vows of chastity, impeding the administration of justice, trading against express prohibitions, manufacturing prohibited liquors, collecting excessive fees, and defrauding the crown, were common practices, and indeed some of their deeds were so scandalous that decency forbids their relation.[1]

[1] *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 429–31; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 90–1; *Palafox, Instruc.*, in *Morfi. Col. Docs*, MS., 27–9; *Mancera Instruc.*, 469–71; *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 469–71; *Defensor de la Verd.*, 1; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., vii. 77; *Crespo, Mem. Ajust.*, 7, 8; *Disposic. Var.*, v. 5, 13, 29; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 34–5; *Campillo, N. Sistema*, 45–6; *Villarroel, Enferm. Polit.*, 6–25, in *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, v. One viceroy, the marqués de Branciforte, gives all the clergy, high and low, a good character, but as he left rather a bad one of his own in the country I hesitate to accept his uncorroborated testimony. *Branciforte, Instruc.*, in *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 44–6.

Among the orders of monks were always to be found from the earliest days men who had come to America to render good service to God and their king, at the same time ridding themselves of the monotony of conventual life, and winning renown for their respective orders and distinction for themselves. Many of them earned the coveted crown of martyrdom, fearlessly carrying the gospel and the arts of peace among savages, and a much larger number won fame either by their charity and missionary labors, or by their learning and writings upon various topics, especially on the countries where they dwelt or journeyed. Not a few attained to high position, and thus secured a larger field for usefulness. But it must be confessed that the regular orders also contained unworthy members, men who shrank from poverty and discipline, some of whom were vain, covetous, and profligate, and looked upon their mission in the New World only as an opportunity to gratify their desire for a life of ease and pleasure.

After the spiritual conquest of Mexico, it was an easy matter for these ecclesiastics to have themselves assigned to parishes or doctrinas, which, though an outward show of religion was maintained, became hotbeds of vice; even the sacred act of confession being profaned. This scandalous immorality was, in the second half of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century, most noticeable at the seats of some of the dioceses and in small towns; in the capital the clergy were somewhat restrained from open exhibitions of vice by the presence of the superior authorities of New Spain.

The day came when the supreme government decided that the friars should be restricted to their own proper functions, and not be allowed any longer to encroach on those of the secular clergy, and the authorities encouraged the latter to assert their rights.[2] A long contest ensued, in which the religious orders struggled for every point, but they were defeated; and

[2] *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 90–2.

injunctions came from the crown against any but secular clergymen being nominated for vacant benefices.[3] The result was a better state of affairs; the ranks of the seculars were reënforced by worthy and able men, and they soon gained the ascendency among the people.

During the first two centuries after the conquest the church offered preferment to natives of America, many of whom held bishoprics,[4] and other high positions; but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, all royal orders to the contrary notwithstanding, the number of native-born priests thus promoted had become very small.[5] A cédula of May 2, 1792, ordered that one half the prebendaries of the cathedral should be conferred on natives of America; but a suggestion, said to have emanated from Archbishop Haro, to the effect that Americans should have only inferior offices in order to keep them ever humble and submissive, seems to have been adopted. The result of this policy was that in 1808 all the bishoprics of New Spain with one exception,[6] the greater portion of the canon stalls, and a large number of the rich curacies were in the hands of Spaniards from Europe.

[3] The secularization of the curacies was carried on without trouble as early as 1760. *Marfil, Instruc.*, 20–1, in *Linares, Instruc.*, MS.

[4] Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, x. 1375–8, tries to prove that the government distributed her favors equally among creoles and natives of Old Spain; but Alaman, who cannot be accused of enmity toward the mother country, says that out of 706 bishops appointed in Spanish America before the revolution, 105 were native Americans, and but few of them were appointed to the most important secs. *Hist. Méj.*, i. 14. In the last century there was discrimination against the creoles. No native of Yucatan was ever bishop of that diocese. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 333–4.

[5] The high offices of the church were reserved for natives of Spain. *Zavala, Ensayo Hist.*, i. 66. Archbishop Lorenzana recommended that the natives should be forced to learn the Spanish language, and as this could not be readily accomplished, the creole priests, who for good reasons opposed that measure, were accused of selfish motives, for as they knew the Indian languages the curacies of Indian towns would all fall to their lot. This was denied by a creole Franciscan, Father Francisco de la Rosa Figueroa, who asserted that the secular priests from Old Spain never desired curatos de Indios, preferring the parishes of Spaniards in Mexico, or higher preferment, 'con la sombra de las sagradas mitras, mayormente los que vn Sr Arzobispo ô Obispo trae en su familia, que luego van subiendo y exaltando hasta ocupar los Juzgados eclesiásticos, ô los choros de las Cathedrales en las Prebendas.' *Vindicias de la Verdad*, MS., 30–31. The same writer gives 51 names of native Mexicans, and 27 of Peruvians, who became bishops and archbishops. *Id.*, 70–5.

[6] That of Puebla, held by Manuel Gonzalez del Campillo.

The prestige of the church was jealously upheld by law,[7] and the Indians continued to pay the regular clergy the reverence which the early missionaries had won from them, a reverence bordering on veneration. This wrought no mischief so long as it was shown to men worthy of it, for the old friars were firm supporters of the government, but when bestowed on a corrupt and presumptuous clergy it became a source of great danger,[8] especially as the lower offices of the church were in the hands of discontented natives, who, being in contact with the masses, must have influenced them in political affairs. This element became a powerful agent, and the time came when it worked upon the hearts of a large majority of the inhabitants against the Spanish domination.

The church of Mexico, like that of the rest of Spanish America, was under the immediate control of the crown, through its representatives, the viceroy and governors, by virtue of the *real patronato*. This was a right held as the most valuable of the crown's attributes;[9] it was claimed on the ground of prior

[7] In 1790 a mulatto, for striking a priest, was awarded 400 lashes well laid on. An alcalde de corte, for a similar offence, was excommunicated. A royal order of the same year prescribed the penalty of death for robberies committed in churches. *Robles, Diario*, 36–7; *Ortega, A., Voto Fund.*, 19. The worship of the masses, who had little instruction in religion, consisted mainly of external show. The duque de Linares said: 'En este reyno todo es exterioridad, y viviendo poseidos de los vicios...les parece á lo mas, que trayendo el rosario al cuello y besando la mano á un sacerdote son Católicos, que los diez mandamientos no sé si los conmutan en ceremonias.' *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 37. An able writer in 1785 severely criticised the religious practices in the capital, denouncing them as barbarous, because they converted the most solemn mysteries of the Catholic church into acts of superstition and fanaticism in the most ridiculous form; he uses these words: 'En ninguna parte del reino cristiano se presume de mas cristiandad y devocion, y en ninguna está ménos radicada que en esta capital.' *Villarroel, Enf. Polit.*, 75–81, in *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, v.

[8] The duque de Linares, in view of the prevailing corruption, and remembering the riots against the marqués de Gelves in 1624, made it a point to avoid all bickering with churchmen. He gave his reasons as follows: 'Porque son capaces de atropellar el respeto de la persona, é inquietar los animos de los seculares, porque...la cantidad de eclesiasticos ignorantes no es poca...y el todo del pueblo de la voz de católicos en apariencia es comun.' *Linares, Instruc.*, MS., 37, 41–2.

[9] 'La piedra mas rica, la mas preciosa Margarita de su Real Diadema.

discovery and possession, and the introduction of christianity, followed by the building and endowment of churches, convents, and monasteries. To this were added the privileges conferred by popes Alexander VI. and Julius II., confirmed by later briefs of the holy see.[10] The decision of the first ecclesiastical council of Mexico reserving patronage to the king was advanced as an additional reason. The prerogative was claimed as one to be forever held inalienable. No person or persons, ecclesiastical or secular, no church or monastery, was to use the patronage, except under the crown's authority, and severe penalties were provided against infringements of the royal privilege.

The nomination of archbishops and bishops and the bestowal of benefices in the Indies belonged exclusively to the crown, and were consequently confirmed without demur. The king became *ipso facto* the head of the church in America, and no bull, brief, or other order emanating from the holy see or its apostolic nuncios could be published or carried out without being first submitted to and passed by the council of the Indies.[11] Repeated cédulas issued from 1644 to 1672 inclusive reiterated those orders, and enjoined viceroys, audiencias, governors, and other rulers to send back to the council of the Indies all documents

Ribadeneyra, Manual Comp., in address to the king, 3–4; *Palafox, Instruc.*, in *Morfi, Col. de Doc.*, MS., 26.

[10] *Ribadeneyra, Id.*, 51–68. Antonio Joachin de Ribadeneyra, Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano (Madrid, 1755). The author filled high judicial offices in Nueva Galicia and Mexico, and was a member of the king's council, a man fully competent for the work he undertook. He furnished a complete and exhaustive dissertation in clear and laconic style, on the royal patronage, both canonical and civil, in the Indies, with the view of rendering the matter comprehensive and practical. The work contains all the papal bulls, royal orders, and opinions of reliable authorities bearing on the subject and going to sustain the compiler's statements.

[11] Cédula of Felipe IV., April 25, 1643, reiterating others of his predecessors and his own issued between 1564 and 1633. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 36, 49, 50, 70, 76, 78, 115, 118–19; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 27–8; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., i. 1; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, v. 43; *Leyes, Var. Anot.*, MS., 23. The same rule was applicable to *patentes* of the generals or superiors of the religious orders. The only ones excepted were such as were for the internal domestic government of the religious within their cloisters. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 36–38.

of this nature which had not been duly passed by that body.

Nevertheless occasional violations of the royal privilege occurred, two of them as late as 1746, when the archbishop of Mexico published two papal briefs without the royal exequatur, whereupon both he and the audiencia were reprimanded, and ordered to rescind them. Later, in 1777, it was ordered that popes' bulls, briefs, and kindred instruments, even if provided with the council's exequatur, were never to be circulated without the permission of the viceroy, or local governor, as *vice-patrono*.[12]

The royal prerogative never failed to assert itself. Even in God's temple special honors were paid the viceroy, because of his being the viceregal patron. The appointment of *provisores* and *vicarios generales* had to be submitted to the crown for approval. Competitions for vacant stalls in cathedral chapters must be in presence of an *asistente real*, appointed by the vice-patron. In the selection of parish priests or curates, a ternary of names was to be laid by the ordinary before the vice-patron,[13] who usually chose the first on the list, to avoid giving offence, and because he seldom knew who was the worthiest.

The secular clergy held a privileged jurisdiction, known as *fuero eclesiástico*, with special courts, and until near the close of the eighteenth century personal exemption from the control of other tribunals.[14] Ecclesiastical courts were, however, not only forbidden

[12] *Provid. Reales*, MS., 80–1; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., i. 201–2. The king's prerogative was so jealously guarded that even alms could not be asked for in the Indies, if to be sent to Spain, without the express leave of his India Council. Archbishops and bishops before assuming the government of their dioceses had to lay before the vice-patrono the evidence of having taken the regular oaths of fealty and obedience to the crown. A viceroy in the 17th century reported one of those violations by Bishop Osorio of Puebla, who was of course compelled to fulfil the law. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 512–15.

[13] *Cedulario*, MS., i. 62–3; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 7; *Pinart, Doc. Son.*, MS., 6–14; *Palafox, Instruc.*, in *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 27; *Patronatto*, 1–83, in *Mex. Doc. Eccles.*, MS., no. 1.

[14] *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 192–5; *Betancurt, Derecho de las Ig.*, 1–51.

to encroach on the royal jurisdiction, but expected to afford every possible aid to the common courts. The laws of Castile on this subject had full force in Mexico.[15] They had no cognizance in cases either civil or criminal over persons not catholics, nor criminal jurisdiction in cases of adultery; they could not sentence Indians to hard labor for this crime, nor impose fines on them for any offence; neither could they inflict capital or corporal punishment on any one. In the administration of clergymen's or intestates' wills the ecclesiastical courts had no jurisdiction, such cases being of the cognizance of the royal courts, except where a clergyman appointed his own soul as the heir—that is, ordered that his estate be used in payment for masses and other religious rites for the benefit of his soul. The council of the Indies could, however, revoke all ecclesiastical decisions.[16]

By bull of Gregory XIII. dated February 28, 1578, and royal orders of 1606, 1722, and 1731, all suits of whatever nature commenced in the ecclesiastical courts of the Indies were to be terminated in them and not carried elsewhere. This had reference to cases in which the ecclesiastical judge acted in his capacity as the ordinary; but not when he proceeded as the delegate of the pope,[17] in which event any appeal would have to be to the pope himself.

Thus for more than two centuries the secular clergy enjoyed great privileges, but these were in later times gradually abolished. By a royal decree of October 25, 1795, the common courts were allowed to take cognizance of grave crimes committed by the ecclesiastics. The *sala del crímen*, or criminal court, now sure of its right, acted with rigor against priests, especially curates, confining a number of them in the

[15] *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 79–80.

[16] *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 80–2, 230–2; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 39; *Ortega, Voto Fundado*, 19; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., i. 104, 106; v. 1–2; *Reales Ord.*, i. 447–9; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 64–5; *Provid. Reales*, MS., 107–9, 134–42, 146–50, 182–3, 281–5; *Rescrip. Reales*, MS., 36–7.

[17] *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 272; *Leyes, Var. Anot.*, 32–3.

same prisons as the lowest classes of the people. In this matter the royal audiencia favored the cause of the clergy. The royal order above named prompted the bishop and chapter of Michoacan to make, in December 1799, a representation to his Majesty,[18] which contains many wise and liberal suggestions.

The courts connected with the archbishopric of Mexico and other sees were: The *provisorato* for Spaniards, presided over by the *juez provisor*, having besides a prosecuting attorney, sheriff, relator, two notaries or clerks, a translator of apostolic letters, keeper of records, and messenger; and the *provisorato* for Indians, with a provisor, notary, clerk, and receiver; the *juzgado de testamentos, capellanías y obras pías,* with judge, counsellor, relator, chief and second clerks, and a notary for the military chaplaincy in chief.[19] We have already seen how the powers of this last named court were curtailed in the probate of wills of clergymen. Later a further curtailment took place, reducing still more the ecclesiastical fuero, with the sovereign's declaration of March 22, 1789, making cases of capellanías and obras pías cognizable in the secular courts.[20] Questions of jurisdiction between the ecclesiastical and civil courts, which were of frequent occurrence, were adjudicated by the viceroy.[21] This power, while it upheld the crown's prerogative, greatly exalted the prestige and authority of its representative in Mexico.

Offenders against the laws who took refuge in a church or other sacred place were, as we have seen, allowed benefit of asylum, in certain cases not excluded under papal briefs and royal orders. For a long time

[18] 'Informe del Obispo y cabildo eclesiástico de Valladolid de Michoacan al Rey sobre jurisdiccion y Imunidades del Clero Americano.' The whole document, under a somewhat different heading, may be found in *Mora, Obras Sueltas*, i. 1–68; *Queipo, Col. de Docs*, 1–65. Humboldt gives the above title. *Essai Pol.*, i. 105.

[19] Zúñiga, *Calendario*, 52–4, gives the names and residences of the officers.

[20] *Méx. Provid. Diocesanas*, MS., 203, 273–81.

[21] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 21; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 68–9.

there had been no limitation, either as to offences, or the number of privileged places. The facility for escaping the penalties provided by law for the gravest crimes had augmented the number of these asylums in countries where churches, shrines, cemeteries, and other places under ecclesiastical control abounded. From time to time modifications were obtained by the king of Spain from the Roman pontiffs. Popes Gregory XIV., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., and Benedict XIV. excluded from that privilege murder, robbery in public places and highways, mutilations of limb, forgery, heresy, high treason, and other grave offences; and Clement XIV. by his brief of September 12, 1772, which was ordered to be enforced by royal decree of November 2, 1773,[22] very considerably diminished the number of churches that were available as asylums for offenders against the law.[23]

The cathedral church, described elsewhere, possessed large wealth in silver, gold, and precious stones. The *sagrario*, an appendage of the cathedral, was also a fine edifice. The descendants of Cortés furnished elegant carriages and costly teams of mules for con-

[22] *Rescriptos Reales*, MS., 62–74; *Reales Órdenes*, v. 244–50; *Cedulario*, iii. 226–33; *Célula Real, 1815*, 1–21.

[23] In 1787 the king decreed that criminals of whatever condition in life, who had taken refuge in churches, should be at once taken thence with the permission of the priests in charge, or the nearest ecclesiastical authority, or without it if the request were not promptly complied with, by the proper official, under a bond (written or verbal, at the prisoner's option), that life and limb would be respected until the immunity plea had been decided. The prisoners would be confined in the public prisons, and supported at their own cost, if they had means; otherwise at the expense of the public, or the royal treasury. In no instance was sentence to exceed 10 years' labor in chain gangs or navy yards, service in the army or navy, or exile. If the offence were debarred of privilege, then the ecclesiastical court must surrender the prisoner to be dealt with by the proper authorities. Differences arising as to the nature of the crime were to be decided by the audiencia. All authorities were required to aid one another to secure the punishment of crime, and to avoid all abuse of the ecclesiastical immunity. *Cedulario*, MS., i. 77–8, iii. 221–6; *Méx. Provid. Dioces.*, MS., 46–50, 252–60, 351–62; *Rescriptos Reales*, MS., 1–8, 147–8; *Provid. Reales*, MS., 89, 280–1; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 212–13; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., i. 82–7; *Colon., Juzgados Milit.*, i. 238, 327–8; *Recop. Ind.* i. 35; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 583–93.

veying thence the host through the streets during the visitation of the sick.[24]

The metropolitan of Mexico on certain occasions had the supervision over, and on others the administration of vacant suffragan sees. Among his duties was that of casting his vote at the election of professors of the university of Mexico.[25]

It was provided by law that in nominations for the chapter of the archdiocese of Mexico and its suffragan sees, preference should be given to graduates of the universities of Spain, Mexico, and Lima, or to clergymen who had served in cathedrals; or to those proposed by the king himself or his representatives in the Indies by virtue of the royal patronage. Where possible two of the canons were to be jurists, and two theologians. The four stalls, called respectively *doctoral, magistral, lectoral,* and *penitenciario,* were given to those who excelled in learning and general efficiency. All the members were to be permanent residents, and faithful attendants at the chapter's sessions and other service, and could not absent themselves from their posts without leave from the crown.[26]

The annals of the church in Mexico, after the period of spiritual conquest and missionary labor, contain little worthy of note. I might present an outline of its progress, record the names of promi-

[24] *Estalla,* xxvi. 282–3.

[25] In describing the inauguration of the early bishops and archbishops mention was made of their reception under the pallium. This practice was discontinued by royal command in 1608, setting aside the Roman ritual in that respect. The honor was reserved for the king; and the pope acquiesced. The order was reiterated in 1735. *Provid. Reales,* MS., 89; *Reales Cédulas,* MS., ii. 134; *Montemayor, Svmarios,* 34.

[26] The chapter of the archdiocese of Mexico consisted of dean, archdeacon, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer; the doctoral, magistral, lectoral, and penitenciario; five other canons called *de merced;* twelve prebendaries, of whom six were *racioneros,* and the others *medios racioneros;* and a secretary. At the end of the eighteenth century the dean received $10,000 a year; the other *dignidades* a little less; canons, from $7,000 to $9,000; the first class prebendaries, $4,000 each; the second class, $2,000. *Estalla,* xxvi. 282. The insigne y real colegiata de Guadalupe, so often mentioned in the course of this history, had episcopal honors, being presided over by an abbot, and endowed with ten canons, six prebendaries, and a secretary. *Villa-Señor, Theatro,* 51; *Zúñiga, Calend.,* 49–51, 54–5.

nent priests, glance at conspicuous peculiarities of life or opinion among the clergy, smile here and there at a so-called miracle, but such details would not interest the general reader.

The number of suffragan sees in existence at the opening of the nineteenth century was the same as at the close of the seventeenth. That of Puebla had the same number of dignitaries, canons, and prebendaries as the metropolitan, and all its affairs were conducted with the utmost regularity. Its cathedral is one of the most magnificent buildings in Mexico.[27]

The chapter of the see of Oajaca consisted of a dean, four dignitaries, and eight canons. The rebuilding of the cathedral, founded in 1535, was begun by the fifteenth bishop, Father Angel Maldonado, in 1702,[28] and completed by Bishop Santiago y Calderon, who took charge in 1730. The building has three naves besides the chapel, and is said to hold an arm of Saint Chrysostom, the skull of Saint Leontius, martyr, and a portion of the famous cross of Huatulco, to which countless miracles have been ascribed.[29]

[27] Between 1608 and 1802 it was controlled by 14 prelates. The most prominent of them were: Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, who gave the cathedral $50,000 in ornaments and jewelry; Juan de Palafox, and Diego Osorio de Escobar, who have been spoken of elsewhere; Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, a native of Mexico, who had been bishop of Durango and Michoacan; Juan Antonio de Lardizábal, who declined the archbishoprie of Mexico; and Francisco Javier Fabian y Fuero, afterward archbishop of Valencia in Spain.

[28] A bequest of $40,000 was left for the purpose of reconstruction. In 1721 there was much dissension between bishop and chapter about needed repairs. *Oax., Asuntos*, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., ii. no. 2; *Id., Repar. de la Cat.*, in *Id.*, MS., iv. no. 2.

[29] Between 1605 and 1799 there were 18 bishops of this diocese, the last of whom was José Gregorio de Omaña y Sotomayor. Others worthy of mention were: Friar Baltasar de Covarrubias, Juan de Cervantes, Friar Juan Bartolomé Cataño de Bohorques, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos, who became archbishop of Mexico, Nicolás del Puerto, Isidro Sarañana, and Thomas Montaño. All of them were natives of Mexico, and men of learning and character. Friar Angel de Maldonado, of the order of Saint Bernard, who was in charge of the see from 1702 to 1728, was noted for his humility and charity. He declined the mitres of Michoacan and Orihuela. The diocese of Michoacan had a chapter consisting of five dignitaries, ten canons, and 12 prebendaries. In early days, when the revenue was smaller, it had only nine prebends. The cathedral was begun in 1640 by Bishop Prado, with aid from the crown and people. It was rebuilt in 1680, and dedicated in 1705. The building is of mixed style, and of majestic appearance. *Iglesias, Rel.*, 269–72, 233–6. From 1602 till 1809 there were 22 bishops, the last of whom was Márcos Moriana y Zafrilla. Soon after his death Doctor Manuel Abad y Queipo, the vicar-

As late as 1770 the diocese of Guadalajara included Jalisco, Zacatecas, Chiametla, Culiacan, Sonora, and Sinaloa, to which was added afterward Lower California. All the Spanish settlements and many of the Indian towns were under curates before 1767, the only missions established being those of Nayarit.[30] The cathedral is of plain exterior, but handsomely decorated internally. The first stone was laid by Ayala, the fourth bishop, on the 31st of July, 1571, and the building was completed on the 19th of February, 1618, and consecrated by Bishop Mimbela.[31]

The bishopric of Durango was founded by bull of Paulus V. dated October 11, 1620.[32] The first bishop, Friar Gonzalo de Hermosilla, an Augustinian, was in charge of the see from October 1621 until his decease in January 1631. At the time of the foundation the diocese embraced Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, and New Mexico. The cathedral of this diocese is of the Tuscan order. Its construction was begun about 1695 by the ninth bishop, García de Legaspi, who labored under great difficulties for want of architects.

general, was nominated for bishop; but the pope never confirmed the nomination. Others were: Friars Francisco de Rivera and Márcos Ramirez del Prado, the latter of whom spent over $1,000,000 in alms and pious endowments; Friar Payo Enriquez de Rivera, who became archbishop and viceroy; Juan Ortega Montañez, who also became archbishop of Mexico; and Friar Antonio de San Miguel, who greatly befriended the Indian portion of his flock during the famine of 1786, and the subsequent epidemic of small-pox.

[30]The chapter of this see in the middle part of the eighteenth century consisted of the dean, archdeacon and precentor, the doctoral and magistral, and two other canons. *Villa-Señor, Theatro Am.*, ii. 205. It seems to have had also since very early days four racioneros. *Gonzales Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 179.

[31]*Iglesias y Conv.*, 302. Among the most distinguished prelates were Alonso de la Mota, a native of Mexico, who was an efficient protector of the Indians against Spanish usurpations, and Friar Antonio Alcalde, who had been bishop of Yucatan. The donations of the latter for the founding of a university and other educational purposes, for hospitals, churches, and convents, for relief of the poor in times of famine and epidemic, aggregated $1,000,000; his clothes, food, and furniture were of the meanest; at his death the furniture of his house was valued at $267. Juan de Santiago de Leon Garavito, another bishop, was so poor that at his death he was buried by charity. The last of the nineteen prelates of Guadalajara, Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabanas y Crespo, was distinguished for his generosity, and at his death bequeathed his own patrimony, about $25,000, to the poor. He was in charge of the diocese from 1796 to 1824.

[32]*Concilios Prov.*, 1º y 2º 368. *Cortes, Diario*, 1812, xii. 348. Escudero, *Not. Est. Son.*, has it in 1626. Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, gives 1631.

In 1699 ten arches of the crypts and a portion of the portals had been built. It was completed during the administration of Bishop Zubiría and consecrated in 1844.[33]

In 1777,[34] the pope issued a bull for the erection of the see of Nuevo Leon. In February, 1779, Oidor Beleña defined its territory, which was detached from other dioceses.[35] The first bishop of this diocese was Juan Antonio Sanchez de Alozen, who on becoming a Franciscan had taken the name of Antonio de Jesus Sacedon.[36]

The first cathedral in Monterey was begun by Bishop Ambrosio Llanos y Valdés,[37] who appears to have lacked the physical strength needed for visiting his vast diocese and making himself acquainted with its condition and needs, for the Franciscan commissary of missions, referring to his decease in 1789, speaks of the necessity of having a young and robust man for prelate.[38]

In 1779 Pope Pius VI. ordered Sonora, Sinaloa, and the two Californias to form a bishopric with its cathedral in Arizpe. This was carried out in 1781, under a royal cédula, and the first prelate was the

[33] Hermosilla's successor was Alonso Franco y Luna. The list of bishops contains twenty prelates up to the year 1812. The last, Gabriel de Olivares y Benito, ruled from May 29, 1796, to February 26, 1812.

[34] *N. Méx. Cédulas*, MS., 301–2; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 272.

[35] From that of Guadalajara, the towns in Nuevo Santander, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Texas, and the villa del Saltillo; from that of Michoacan, the towns of Jaumave, Palmillas, Real de los Infantes, and Tula; from that of Mexico, the town of Santa Bárbara. This arrangement was proclaimed in an edict of September 2, 1779. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 291. The erection was completed in 1781. *Cortes, Diario*, 1812, xii. 348.

[36] Beleña in his certificate mentions him as the first bishop. The same is said by *Gomez, Diario*, 23, 57, 61; *Bustamante, Suplem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 29–30. Another authority gives Rafael José Berger as the first. *Iglesias y Conv.*, 341.

[37] Upon its walls was erected a citadel, in 1846, to defend the city against the American army. *Iglesias y Conv.*, 342.

[38] Bishop Sacedon's successors to the end of the 18th century were: Friar Rafael José Verger, 1783–90; Doctor Andrés Ambrosio de Llanos y Valdés, 1792–9. *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 98–107, 122, 373–7; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., v. 31; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 153–5; *Gaz. Mex.* (1790–1), iv. 143; (1800–1), x. 121.

Franciscan friar Antonio de los Reyes,[39] who took possession in 1783.[40]

The cathedral of Mérida in the diocese of Yucatan was finished in 1598 though not consecrated until the 12th of December, 1763.[41] The revenue of the see was small, yet the cathedral was well provided with everything required for decorous public worship, many of the ornaments and regalia being very rich; some of its paintings were also fine works of art, the king, the bishops, and the canons liberally contributing toward that end. According to the bull of erection, its chapter was to be composed of the same number of members as that of Mexico; but on account of the small revenue from tithes, was afterward diminished.[42]

[39] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 291; *Córtes, Diario*, 1812, xii. 348. He was the poorest of the bishops, his annual stipend being only $6,000, and he received no share from tithes. *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 40.

[40] His successor was José Granados y Galvez, who was in charge from 1787 to 1794, and was transferred to the see of Durango, but died before taking possession. The third prelate was Friar Damian Martinez de Galinzoga, a Franciscan, and the fourth and last of the 18th century was also a Franciscan; he was named Francisco de Jesus Rouset, and was appointed in 1796, though not consecrated till 1799. His death occurred in 1814. *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii. this series. *Iglesias y Conventos*, 342, wrongly asserts that the time of the erection of this see is unknown, and gives Bishop Granados as its first prelate, and Bishop Rouset as the second.

[41] By Bishop Alcalde. Its cost was $300,000.

[42] Instead of twenty-seven members as at first, the chapter included only the dean, archdeacon, precentor, and chancellor, two canons who acted as magistral and penitenciario, and two racioneros. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 207; *Iglesias y Conv.*, 327–34. Between 1604 and 1802 there were twenty-one prelates. Among them some had opportunities for displaying greater qualities of heart and mind than others. Several obtained higher preferments. Diego Vazquez Mercado became archbishop of Manila. Juan Alonso Ocon in 1643, Juan Gomez de Parada in 1728, Francisco Pablo Matos Coronado in 1741, and Antonio Alcalde in 1771, were transferred respectively to the sees of Cuzco, Guatemala, Michoacan, and Guadalajara.

The following list contains some additional authorities which have been consulted for the preparation of the matter connected with the several sees and their bishops: *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 71–301, passim; ii. 33–4; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles.*, 135–6; *Iglesia Catedral, Reglas y Orden.*, 1–62; *Concilios Prov.*, 1st and 2d, 248–375; *Concilios Mex.*, iii. and iv. 63, 202; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 70–90; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., ii. 213; iii. 85, 134; iv. 61; v. 5, 7, 69; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 100; *Provid. Reales*, MS., 172–5; *Veitia Linage*, in *Doc. Eccles. Méx.*, i. no. 5, 37; *Patronatto*, in *Id.*, i. no. 1; *Dávilla Padilla, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 124–36, 182–5, 231; ii. 64; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 464, 467, 617, 659–61; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 68, 138–9, 158–9, 471; *Florencia, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 232–3, *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 86; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 241–8; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, ii. 410; *Pap. Franciscanos*, MS., i. 1st ser. 414; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 704, 718; *N. Esp., Breve Resúmen*, i. 245–6, 273–4; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 239–41, 246; *Gaz. Méx.*, 1st

It is not an easy matter to arrive even approximately at the number of the secular clergy in New Spain. Very early in the present century, however, it was computed at about five thousand.[43] Most of the sees had special seminaries for the education of young men desiring to enter the priesthood. They were under the real patronato, and had a number of scholarships in the patronage of the king's representative, who made the choice upon the report or recommendation of their respective rectors. There were other scholarships endowed by private individuals and open to competition. There was also a number of professorships whose incumbents were appointed by the vice-patron.[44]

ser., in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser. iv. 18–19; *Id.*, 2d ser., in *Id.*; *Id.*, iv. 75–504, passim; *Gaz. Mex.* (1784–5), i. pref. 3, p. 114; (1786–7), ii. 21, 257; (1788–9), iii. 145–9; (1790–1), iv. 165–356, passim; (1794–5), vi. 645; (1800), x. 12–14, 73, 89; (1804–5), xii. 117–20; *Gaz. Mex.*, 1728 and 1729, in *Arévalo, Comp.*, 29–30, 184; *Gaz. Gob. Mex.* (1810), i. 802; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 62, 72, 83, 90–1, 99, 122; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 193, 285; *Vetancvrt, Trat. Mex.*, 26, 27, 52, 53, 71, 72, 77; *Vetancvrt, Menol.*, 137; *Robles, Diario*, 223–495, passim; *Gomez, Diario*, 15–312, passim; *Guijo, Diario*, 218, 277–8, 371; *Castro*, 13, 14, 18, 19, 39, 43, 47–8, 56–7; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 291; *Juarros, Comp.*, 284–90, 297–8, 359–60; *Santos, Chrón. Hosp.*, ii. 480; *Dávila, Mem. Hist.*, pt. i. 117–57; *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., i. 571; ii. no. 2; *Rivera, Diario Curiosa*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser. iv. 88; vi. 12, 18–19, 26; *Oax., Asuntos*, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., no. 2, 2, 74; *Diario Mex.*, viii. 285; ix. 177; xi. 207–9, 565; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 209; iii. 140; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 547; *Iglesias, Rel.*, 287–300; *La Casas y la Mota, Memorial*, 102; *Arévalo, Comp.*, 30; *Gaz. Mex.*, Aug. 1728, in *Arévalo Comp.*, 69; *Perez, Orac. Fúnebre*, 1–42; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, i. 108; ii. 246; iii. 141; *Alcalde, Elog. Fúneb.*, 34–41; i.–xxviii. 1–49; *Sermon Panegírico*, 1–23; *Oratio Fúneb.*, i.–xxxix.; *Sermon Predic.*, 1–30; *Rel. Senc. del funeral*, 1–13; *Mora, Revol. Mex.*, iii. 358; iv. 58; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, passim; *Descrip. y Prosp.*, 1–13; *Subsidio Eccles.*, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., iii. no. 1, 59, 276; *Jal. Mem. Hist.*, 205–7; *Registro, Yucateco*, i. 228–30; ii. 331–43; *Castillo, Dicc. Hist.*, 9–314, passim; *Guadal.*, in *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., i. no. 6, 9; *Castilla, Espejo de Exemp. Ob.*, passim; *Escudero, Estad. Dur.*, 23; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 40; *Romero, Not. Mich.*, 14–21, 25, 151; *Linares, Cuadro Sinóp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ep. iv. 639–40; *Montaña, El Corazon de las rosas*, passim; *Carriedo, Estudios*, 67–8, 114–17; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, iii. 381; *Iglesias y Conv.*, 175–7, 231–3, 316–20; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 80, 99, 126, 145, 151, 160, 175–7, 231–3, 316–20; *Arroniz, Biog. Mex.*, 152–5; *Lázaro, Sermon Fúnebre*, nos. 6 and 7, in *Arteaga Josías Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, i. 282; *Alfaro y Piña, Cat. de Guad.*, 5–14; *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, ii. 201–518, passim.

[43] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 127; *Real Consulado de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 6; *Mex. Diario*, vi. 94. Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 45, gives the number of clergymen at 6,000 in 1646; he probably meant both secular and regular priests, otherwise his figures appear excessive.

[44] *Estalla*, xxvii. 192–3; *Iglesias y Conv.*, 16, 24, 147–52, 190–1, 236, 275, 304–5, 334; *Fabian, Col. de Provid.*, 307–11, 522–656, passim; *Haro y Peralta, Carta Pástoral*, 1–266, passim.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a number of religious cofradías or fraternities were established in Mexico and other towns for the purpose mainly of rendering special worship to God, or the virgin, in some of their attributes, or to saints in whose influence and intercession in heaven they placed their trust. Among them are many that deserve mention for their exertions in succoring the needy and sick, and in the spread of education as well as of religion. I am unable for want of space to furnish a history of these associations and their work, but as a mark of respect to their good intentions will name a few of them. The colegiata de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of which much has been said in other parts of this work; an institution of a similar character in Querétaro; the archicofradías of La Cruz and the Santísimo Cristo de San Marcelo, the first named of the two being founded by the conqueror Cortés; the archicofradías del arcángel San Miguel and of La Inmaculada Concepcion; cofradías de San Anton, Nuestra Señora del Socorro, and Santiago; and that of the Santísimo Sacramento in Vera Cruz. The country teemed with sanctuaries, and to some of the images kept therein were attributed miraculous manifestations.[45]

The church of Mexico owned real estate, probably to the value of between two and three million pesos. After the suppression of the Jesuits few lands went into the possession of the church. Its real wealth consisted of the tithes and vast amounts secured by mortgage, *á censo redimible* on the lands of private parties.

[45] The following authorities treat of this subject: *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., iii. 169–70; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 33–4, 189; *Navarrete, Rescriptos Reales*, MS., 56–62; *Rel. Peregrina*, ii. 95–248, passim; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Glorias de Quer.*, 5 l., 235, 4 l.; *Archicof. del Arcángel S. Miguel*, 1–48; *Cabrera, Escudo de Armas*, 97–106; *Cédula*, Feb. 6, 1768, 1–27; *La Casa Peregrina*, passim; *Covadonga, Constituc.*, 1–83; *Indulgencias Perpetuas*, 1–20; *Florencia, Orígen del Célebre Santuario*, 1–234, passim; *Estalla*, xxvi. 326–8; *Velasco y Texada, Hist. Milagros. Imágen*, passim; *Zavala, La Ven. Congreg. S. Felipe Neri*, 16–137, passim.

The aggregate value of the church property, both secular and regular, in estates and mortgages, must have been, in the early part of the present century, not less than one half the total value of real estate in the country. As early as 1644 the ayuntamiento of Mexico petitioned King Felipe IV. to check the increase of convents and of investments for religious purposes.[46] The possessions of the church were considerably reduced in 1767 by the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose estates reverted to the royal treasury, though the rights of the benevolent establishments of which the Jesuits had been in charge were duly respected. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the aggregate must have been as above stated, and represented a money value of about $44,500,000.[47]

In 1804, at which date it will be remembered war broke out with France, the Spanish government seeing no escape from impending bankruptcy, in consequence of an over-issue of royal *vales*, or treasury notes, attempted a very dangerous financial measure, by ordering on the 26th of December, not only the

[46] The greater portion of the landed property being in one shape or other in the hands of the church, it was feared that if left unchecked it would soon own all the land in the country. No more convents were needed; there were too many nuns and servants there already, and too little with which to support them. The number of friars and clergymen was also represented in the same memorial as excessive, and so was that of holidays, with which 'se acrecienta el caudal de la ociosidad, y daños que causa esta.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 16–17.

[47] Their investments bore the title of *capitales de capellanías y obras de la jurisdiccion ordinaria*. They were situated as follows: Archbishopric of Mexico, $9,000,000; bishopric of Puebla, $6,500,000; bishopric of Valladolid (very exact), $4,500,000; bishopric of Guadalajara $3,000,000; bishoprics of Durango, Nuevo Leon, and Sonora, $1,000,000; bishoprics of Oajaca and Yucatan, $2,000,000; *Obras pias*, of the regular clergy, $2,500,000; *Fondo dotal* of churches and of male and female religious communities, $16,000,000. These figures were taken from a memorial of the citizens of Valladolid in Michoacan to Viceroy Iturrigaray, on the 24th of October, 1805. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 475–7. Alaman, *Hist. Méj.*, i. 66–8, claims that the aggregate must have been much larger, grounding his judgment both on the results of the assessments to collect the direct tax in later years, and on the fact that scarcely one single estate was not thus encumbered. Many of the estates were mortgaged for their full value, and some for even more, thus rendering it necessary in the course of time to require the proprietors to produce evidence that their lands were not mortgaged for more than two thirds of their value.

sale of the real estate of the church, but that all its invested funds, of every kind, should be forwarded to Spain and deposited in a *caja de consolidacion de vales reales.*[48] The resistance of the proprietors was so strong, however, that between May 1805 and June 1806, the caja de consolidacion had received from the sequestrated estates only 1,200,000 pesos.

Aside from the income obtained from real estate and investments, the revenues of the church were derived from various sources, as the *primicias* or first fruits, payable to the parish priests, a tax claimed to have existed from the earliest days;[49] fees for masses, marriages, and burials, which yielded largely in most of the dioceses;[50] and last, though by no means least, the tithes. The king of Spain possessed under the bull of Pope Alexander VI. issued in 1501, the exclusive right of collecting the tithes in America, subject to the sole condition of providing for the religious instruction of the natives.[51]

[48] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 476; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da ép. i. 486–95; *Suarez, Informe*, 7; *Diario Mex.*, vi. 366–8; *Mora, Obras Sueltos*, i. 70–117; *Lacunza, Disc. Hist.*, no. xxxvi. 533–4. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, v. 622, tells us that the archbishop and chapter of Mexico had donated to the crown, in 1777, $80,000.

[49] If the crop of grain reached six fanegas, the tax was a half fanega, and so in proportion. On live-stock the tax was one head for every twelve; on milk, the quantity obtained in the milking of the first night of each year. *Edicto*, MS., in *Maltrat. de Ind.*, no. 7, 1–2; *Mex. Represent.*, MS., in *Maltrat. de Ind.*, no. 1, 1–39.

[50] In September 1619, the real audiencia required of the archbishop of Mexico compliance with the royal order of May 12th of the same year, to keep and observe the 'sínodo y aranzel de Sevilla' of burial fees. The pope also issued stringent orders. Changes were made from time to time in the fee bill with the view of reducing it, but it never ceased to be a heavy burden. *Montemayor, Autos Acord.*, 7, in *Montemayor, Svmarios, Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 373–97, 415, 454; *Rubio y Salinas, Aranz.*, 1–19; *Lorenzana, Aranz.*, 1–10; *Inform. sobre Aranceles*, in *Maltrat. de Ind.*, MS., no. 23, 1–40; *Mex. Aranceles Parroq.*, in *Id.*, MS., no. 24, 1–16.

[51] The gross amount of tithes was first divided into four equal parts, two of which went to the bishop and chapter; the other two were divided into nine equal parts; two for the crown, three for building churches and hospitals, two for salaries of curates, and where the amount was insufficient the king allowed them salaries of $100 or $120 a year from his own share; the remaining two parts went to pay the dignitaries and employés of the diocese. *Estalla*, xxvii. 233–5; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 178. The collection and distribution were provided for in royal orders of 1627, 1631, 1777, 1786. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 578; *Beleña, Recop.*, ii. 145–51; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 40, 42–55. The collection of primicias and tithes and the adjudication of disputed questions were in charge of the *hacedurία* or *juzgado de diezmos*, consisting in

The gross amount of tithes collected in all the dioceses was in the decade ending in 1779, 13,357,157 pesos; in that ending in 1789, 18,353,821 pesos.[52] The total revenue of the nine dioceses for 1803 was 539,000 pesos according to official records.[53] These figures have been disputed, however, and it has even been positively asserted that the actual revenue of these bishoprics and that of Chiapas amounted in 1805 to twelve or thirteen million pesos, out of which sum four millions fell to the share of the archbishop.[54]

Property left by bishops and archbishops at their death, resulting from the revenue of their sees, reverted to the crown, under royal cédula of March 28, 1620, and was known under the name of *espolios*.[55] All the chief offices of the church were filled by royal appointment, and the incumbents were required to pay the crown the *media anata*, or one half of the first year's income. The offices of minor importance yielding less than $413 paid the crown only one month's income, known as the *mesada*.[56]

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the in-

the city of Mexico of two judges and a notary or clerk. The *contaduría* or auditor's office had a first and second auditor with a first and second clerk. *Zuñiga, Cedulario*, 51.

[52] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 473–8; *Id., Tablas Estad.*, MS., 41; his figures being taken from an official statement by Joaquin Maniau. *Noticias de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 8–23; *N. Esp., Breve Resum.*, i. 139, 245, ii. 301–2. According to Estalla's account, xxvii. 9–10, the tithes of Mexico, Puebla, Oajaca, Guadalajara, and Durango were in 1769–79, $10,676,947; in 1779–89, $14,844,987; he omits those of Michoacan; his figures differ somewhat from Maniau's. *Pinkerton's Modern Geog.*, iii. 234.

[53] Mexico, $130,000; Puebla, $110,000; Michoacan, $100,000; Nueva Galicia, $90,000; Durango, $35,000; Nuevo Leon, $30,000; Oajaca, $18,000; Sonora, $6,000; Yucatan, $20,000. It was painful to see a diocese like that of Mexico paying curates of Indian towns only $100 or $120 a year. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 127–9; *Id., Versuch*, i. 181; *Queipo, Col. Doc.*, 14, in *Pap. Var.*, 164, no. 1.

[54] The rental of the archbishopric proper was acknowledged at $2,944,970; add to the regular revenue the alms, etc., of the clergy, secular and regular, which amount is concealed, and the whole will swell to the sums given above. *Notic. de N. Esp.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 8.

[55] A law of 1652 prescribed the mode in which bishops should make inventories of the property they owned before their appointment. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 65–6; *Estalla*, xxvii. 236; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 130.

[56] *Estalla*, xxvii. 235; *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 382; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iv. 268–73; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 69–71; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hacienda*, iii. 89–135; *Panes, Vir. in Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 141; *Rivera, Id.*, i. 226.

quisition had attained great predominance, causing even the viceroy and audiencia to lose much of their power and prestige.[57] In 1747 the inquisidor general had issued an ordinance in thirty-four sections intended to avert all disputes on jurisdiction, and to maintain intact the prerogatives of each department of government. That ordinance was, however, often disregarded by the inquisitors of Mexico.[58]

Between the year 1600 and the end of the eighteenth century occurred many autos de fé, both particular and general, the records of which have not been completely published.[59] In the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the inquisition, which till then had been mainly engaged in persecuting Portuguese Jews, sorcerers, witches, apostate priests, bigamists, and other offenders, found a new and fruitful field among the readers of modern philosophical works, most of which were

[57] In 1727 the king ordered the viceroy to protect the royal jurisdiction against encroachments of the inquisition under pretext of privilege. At the same time he wished the court to be aided in every way, and its officers and attachés respected in their rights and functions. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 212–17; *Provid. Reales*, MS., 261–6.

[58] This body was seriously rebuked for it in 1785 by the crown. *Rescrip. Reales Ecles.*, MS., 8–19, 27, 113–16; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., 208–10; *Reales Ord.*, vi. 65–8.

[59] A notable one was the case of William Lampart, an Irishman, or of Irish descent, who came to Mexico in 1640, and was known as Guillen Lombardo, *alias* Guzman, arrested in 1642 as an 'astrólogo judiciario con mala aplicacion de sus estudios,' and put into a dungeon. Dec. 24, 1650, he with another man broke jail, and sent to the viceroy several documents, and scattered others, against the archbishop and inquisitors, accusing the latter of treasonable views, ignorance, and theft. Much trouble might have been occasioned had not Lampart and his companion been recaptured. His fate remains unknown, though there is some reason to surmise that he perished as a heretic in November, 1659. *Torquemada*, iii. 380–1; *Guijo, Diario*, 4, 5, 32, 42–53, 105–6, 126–7, 162–3, 226, 427, 492, 525, 561; *Puiglanch, La Inquisicion*, 84, and notes, 38; *Panes, Vir.*, in *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., 100–1, 136; *Diario Méx.*, v. 380–4; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 159–61, 172–6, 185; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 99–102; *Robles, Diario*, 56–7, 86, 98, 214, 232, 242–3, 292, 315; *Gaz. Méx.* (1784–5), i. 308–9, 326. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, x. 513, alleges that in the 249 years the inquisition existed in Mexico, there were altogether 30 autos de fé, and 405 prisoners tried, of whom nine were burned alive, 12 burnt after execution, one, the patriot chief Morelos, shot, not for religious but political reasons, and 69 burnt in effigy. Reports of cruelty to prisoners in dungeons he declares false and calumnious, and incited by party spirit. It will be for the reader a question of veracity between the numerous accusers of the inquisition, and of the government sustaining it, on the one part, and Zamacois' bigotry, and exaggerated 'españolismo,' on the other.

under the ban, and in the list of forbidden publications. The labors of the inquisitors rapidly increased, and we are told that at one time they had upward of a thousand cases pending.[60] Many edicts were issued, threatening with excommunication those who dared to ignore this prohibition and to read such works.[61]

The progress of science, the enlightenment of the people, and the defence of popular rights against kingcraft were thus hindered by that tool of bigotry, ignorance, and refined despotism. It was even worse; for by recognizing the existence of sorcerers, witches, and others supposed to be possessed with the evil spirit the *venerables inquisidores del santo tribunal*, as the king called them, stupidly propagated pernicious errors. The extinction of this tribunal was first decreed by the archbishop of Mexico, on September 27, 1813, by order of the Spanish córtes of February 22d of the same year, but this became a dead letter the next year. On the 16th of June, 1820,[62] the king ordered the enforcement of this decree, and soon afterward it was carried into execution.

[60] *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 121.

[61] *Disposic. Var.*, orig. vi. 2, 15–27, 34–60; *Ord. de la Corona*, MS., vi. 117–30; *Gaz. Méx.*, v. 346, 355–9; viii. 182–7, 317–22; ix. 55–62, 553–8; x. 317–28; xi. 407–9; xii. 120–4; xiii. 119–36; xiv. 111–13; *Diario Méx.*, v. 367–78; vi. 187–95; ix. 271–5; x. 330; xi. 351–4. 361–7, 373–85.

[62] *Méx. Provid. Diocesanas*, MS., 496-7.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

1601–1803.

ROYAL CONSIDERATION FOR FRIARS—THEIR PRIVILEGES—ABUSES—COLLISION BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE ORDERS—CAUSES—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE ORDERS—GACHUPIN AND CREOLE FRIARS—THEIR UNSEEMLY QUARRELS—VICE AND IMMORALITY—GREAT INCREASE IN NUMBER OF REGULARS—NUNNERIES AND NUNS—MISSIONS—CHURCH SECULARIZATION—ROUTINE OF DUTIES—PROGRESS OF THE FRANCISCANS—EFFORTS IN SIERRA GORDA—THE AUGUSTINIANS—DIVISION OF THEIR PROVINCIA—INTERNAL DISSENSION—EL TRIÉNIO FELIZ—DISTURBANCE IN THE CONVENT AT MEXICO—ARRIVAL OF BAREFOOTED AUGUSTINIANS—DOMINICAN LABORS—MINOR ORDERS—ORDERS OF CHARITY.

DURING the sixteenth century, when the spiritual conquest of the country was as yet unaccomplished, friars were so much needed that they were sent to the Indies by the king free of expense; they were conveyed thither by governors, viceroys, and bishops upon the same terms, and assisted and provided for on their arrival in New Spain until the members of different orders were enabled, by their sufficient numbers and increased prosperity, to establish themselves in communities.[1] Nor was the encouragement which they received limited to personal convenience and requirements; both king and pope extended privileges and protection to them in order to facilitate the labors of their calling. Viceroys and prelates were instructed to aid them; civil authorities were commanded not to molest them or interfere with their administration; aid

[1] Laws prescribing the mode of rendering aid to friars, and regulations to be observed by them on going to the Indies, will be found in *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 104–6, 128–9.

in founding convents was afforded them, the poorer of such establishments receiving presents from the king of chalice and paten, wine and oil,[2] while the sick among them were supplied with medicines.

Papal concessions to members of the regular orders in New Spain were on a scale still more liberal. The peculiar position of these missionaries required that they should be endowed with prerogatives which had hitherto belonged solely to the church. Hence the pope conceded to them rights and powers which the regulars in Europe could never obtain. The secular clergy were too few in number to perform the rites of the church throughout the length and breadth of the land, and bulls were issued granting to friars the privilege of exercising, in the towns where they established themselves, all the duties of a parish priest. They could hear confessions, and give absolution and dispensations; could administer the sacraments and celebrate marriages; could preach, teach, and confirm.[3]

Such concessions appeared desirable at first, but when the church became more fully established, and bishoprics were erected in widely distant provinces, a collision was the inevitable result. To the humble isolated convents of the first missionaries year by year others of costly structure were added, and custodias created. These in turn had developed extensive provincias, and broad lands and much treasure had been acquired by the orders.[4] Monastic simplicity gave way to luxury, assumption of authority, and abuses.

[2] *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 17–21. Monasteries established on royal encomiendas were built at the king's expense. *Id.*, i. 18. Consult also *Id.*, i. 114, 122–3. In 1674 the queen regent ordered that the amount to be expended for purchase of wine and oil should not exceed 40,000 pesos a year. *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 4. It was ordered in 1561 that convents should be at least six leagues apart; nor could they be founded where there was a parish priest. This law was passed in 1559, *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 95, when a considerable number was already established. In 1595 friars were protected by papal bull against interference by the ordinarios, or judges of ecclesiatical causes. *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 312.

[3] *Id.*, 184–92, 218–22; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 473–4.

[4] Convents, in many of which an inadequate number of friars resided, so multiplied during the sixteenth century that in 1611 Paul V. issued a

At an early period the friars of New Spain appear to have displayed much of the indifference to laws and independence of action which was assumed by the colonists. Quickly amassing wealth, many of them returned to Spain without permission, while others, attracted by the comforts and ease offered by a residence in the larger cities of the New World, took up their abode in them, and failed to proceed to their destination.[5] Nor did they refrain from intruding upon the occupations of classes outside their own profession. They bought and sold and opened shops; they dealt in cattle,[6] and made the natives toil for them without payment; private individuals acquired property,[7] and monastic communities, in common with the secular clergy, possessed themselves of estates bequeathed to them by persons whose unbiassed action was interfered with to the detriment of their own heirs.[8] Moreover, in their zeal for self-aggrandizement, they encroached upon the prerogatives of the govern-

bull suppressing all that were not occupied by eight resident friars. *Guat., Col. de Cédulas Reales; Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 355. According to *Torquemada*, iii. 381–2, in 1612 the Franciscans possessed about 172 monasteries and religious houses, divided into the five provincias of Mexico, Michoacan, Zacatecas, Nueva Galicia, and Yucatan; the Augustinians had about 90 monasteries in two provinces, that of Mexico and that comprising Michoacan and Jalisco; and the Dominicans 69 monasteries in the provincias of Mexico and Oajaca.

[5] Laws were passed in 1558 and 1566 prohibiting friars returning to Spain from bringing with them more gold or silver than was sufficient to meet the expenses of their passage. *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 33; *Morelli, Nov. Orb.*, 200. Great restrictions were laid upon their returning to Spain. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 93, 107–8, 127–8. The rules on this matter were frequently broken, as is evident from the repeated repetition of them.

[6] *Id.*, i. 125, 129.

[7] In 1568 a law was passed ordering that the papal brief forbidding individual friars to hold private property should be observed. *Id.*, i. 117; *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 229. The practice of making Indians work without paying them was forbidden in 1594, *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 125, but in 1716 the same practice prevailed, the friars going so far as to impress upon the natives, who worked for them, that they were exempt from paying the royal tribute. In November of the above named year a cédula was issued ordering such abuses to cease. *Guat., Col. Reales Céd.*

[8] In 1754 the king expressly forbade any member of a religious order to interfere in the drawing-up of last wills and testaments, *Castro, Diario*, 55, and in 1775 a cédula was passed prohibiting confessors or their convents from being heirs or legatees. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 194–6. In 1796, however, a decree was passed allowing friars to inherit estates. *Rescriptos Reales, Ecles.*, MS., 28–56, 99–151, 177.

ment by meddling in secular affairs,[9] and were frequently engaged in disputes with the state and civil authorities.

But it was with the church that the regular orders were most hotly engaged, and the struggle between them and the secular clergy, of which mention has already been made, lasted with more or less bitterness on both sides down to the time of the independence. As the Catholic church in New Spain extended her operations, and was able to appoint parish priests in towns more and more remote, she felt herself competent to administer her holy rites in those places without further aid of the friars, and was unwilling longer to divide alike authority and spoils with allies whose usefulness had become limited. But though she wished to reassume absolutely her own prerogatives, and removed friars from doctrinas, she met with firm opposition from the orders, who were extremely jealous in maintaining the privileges which had been conferred upon them. The regulars, therefore, refused submission to the bishops whenever they considered their rights invaded, and disputes with parish priests expanded into a contest with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[10]

But the church was powerful; many privileges were annulled, orders were issued enjoining the obe-

[9] *Medina, Chron. de S. Diego Mex.*, 189; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 121, 130.

[10] A prominent cause of dispute was the jurisdiction exercised by the bishops over the doctrinas. In 1643 the bishop of Yucatan excommunicated certain Franciscan doctrineros for disobeying his orders relative to the payments made to them by Indians. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 662–73. In 1669 a quarrel between Archbishop Rivera and the orders gave rise to 'un disturbio que se temió fatalidad,' the former having appointed canonical ministers to 16 doctrinas, the presentations to which were claimed by the provincial of the Augustinians. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 83–4. I have in my collection the original of a report made by Fray Antonio Ayetta, the representative at Madrid of the provincia de Santo Evangelio. The document bears date of March 9, 1688, and sets forth the difficulties Ayetta had encountered, arising from the hostility of the bishop of Guadalajara. *Informe*, in *Prov. de Sta Evang.*, MS., 273–91. The same father in a memorial to the king argues against the claim of said bishop that the causes for changes in ministros doctrineros should be laid before him, the king having decreed that this should be done only to the viceroy as vice-patrono. *Ayetta, Represent. por los Franciscanos*, 15.

dience of the regulars to the bishops, and laws passed affecting their jurisdiction and internal administration, and regulating the appointment to doctrinas of those duly qualified.[11] The outcry was loud and long, and much scandal ensued, but the king and pope conjointly had raised up a great power in the land, and the objections of the friars to royal cédulas and the commands of the bishops were so persistently urged, and their own claim to privileges so ably argued, that modifications of the restrictions were obtained.

While the regular orders were thus united in their opposition to church and state, it was otherwise among themselves. Dissensions between different orders and discord among the members of individual institutions were incessant. In the internal government of the orders the two prominent causes of disagreement were the election of provincials and other officers, and the interminable quarrels between Spanish and creole members.[12] Spanish friars who had taken the habit in Europe displayed an ungenerous rivalry toward members of orders who, though of their own race, had been born in America, and would have excluded them from the right to hold office. Such views were indignantly opposed by the creoles, who denied that they were in any way inferior to the Europeans, while the latter refused to admit them on terms of equality.[13] In order to adjust differences which led to actual animosity between the two classes, the system of alternation in office was established by

[11] The restrictions were principally confined to the administration of the sacraments, hearing confession, and preaching. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 66–7, 84, 117, 124–5, 487; *Medina, Chron. de S. Diego, Mex.*, 194; *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 383–4, 386–7, 394–5; *Montemayor, Svmario*, 24–6, 37–48; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 157–8. For a number of laws bearing upon friars as doctrineros see *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 131, 133–6, 138–40. With respect to irregularities prevailing in the doctrinas and the action of Bishop Palafox see this vol. pp. 160–1. A principal cause of grievance was the transferring the doctrinas from the orders to the secular clergy by the bishops.

[12] These quarrels in the Dominican order became so violent that in 1627 the visitador of the society ordered that no more habits should be given to creoles. The king disapproved of such injustice. *Disturbios de Frailes*, i. no. 4; *Cédulario Nuevo*, i. 390.

[13] *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 479–85.

papal bulls and royal decrees. Some of the orders at once complied with this regulation. The arrangement had, however, its exact counterpart in many cases, entire communities being composed wholly of creoles and others wholly of Spaniards.[14]

Although the alternation system, repeatedly insisted upon by the crown, secured to creoles the right to official appointments, it was not faithfully carried out, and frequent were their complaints of partiality to Spaniards and injustice to themselves.[15] It utterly failed to produce harmony. Criminations and recriminations prevailed down to the nineteenth century, and instances are not wanting of these teachers of peace and humility proceeding to acts of personal violence among themselves.[16]

In the zealous assertion of their privileges the action of friars was not unfrequently marked by turbulency and opposition to the civil authorities,[17] and

[14] The decrees sent from Rome and Spain ordered alternation every three or four years. For the reason that for some time no natives of Old Spain applied for admission into the order of the Hermitaños de San Agustin of Mexico, the prelates of that society finally admitted only creoles. A royal cédula dated November 28, 1667, ordered the viceroy to investigate and reform the irregularity. *Id.* The convent of the Carmelites and the apostolic colleges of San Fernando, Cruz de Querétaro, and others were composed entirely of Spaniards; the communities of Guadalupe de Zacatecas, and those of San Juan de Dios and San Hipólito of the hospitallers, were creole. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 13, 70. Pope Urbano VII. defined, by brief of November 12, 1625, the observances to be used by the Franciscans in the distribution of offices among the three different classes of which their order was composed, namely, the 'criollos,' the 'hijos de provincia,' and the 'capuchinos,' who are thus respectively defined. The first were those who were born in the country of Spanish parents and had taken the habit; the second were Spaniards who took the habit in New Spain, and the third were Spaniards who entered the order in Europe. *Vrbano VIII.*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, i. 146 et seq.

[15] The three classes mentioned in the preceding note were distinguished by different habits. *Sierra, Dictamen*, in *Id.*, i. 347–63. A royal order dated September 11, 1766, confirming previous ones issued in 1691, 1697, and 1725, directed the admission of Indians into the religious orders. *Providencias Reales*, in *Mex. Ordinanzas de esta N. C.*, MS., 178–82.

[16] A notable case occurred in the city of Mexico on the 9th of July 1780 when a serious riot occurred in the convent of San Francisco, occasioned by the seizure of the 'guardian Fray Mateo Jimenez, a gachupin.' The two parties came to blows, 25 friars fled, and it required the employment of a military force to effect the release of Jimenez, his captors having twice refused to obey the summons sent by the viceroy to surrender him. *Gomez, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2da série, vii. 89, 91-2.

[17] A tumult was occasioned in 1664 by the rescue of a negress who was being led to execution for the attempted murder of her mistress. The friars

orders were repeatedly issued from the throne that such characters as well as vagabond friars who had been unfrocked or expelled from their convents should be sent to Spain.[18]

With regard to the private life of the friars it cannot truthfully be said that it was in keeping with the simplicity and abstinence which their vows required. The contrast between them and the earlier missionaries is striking. Many indulged not only in the pleasures and luxuries of the laity, but also in their vices. Instead of abstemiousness, feasting and carousal prevailed among them, as among the secular clergy; instead of humble garb and bearing, pompous display in embroidered doublets and silken hose of bright color; instead of study and devotional exercises, dice-throwing and card-playing, over which the pious gamblers cursed and swore and drank.[19] Immorality too often usurped the place of celibacy,[20] and murder that of martyrdom.[21] It must not, however, be concluded

who attended her raised the cry of 'To the church,' whereupon a crowd of negroes, mulattoes, and others, in spite of the resistance of the guard carried her into the cathedral. Attempts of the authorities to release her failed. She was afterward conveyed to the convent of La Concepcion and escaped punishment. *Guijo, Diario*, 551.

[18] *Ordenes de la Corona*, iv. 84–5; vii. 11, 84–5.

[19] Gage, i. 82, tells a story of a priest who, having won a large sum, held open one of the sleeves of his habit and swept his gains into it with the other, jocularly explaining that he had taken a vow neither to touch nor keep money, but that his sleeve had permission to do so. *Delaporte*, x. 198–208, 307.

[20] The inquisition in 1742 instituted proceedings against Fray Lázaro Jimenez del Guante, a Franciscan of Querétaro, for soliciting women—some of whom denounced him—and other immoral practices. Being found guilty he was deprived for life of the right of hearing confessions and otherwise punished. *Ximenez, Fray Lázaro, Inquisidor fiscal contra*, MS., fol. pp. 281.

[21] In 1789 Fray Jacinto Miranda, of the order of la Merced, stabbed and killed the comendador Padre Gregorio Corte. Miranda had been placed under severe discipline by the comendador; he was tried before the archbishop for his crime. The order made strenuous efforts to save him from capital punishment, and he was probably sent to Spain. *Miranda, Causa de Homicidio*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., ii. no. i. pp. 37–128; no. 8, pp. 331–40; *Bernal y Malo-Waldo, Indalecio, Alegato*, 1–86. The kings of Spain were unwilling that the excesses committed by friars should become public if it could be avoided, and left their punishment, as far as possible, to the jurisdiction of the several orders. But it being discovered that such license led to abuses, instructions were issued to the archbishop and bishops, enjoining them, in case merited punishment was not meted out to delinquents by the superiors of the orders, to assume the jurisdiction with which they were invested by the council of Trent. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 123.

that there were no righteous men among the friars. The records of the chroniclers show that many excellent and worthy members, of high principle and noble intent, labored in New Spain during this period of backsliding. But their numbers were comparatively few, and they were unable, by the exemplary lives which they led, to leaven the heavy mass of ungodliness into which they had been cast.[22]

So rapidly did the number of the regulars increase,[23] and so tempting were the inducements to the idle and vicious to join societies which offered to them opportunities of indulgence in indolence, lust, and pleasure, that the king in 1754 decreed, in accord with the holy see, that for the ten succeeding years no person should be admitted into any of the religious orders in New Spain under any pretext.[24] Of the actual number of friars resident in the country previous to the close of the eighteenth century, little information can be obtained. According to Alzate,[25] in 1787, there were in the city of Mexico alone 1,033 regulars, and Humboldt states that in 1803 in the twenty-three convents of friars then existing in the capital, there were about 1,200 members, 580 of whom were priests and choristers. The same author estimates the number of friars throughout the country, including lay brothers and servants, at between 7,000 and 8,000.[26]

While convents and friars thus multiplied, religious

[22] A modern author thus describes the moral condition of friars during the seventeenth century: 'Generalmente vivian entregados á los vicios, hallándose sin embargo muchos sacerdotes dignos en las congregaciones de S. Pedro, S. Francisco Javier y S. Felipe Neri; pero la mayor parte del clero era ignorante, relajado en sus costumbres y se cuidaba poco de la conveniencia en el trage y los alimentos, notándose desde entonces propensiones en esa clase á las rebeliones y motines.' *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.*, i. 239.

[23] According to Calle, *Mem. y Not.*, 45, in the middle of the seventeenth century there were more than 400 convents of all orders in New Spain. The bull of 1611 ordering that each convent should have at least eight inmates, was constantly disregarded. The pope issued briefs to the same effect in 1693 and 1698, and in 1703 the king commanded viceroys to enforce the order. *Ordenes de la Corona*, vii. 8–10.

[24] *Castro, Diario*, 53–5.

[25] *Gazetas*. i. 34.

[26] *Essai Pol.*, i. 127, 129.

sisterhoods increased in a corresponding degree. The several orders established during the sixteenth century founded additional nunneries in various parts, and the number of such institutions was further swelled by the arrival at intervals of sisters of other orders. In 1615 a convent of the barefooted Carmelite nuns was founded in the city of Mexico, and in 1666 that of the Capuchinas.[27] During the period between 1588 and the middle of the eighteenth century the number of such religious houses increased from seven to twenty, of different denominations.[28]

Nunneries were also founded in Puebla, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Michoacan, and Jalisco, the most notable of which were those of La Merced and the Capuchinas in Michoacan, the first being established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the second in 1737.[29]

It would be supposed that these religious establishments, designed as peaceful retreats for females, would be free from strife; but truth compels me to say that the nuns were as contentious as the friars. All the orders, in fact, incessantly endeavored to shake off the control exercised over them by the provincial prelates, and free themselves from their supervision.[30] Conspicuous among these restive female communities was the nunnery of Santa Clara. The governing members of that organization claimed exemption from

[27] *Sigüenza y Góngora, Parayso Occid.*, 39–47. In 1678 a daughter of the alcalde de corte, Saenz Moreno, only five years of age, entered the order of the Capuchin nuns. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 272. Felipe IV. gave permission for the founding of this nunnery in 1664. *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 10.

[28] *San Vicente, Exacta Descrip.*, 27; *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 737, this series. In 1787 there were 1,055 nuns in the city of Mexico. *Alzate, Gazetas*, i. 34. Humboldt gives 923 as the number in 1790, while in 1803 there were in the 15 nunneries then existing in the capital about 2,100, of whom 900 were professed nuns. *Essai Pol.*, i. 195.

[29] *Iglesias, Rel.*, 239, 241–2; *Romero, Not. Mich.*, 27, 45. In 1754 the convent of la Purísima Concepcion was founded in Guanajuato. *Gomara, Exemp. Relig.*, 11–18.

[30] Viceroy Mancera informs the king that the nuns caused constant trouble to the government in such attempts. His Majesty instructed him not to allow himself or the civil authorities to intervene in cases of the kind. This relieved the government of much annoyance. *Instruc.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 479–85.

the payment of tithes;[31] they quarrelled with the Franciscan vice-comisario so that the civil authorities[32] had to interfere, and they bore themselves haughtily toward prelates and authorities.

While female superiors and their chapters thus contended for jurisdiction, the nuns and novices under their charge were rigidly protected against the contamination of the world, encouraged in the suppression of worldly inclinations by uncompromising codes, and relentlessly punished in case of transgression. Having renounced the devil and all his works, and the pleasures and innocent pastimes of life,[33] they fasted, and prayed, and worked, having all things in common, even to their clothing, and laboring for their reward in heaven.

Although the friars as a body were not men of such sanctity as their calling required, it was by their labors that the gospel was carried into remote and ever more remote regions. Whenever it was required to bring a savage tribe into the fold, it was the regular and not the secular orders that braved the dangers, endured the hardships, and performed the preliminary work. The missions undertaken by them extended to Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and far-distant California; and from the banks of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.[34] But before they reached those regions the spiritual conquest of a vast territory had to be undertaken, and during the seventeenth century numerous missions were established in various outlying localities. The importance of these forerun-

[31] *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 15.

[32] *Providencias Reales*, MS., 134–42. This occurred in 1717. The king, by royal cédula of November 3, 1722, decided adversely to the nuns. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 140–5.

[33] It was ordered by royal cédula that nunneries were not to be disturbed by visits or amusements. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 83, 111. Even the wives of members of the audiencia were prohibited from entering such establishments. *Providencias Reales*, MS., 52–3; *Convento de S. Lorenzo, Reg. y Constituc.*, 1–146.

[34] An account of the establishment of missions in these states will be found in *Hist. North Mex.*, i., this series; *Hist. Cal.;* and *Hist. New Mex. and Arizona.*

ners of the church was fully recognized by the crown, and in 1709 a royal cédula was issued enjoining viceroys, governors, bishops, and prelates of the regular orders zealously to aid in increasing the number of missions.[35] The impulse thus given was not without effect, many missions being established from the Atlantic to the Pacific by different orders.

Though few in number in proportion to their zeal, the Jesuits had previously to their expulsion already penetrated into Sonora and California, and during the two decades from 1723 to 1742 they established no less than eight missions in the wild district of Nayarit.[36] The Franciscans, however, may lay claim to having founded more institutions of this kind than any other order. In 1789 they occupied no less than one hundred and fifty-eight missions scattered over the territory lying to the north of Mexico, while others in great number had been secularized by the church.[37]

The system of church secularization of missions, however successful and profitable when applied to the more civilized pueblos of New Spain, was attended with failure when extended to the remoter regions. But the Catholic hierarchy was blinded by the desire

[35] *Ordenes de la Corona*, vii. 14.

[36] Villa-Señor narrates that in 1718 a Nayarit chief visited the city of Mexico and tendered his submission to his Catholic Majesty, requesting that missionaries accompanied by a sufficient force might be sent with him on his return. This was done; but preparations were hardly commenced for founding the mission under the superintendence of Jesuit fathers, when the worthy chief and his people abandoned their new friends, carrying off with them most of the Spaniards' baggage. The soldiers pursued them into the mountains, where they found that human sacrifices had been recently offered. Here, too, they discovered seated on a throne the skeleton of an ancestor of the existing chief, 'el qual estaba ricamente adornada de pedrer...con tahalí, brazaletes, collares, y apretadores de plata,' with a crown of many-colored feathers and all the insignia of royalty. Having captured some of the Indians they returned to the capital, where the prisoners were tried for sacrilege. In 1723 they were 'penitenciados' at an auto de fé, and on the following day the skeleton, an object of their former worship, was burnt in the plazuela de San Diego. A presidio company was then formed, and missions established by the Jesuits. *Teatro Amer.*, ii. 268–71. On the expulsion of the Jesuits their missions were placed under the charge of the Franciscans in Jalisco. *Razon de Misiones*; 1768 á 1789, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ep., i. 572. The author of the *Razon* mentions only seven missions.

[37] *Id.*, 570–3.

of aggrandizement, and whenever a mission was deemed of sufficient imdortance thither was sent a secular priest, and the friars were relieved of their charge and sent about their business. Their successors, however, were not men of like spirit with themselves. Their devotion was generally lukewarm, and they showed little real solicitude in watching over the moral and material well-being of the Indians. Thus many missions, which under the conduct of the friars had thrived, were soon abandoned, the buildings fell to ruins, and the natives relapsed into idolatry.[38]

Yet the stipends allowed by the crown to even successful friars was a mere pittance, and paid grudgingly or not at all.[39] Nevertheless the routine of duties was punctually performed at the permanently established missions. Daily at sunrise the bells summoned the Indians both male and female to church, where the padre, after prayer, explained the chief mysteries of the faith. Then the little children from five years old and upwards were instructed in the first rudiments, while the catechumens and those more advanced listened morning and afternoon to explanations of the grace whereby they should be saved.[40]

[38] Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, in a full report to the court of Spain in 1793 on the subject of missions, disapproved of the secularization of missions. 'No estoy muy conforme con las misiones que se han secularizado ni tomaré esta providencia sin que precedan seguridades visibles de su buen éxito, porque los curas clérigos no pueden hacer mas que los religiosos.' He thus describes the condition of certain missions that had been secularized: 'Es muy lastimoso el estado de las que se pusieron á cargo de sacerdotes clérigos, pues las mas se hallan sin ministros, y los existentes en calidad de interinos, sirven contra toda su voluntad, haciendo repetidas renuncias.' *Carta dirigida á la corte*, in *Dic. Univ.*, v. 439, 469.

[39] The stipend allowed each misionero was 300 pesos a year. *Venegas*, 232–3. In 1705 the allowance for the missions of the Jesuits not having been paid for three years, a council was held by them at which it was determined to abandon their missions and surrender them to the secular clergy. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 141–2. Revilla Gigedo urged the necessity of not regarding too closely the expense of stipends for missions, not merely for the sake of justice but also of safety. *Carta*, in *Dicc. Univ.*, v. 470; *Mayer MSS.*, no. xi.

[40] On feast days care was taken that all should attend mass, the Indians being called up one by one to kiss the padres' hand so that the absent ones could be noted. The more intelligent were exhorted to frequent communion. *Palou, Vida*, 25–6. These regulations were observed in the mis ions of Cerro Gordo, Querétaro, and Zacatecas.

The progress made by the Franciscans had ensured to them at the close of the sixteenth century an influential position which was further developed in the following years. From their first entry into New Spain their aim had been the extension of their order throughout the entire country; and not confining themselves to any special district, their convents were found in almost every town or pueblo of importance, though naturally those in the capital and neighborhood were most prominent.[41] At the beginning of the seventeenth century the extension of the order had assumed such dimensions that, in 1604, the provincia de San Francisco de los Zacatecas was established, and in 1607 that of Santiago of Jalisco.[42] To illustrate how vast was the influence of the Franciscan provincials at Mexico, I may mention that on several occasions the king requested them to support viceroys in their administration.[43] Indeed, such was the appreciation of the order by the crown, that the authorities in New Spain were instructed not to interfere in the least with its internal government.[44]

While the Franciscans were thus steadily gaining ground in Mexico and its environs, their progress encountered more serious obstacles in the missionary field of the central and northern regions. Effective aid in this direction was obtained from the Franciscan college for missionaries of Querétaro, established in 1683, under the name of *Colegio de propaganda fide*, by Fray Antonio Linaz de Jesus María.[45]

[41] In 1691, in the province of Santo Evangelio alone, they had 83 convents and monasteries. *Truxillo, Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 9–10. Vetancurt, *Chrón.*. 30, says 86. For description and names see *Id.*, 30 et seq., and *Sierra*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., i. 359.

[42] For details about that region see *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 393–438.

[43] Cédulas in *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iv. 132, 166, 190–1.

[44] Cédula of February 10, 1714. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 63–4.

[45] He had been sent to Spain to attend a chapter of the order, and there obtained on April 18, 1682, the king's license for the establishment, the convent of Santa Cruz at Querétaro being granted him for that purpose. In the following month the pope issued a confirmatory bull, and in 1683 Linaz left with 22 companions for New Spain, taking possession of the convent assigned him on the 15th of August 1683. *Espinosa, Cron. Apost.*, 38–50. For rules to which the members were subject, see *Id.*, 52–4.

The object of this institution was the preaching of the gospel to the natives, especially in the district of Sierra Gorda, but during the first years of its existence, the members confined their labors to the more civilized regions extending from Querétaro to Oajaca and Yucatan. In later years they also established houses in the city of Mexico, under the name of San Fernando, the Hospicio de Nuestra Señora del Destierro at Puebla, and at Zacatecas, the college of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.[46]

From these establishments and the regular convents of the order issued the Franciscan missionaries, who unceasingly devoted their energies to the conversion of the savages in the northern districts. Missions in the district of Rio Verde were founded in 1612 and succeeding years, and an independent custodia, under the name of Santa Catarina Mártir de Rio Verde, was temporarily established,[47] but more effective labors were delayed till 1686. From that time the gospel was also preached with alternating success in the more remote parts of Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosí, and Nuevo Leon, the result being frequently jeopardized by the extortions of the Spaniards, who ever followed the steps of the advancing friars.[48]

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, after the conquest of the Sierra Gorda by Escandon, that christianity became more widely spread and more firmly established there, the missionaries, after that time, being only exposed to such cause of failure as emanated from the generally poor condition of the Indians. These were often unable to furnish the means requisite for the maintenance of the friars, and occasionally it was even necessary to supply some

[46] This hospicio was closed in 1772 for want of funds. *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 431–7.

[47] Erected as such in 1621, but later reunited with the province of Michoacan, owing to insufficiency of means. *Arias*, in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 319–20. Revilla Gigedo in his report on missions says the founding of Rio Verde took place in 1607, but this indicates probably the first date when missionary labors began in that region.

[48] See *N. Mexico, Cédulas*, MS., 196–9; also *Revilla Gigedo*, in *Dicc. Univ.*, v. 458.

of the missions established after 1744[49] with provisions and tools to prevent the Indians from deserting the settlements. Notwithstanding the great interest displayed in such cases both by private persons and friars,[50] in several instances the padres either abandoned the missions or delivered them to the secular clergy. But the secularization system was also applied, and eighteen establishments of the Tampico jurisdiction, merely because of their advanced condition, were transferred to the ecclesiastics of the church.[51] That such changes were not always advantageous is certain, for in several instances missions were subsequently restored to the orders, and at the close of the century only a portion of those secularized were in charge of the secular clergy, the remainder being intrusted to the friars.

In Yucatan the Franciscans were almost the only order represented, for though the Jesuits attempted to establish colleges in that province, their influence was only temporary and never important. With the field of labor to themselves the Franciscan friars gained almost absolute direction.[52] Their missionary zeal led them on several occasions to undertake the conversion of the wild tribes in the centre of the Peninsula, but their labors were only partially successful, and several of them gained only the crown of martyrdom.

Less prominent than the followers of St Francis of Assisi were the barefooted friars of the same name

[49] Friars of the college of San Fernando at Mexico had established the missions of Xalpa, Purísima Concepcion, San Miguel, San Francisco, and Nuestra Señora de la Luz, but they declined owing to the death of several friars and the return of others to the college. In 1750, however, others were sent, among them the famous California missionaries Junípero Serra and Francisco Palou, who resumed the work with good success. *Palou, Vida*, 24–9, 34–5. See also *Arias*, in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 329–30.

[50] The settlement of Divina Pastora in the jurisdiction of Rio Verde was made at the expense of the count de Santa María Guadalupe del Peñasco and maintained by him for about 20 years. *Michoacan, Informe*, in *Id.*, 136–7; *Arias*, in *Id.*, 323.

[51] See *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 457. The total number of missions in Tamaulipas in 1787 was 48, partly belonging to the custodia of Tampico, partly to that of New Mexico. *Ylzarbe*, in *Id.*, 345–60.

[52] In 1687 a mission of 20 friars was sent to Yucatan, and the king granted them the usual alms of oil and wine. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 58.

belonging to the province of San Diego. They also spread toward the north, founding establishments in Querétaro, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato. They moreover directed their attention to the Sierra Gorda region,[53] but with less success, and consequently prosecuted their labors more generally in the province of Mexico, where they possessed the college of Pachuca[54] and the house of Recollects at San Cosme.

By the close of the sixteenth century the Augustinians had founded so many convents in localities scattered over so wide a range of country, that it was found necessary to divide the provincia into two separate jurisdictions. Accordingly, permission having been obtained from the general of the order, together with the king's sanction, in 1602 the division was effected, the new provincia comprising the territories of Michoacan and Jalisco, under the name of the provincia de San Nicolás Tolentino,[55] while that of Mexico retained the former title of Santísimo Nombre de Jesus. On the 22d of June, 1602, the first chapter was held at Uquareo attended by twenty priors, presided over by Padre Pedro de Vera, who had been elected provincial.[56]

It is unnecessary to pursue in detail the history of the provincia of San Nicolás. The conditions and mode of progress were similar to those of other orders; the friars founded new convents and missions, struggled against the authority of viceroys and audiencias, opposed ecclesiastical encroachments, and were internally agitated by the vexed question of equality of Spaniards and creoles.[57]

[53] In about 1757 the order wished to resign its settlements in that district, but was refused license to do so. *Soriano, Prólogo*, MS., 5.

[54] Founded by virtue of a bull of Pope Benedict XIII. of April 3, 1727, and confirmed in July 1733 by Clement XII. *Soriano Prólogo*, MS., 4.

[55] *Torquemada*, iii. 333; *Grijalua, Chron. de S. Augustin*, 217–18; *Salguero, Vida*, 12. The king of Spain gave his permission in 1601; the act by which the division was made was issued by the 'padre maestro' in Mexico on the 17th of March, 1602.

[56] *Prov. Mich. Agust.*, 111–13. The author of this work states that the viceroy had previously objected to the division.

[57] For 20 years the society of San Nicolás was ruled by the former, and

The years between 1623 and 1626 were marked by prosperity and peace both internal and external. This period was accordingly signalized by the appellation of 'el feliz.' The debt with which the provincia had been encumbered was paid off, and money accumulated in the coffers of the convents; twenty-five thousand pesos were expended on a chapel and sacristy for the convent at Valladolid; work on nine different churches was vigorously carried on, and the new priories of Guadiana and Ytuquaro established. About the year 1626 the prosperity of the provincia of San Nicolás appears to have reached its culmination.[58]

In the annals of the provincia of Santísimo Nombre de Jesus the year 1650 is memorable on account of an extraordinary disturbance occasioned by disputes as to the successor of the provincial Fray Diego Pacheco who died during his term of office. On his demise the friars Francisco de Mendoza and Diego de los Rios provincial ad interim, together with the definidores, elected Fray Andrés de Oñate of the provincia

habits of the order were prohibited from being granted to the latter class. *Provincia*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., i. no. iv. 167. About the year 1630, however, the Capuchines were compelled to yield to the pressure brought to bear upon them, and the alternative system came into force. *Mich., Prov. S. Nic.*, 189–96. In 1629 a violent dissension occurred owing to the appointment of Juan de Leivana as provincial, without any attention being paid to the 'alternativa.' Eleven voters immediately proceeded to Mexico, and by order of the viceroy formed themselves into a chapter, admitted the alternative system, and elected Padre Vergara provincial. Vergara returned to Michoacan accompanied by an oidor. Fray Leivana opposed his taking possession of the office, and attempted to place Vergara in confinement, whereupon a chapter was held at Valladolid, and Leivana was sentenced to be banished to China. He was afterward sent to Acapulco, but the ships had sailed before his arrival. *Salguero, Vida*, 87–9; *Prov. Mich., Agust.*, 192–4. Veraga died in the first year of his office, and was succeeded by P. Pedro de Santa María, for the concluding two years. In 1632 the majority elected P. Damian Nuñez provincial. *Id.*, 194–6. Nuñez was a creole, and appears to have been the first of that class who occupied the office.

[58]The increase of rental was estimated at 300,000 pesos. The income of the provincial treasury during these three years was 54,378 pesos, of which 27,236 pesos were expended on the repair of churches and the erection of the Valladolid chapel; of the remainder, 3,000 pesos were allowed the provincial for expenses; 2,136 pesos were spent in supplying assistance to sick and needy friars; debts amounting to 3,323 pesos brought forward from the preceding triennial were liquidated, and 1,360 pesos were transmitted to the general of the order, making the outcome amount to 37,055 pesos, and leaving a balance in favor of the treasury of 17,323 pesos. *Salguero, Vida*, 19–21.

of Guatemala as vicar-provincial. Thereupon Fray Juan Guerrero presented a memorial to the viceroy setting forth that he was in possession of letters credential from the general of the order appointing him successor in case of the death of the provincial; that he had hitherto withheld them, as there had been no necessity to produce them, but that Oñate being blind and incapacitated for service, he now claimed his right to the office. This memorial was sent by the viceroy to the definitorio, and caused Padre Rios and three definidores to recognize Guerrero as provincial and formally declare him as such. This gave offence to Padre Mendoza, who hastened to attach to his party the archbishop, inquisitors, and nobility. He moreover immediately communicated with Oñate tendering his obedience to him as provincial. Oñate at once proceeded to Mexico, performing various duties pertaining to his office during his journey. On his arrival, however, the letters of the Augustinian general which had been in the keeping of Rios were produced, and Guerrero's party refused to recognize Oñate. Mendoza now represented to the viceroy the true state of the case, maintaining that Guerrero ought to have produced his credentials earlier, and thus have avoided all cause for dissension. This view was adopted by the viceroy, who despatched an order by the officers of the criminal court, supported by the palace guard, commanding the recognition of Oñate. A great commotion ensued. Rios and the three definidores refused to obey the order or open the doors of the convent. At nine o'clock at night the alcaldes and guard again brought the commands of the viceroy to the refractory friars, but without any better result;[59] nor did they yield until a notification of banishment to the port of Acapulco was served upon them. Oñate was then instated in his office, and meeting with further opposition he banished the contentious members

[59] 'Con que se fueron los alcaldes y guardia, y quedó el convento en un infierno de disturbios.' *Guijo, Diario*, 143.

to the pueblo of Oquituco, within a week of his installation. Some degree of peace was thus restored in the convent.[60]

In 1606 the order of barefooted Augustinians was first represented in New Spain by the arrival of twelve members of that society with Padre Juan de San Gerónimo at their head.[61] They first established their hospital at Tlatilulco and afterwards removed to the capital, occupying a house which had been left to them by the presbyter Bartolomé Lopez.[62]

The Dominican friars, as the reader is aware, obtained almost undisputed possession of Oajaca, their establishment in that region having been formed into a separate province under the name of San Hipólito. They were now bent on extending their influence in a northerly direction from the capital, and with such a view established as early as 1604 a convent at Zacatecas, and another in 1610 at Guadalajara. Subsequently they began to work as missionaries in the region of Sierra Gorda, the present Querétaro, where the Franciscans had so far been unable to establish themselves to any extent. The Dominicans commenced the conversion of the Chichimecs blancos in 1686, and about fifteen years later they had at least so far succeeded as to found six missions to which was gathered the greater part of the population. Unfortunately a revolt of the Indians at the beginning of

[60] 'Quedó el convento algo sosegado y sus parciales con algunos temores.' *Id.*, 145. During the years 1652 to 1654 the Augustinians were engaged in disputes with the bishops owing to their removal from doctrinas. Royal interference was necessary and commands on the matter were issued. *Frailes Doctrin.*, in *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., ii. no. ii. 129–88. In 1676 the Augustinian church in the capital was burnt down. Much popular superstition prevailed relative to this disaster and its significance. *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 15. A royal cédula was issued in 1741 ordering the provincial definitorio to be held every two years. No appeal from this decree would be admitted. *Reales, Cédulas*, MS., 130–2.

[61] Nine of these friars were ordained priests, the remaining three being lay brothers. *Vetancvrt, Trat. de Mex.*, 38–9; *Medina, Chron. de S. Diego*, 11.

[62] The pope granted extensive privileges to this order in 1704: 'Ut Rectores Provinciales Discalceatorum Ordinis S. Augustini Congregationis... gaudeant eisdem privilegiis quibus Provinciales absoluti.' *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 511. In 1744 the mission of Pacula was transferred from the Augustinians to the barefooted order. *Soriano, Prólogo*, 3.

the eighteenth century drove them back from the district which they had gained with so much labor, but in 1740 fresh efforts were made in unison with other orders,[63] to reëstablish the missions. The attempt was so successful, that in 1756 the mission of Pugniguia was in a condition to be delivered to the secular clergy, a change apparently injurious to the settlement, which decreased in number of inhabitants considerably during the following years.[64] This course was nevertheless persisted in, and, in 1787, of all the Dominican missions in the Sierra Gorda district, only that of San Miguel de las Palmas remained under the control of the order.[65] Strange as it may appear, this transfer of jurisdiction seems not to have encountered opposition on the part of the friars, though as a rule the regulars were loath to release their hold when once they had acquired control in a new region.

Of the minor orders, such as the Carmelites and friars of Our Lady of Mercy, there is little to be said. After founding their convents in the capital, they spread over portions of the country, but in no special direction nor to any considerable extent. They possessed establishments in the larger towns, as Puebla, Vera Cruz, Valladolid, Colima, Oajaca, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas,[66] and other places, but their importance and influence always remained inferior to those of the Franciscans or Jesuits.[67]

[63] Friars of San Fernando from Mexico and others from Pachuca. *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 260.

[64] Of 200 families which composed the settlement in 1756 only four remained in 1767.

[65] The incorporation of a mission into the jurisdiction of the secular clergy was generally effected when a certain degree of political and religious intelligence had been acquired by the Indians; but on account of its isolated situation or for some other reason—perhaps the insignificant perquisites to be obtained—San Miguel was not claimed by the bishop. *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 271-3, 457-60.

[66] The Mercenarios founded in 1628 or 1629 a convent at Guadalajara, and in the first years of the eighteenth century another at Zacatecas. In 1617 they formed the provincia de la Visitacion de la Nueva España.

[67] Nevertheless the Mercenarios were able to pay in 1785 $100,000 into the royal treasury to be used by the government in Spain for ransoming captive christians. To obtain alms for that purpose was an object of their order.

The charitable order of San Juan de Dios was established in Mexico in 1604 by Cristóbal Muñoz, who together with four other friars had been sent from Spain for that purpose.[68] The building originally intended for them having been given to the Hipólitos, after some negotiations they obtained the foundling-hospital of Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados, and there they established their hospital on the 25th of February. The laudable object of the order—the assistance and care of the sick—and the zeal displayed by the members in the discharge of their duties, soon gained the sympathy of the population, and in 1606 one of the brothers was sent back to Spain to obtain from the king licenses to found new establishments. Almost simultaneously requests for more friars were made and acceded to by the prior. Henceforth the number of hospitals increased rapidly, especially toward the north, and before many years had elapsed the society possessed houses in most of the principal towns.[69] All the different hospitals were united as the provincia del Espíritu Santo, under the jurisdiction of a commissary-general, appointed in Spain. In 1636 an attempt was made to establish a government independent of the order in the mother country, but the effort failed, and ever afterward the society in New Spain remained subject to its control.

[68] Medina, *Chrón. S. Diego*, 11, followed by Vetancurt, *Trat. Mex.*, 37, gives Gerónimo de Seguera as the founder, and says that the original number was 16, but that only four arrived in Mexico.

[69] In 1605 they entered Colima, where the hospital de la Concepcion was given them; three years later they gained a firm footing in Zacatecas and Durango. During the years from 1611 to 1623 they founded establishments at San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato, Leon, Guadalajara, and Celaya, while their introduction into Puebla and Yucatan was delayed till about 1630, and into Oajaca till 1702. *Santos, Chronologia*, ii. 446-91. On the same and following pages are also some details about the establishment of hospitals in other places.

Among the special monk-chronicles of the sixteenth century a prominent place must be given to that of the Franciscan province of San Diego de Mexico. *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico de Religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P. S. Franciscan, Fray Balthassar de Medina.* Mexico, 1862, folio. In common with writings of this class it is mainly devoted to recording

the saintly lives and virtues of prominent friars, but in connection therewith, and in separate chapters, a vast amount of political and church history is given; in part compiled from existing authorities, and in part from original documents. Compared with most of the religious chronicles, however, it is superior in style and treatment, being more concise, and giving dates for nearly all events mentioned. On page 230 is found a curious map representing a topographical view of New Spain, with the various Franciscan convents. Some space is devoted to a general description of the cities and towns wherein were situated convents of the order. A list of works used by the author is given, and also a list of writers of the province who had flourished during the preceding century. Medina, who was a native of Mexico, occupied a prominent position in the Franciscan order. He was lecturer on theology and philosophy for fifteen years, successively held the offices of definidor and guardian of various convents, and in 1670 was appointed visitador of his order in the Philippine Islands. Returning to Mexico, he devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits and died in 1697. Besides the work already cited, which was the most important, he wrote several others, all of a religious character, the most complete list of them being given by Beristain.

As early as 1550 the history of the Dominican province of Mexico was begun, and continued by successive writers, being first written in Spanish, and subsequently translated into Latin, but it was not until forty years later that it assumed its present form and was published under the title of *Historia de la Fvndacion y Discvrso de la Provincia, de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores Por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos Notables de Nueua España, por el Maestro Fray Avgvstin Davilla Padilla.* Madrid, 1596, folio. This author, born in Mexico City in 1562, his parents, Pedro Davila and Isabel de Padilla, being among the first families of conquistadores, was, as a child, remarkable for his precocity. At four years of age he astonished all by his intelligence; at twelve he had not only studied grammar but rhetoric; at thirteen he was a philosopher; and at sixteen had taken his degrees as doctor in the university of Mexico. The walls of his apartment falling in on one occasion, he was saved from being crushed to death by taking refuge in a window; and attributing this miraculous escape to Our Lady of the Rosary, who was the object of his special devotion, he resolved to devote his life to the service of God. Entering the Dominican order in 1769, he was appointed professor of philosophy, and distinguished himself in the pulpit. Subsequently he held the office of Qualifier of the Inquisition. *Alcedo, Bib. Am.*, MS., i. 321. In 1589, by order of the Dominican chapter-general of Mexico, he began the *Historia de la Fundacion.* The history thus far written was in Latin. After its translation into Spanish it was found so incomplete as to require much research. According to Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Bib. Mex. Guat.*, 53, Davila-Padilla is said to have drawn some of his material from the then manuscript work of Duran, published in 1867 by Ramirez. The work was finished in 1692. The lack of paper, however, prevented its publication in Mexico, and it was taken to Spain in 1695, whence Davila-Padilla proceeded as procurator-general, and published the following year. A second edition with the same title was issued at Brussels in 1625, both of which have become exceedingly rare, and still a third edition, in 1634, at Valladolid, with the

title changed to *Varia Historia de la Nueva España y Florida*, which are cited by Nicolás Antonio, *Bib. Hist. Nova*, iii. 175.

As shown in the title the work consists of a series of biographies of the more prominent Dominican friars who flourished in Mexico between 1540 and 1590, in connection with whose lives, which consist largely of tedious and prolix descriptions of saintly virtues and miracles, occasional historical facts are given, but often without dates. The style, which was not uncommon among the religious writers of that period, is rather that of a sermon than of a historical narrative. While in Spain Felipe III. appointed him general chronicler of the Indies and royal chaplain, and he was also named general chronicler of his order. In 1599 he was made archbishop of Santo Domingo, where he died in 1604. According to Alcedo, *Bib. Am.*, i. 321, he received the appointment of bishop of Santo Domingo, but Nicolás Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova*, iii., whose statements are to be preferred, says of him, 'fervidus atque facundus ecclesiastes, insulæ Sancti Dominici tandem creatus archiepiscopus.' A manuscript work entitled *Historia de los Antigüedades de los Indios* is also attributed to Davila-Padilla by Alcedo.

Cyriaci Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis et Ordinationum Apostolicarum ad Indias pertinentium breviarium cum Adnotationabus Venetiis, 1776, 4to, pp. viii. 642, is the pseudonyme of a Spanish Jesuit named Domingo Muriel, who was a professor of his order at Tucuman. He prepared his work in Italy, after the expulsion of his order from the Spanish dominions. He died at Faenza in 1795, and the book was published by A. Zatta. The first part of the volume is a brief compendium in chronological order of the chief events connected with the history of the Spanish American colonies from the discovery of America until 1771. This is valuable chiefly because of the author's correction of errors made by other writers. Then follow in chronological order the papal ordinances on questions of ecclesiastical government and the like, arising between those dates. Most of these ordinances apply to America in general, while a few are entirely local. Many of them are accompanied by valuable notes in which the author has brought together all papal decrees and royal ordinances bearing upon the subject under consideration. He also quotes frequently and extensively from a vast array of authors who contain matters german to those discussed.

Disturbios de Frailes, fol., 2 vols, the first with 525 pages, and the second with 465 pages, is the title given to a collection of documents, printed and in manuscript, mostly of the latter, relating to the religious history of America, chiefly New Spain, and embracing the period between 1524 and 1811. A large portion of the collection refers to the constant bickerings between friars born in Spain and friars born in America about the distribution of offices in their respective orders, and the measures upheld by some and objected to by others to settle the question and secure peace and harmony. Another large portion treats of the differences between the regular and secular clergy on the subject of curacies of parishes, with a long list of complaints by Indians of Puebla against the bishop and his clergy. Among the most important documents are those relating to trials of religious by the secular judiciary, and claims of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in favor of the accused; one of the cases being that of a friar who murdered his prelate in 1789, and

the other of three Augustinian friars for political offences in 1811. General information is given on the Franciscan province of the Santo Evangelio in 1702, and on two parish churches in 1789. The state of society in Mexico is described in letters answering a pastoral letter of the archbishop in 1803.

Papeles Franciscanos, MS., fol., in two volumes, the first with 568 pp., and the second with 342, is the general title given to a collection of letters, orders, and other documents connected with the church in general, and the Franciscan order in particular, nearly all being original, and furnishing not only most important data upon ecclesiastical history and affairs from the earliest days of the religious orders in Mexico and Central America down to the early part of the nineteenth century, but also complete lists of the prelates that ruled the Franciscans.

Providencias Diocesanas de México y Otras Superiores, MS., 4to, 521 pp., is a collection of copies and memorandums of decrees issued by the archbishop of Mexico to the clergy of his archdiocese, including other documents, among them some royal and viceregal orders, for the eighteenth century, the first few years of the nineteenth, and a few papers dating back to the seventeenth century. Much of the material is important, throwing light not only upon ecclesiastical but also on secular affairs of New Spain.

Ayeta, Defensa de la Verdad consagrada á la luz de la Justicia (about 1683), fol. 302 l. The king by cédulas of 1678 and 1682 having empowered the bishop to enforce a surrender of certain curacies to the clergy, the Franciscans of the Jalisco provincia became alarmed and indignant. Their remonstrances took the form of a ponderous printed tome of argument upon the respective rights of bishops and friars, the pages of which are laden with learned extracts from civil and ecclesiastical law, and the margins bristling with Latin citations. The author, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, was procurador general of the order, and about the same time addressed to his Majesty a memorial *Representacion por los Franciscanos*, fol. 15 l., on the subject of the privileges of friars, at the conclusion of which he implores the king to relieve his order from the oppression to which it was subjected, or grant that the question might be carried to Rome. *Leon, Martin de, Manual Breve, y Forma de administrar los Santos Sacramentos á los Indios*, Mexico, 1640, sm. 4to, ll. 54. A rare book, which as its name implies contains regulations as to the mode of administering the sacraments to the Indians. *Ribadeneyra, Antonio Joaquin de, Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano.* Madrid, 1755, 4to, ll. 22, pp. 531. A prolix work on church patronage of the crown, designed for the assistance of governors and rulers in the Indies. It contains, moreover, some information on the working of the religious orders. Various papal bulls are cited, copies of which in Latin, with Spanish translations, are supplied at the end of the volume. *Bernal y Malo, Waldo Indalecio, Alegato presentado en el año de 1792 al Escmo e Illmo Sr Arzobispo.* This is a treatise in defence of ecclesiastical privilege. The occasion which gave rise to its production was the murder of the comendador of the Merced order in Mexico by Fray Jacinto Miranda. The manuscript having fallen into the hands of A. V. y Moya, he had it printed and published in Oajaca in 1844.

Figueroa, Fr Franco Anto de la Rosa. Becerro Genl Menológico y crono-

lógico de todos los Religiosos que...ha habido en esta Sta Prova del Santo Evangelio, MS. (copy), 1764, fol. 33 pages, in *Papˢ Francᵒˢ I.*, 1st ser. 13–51, no. 1, contains a great deal of information on the foundation and workings of the Franciscans in the various provinces of Mexico, Michoacan, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Yucatan, Guatemala, Florida, and the Philippine Islands down to the year he wrote. It was evidently a much longer work, giving the names of all the friars who served in said provinces, and particulars respecting them—all this is missing. *Beaumont, Friar Pablo de la Purísima Concepcion. Crónica de la Provincia de los Santos Apóstoles San Padro y San Pablo de Michoacan...* Mex. 1873–4, 12mo, 5 vols. (pp. 582, 544, 567, 630, 632, respectively); fol., MS., 1 vol., pp. 1183, and 8 sheets of Indian paintings.

The author had been educated in Paris as a physician, and afterward became tired of the world and joined the Franciscan order. Having come to Mexico he was assigned to Michoacan, where he served; but his uncertain health not allowing of his devoting himself to the more active duties of a missionary, he undertook the work of recording the chronicles of his province. He had intended to bring them down to 1640, and had prepared a vast plan, that he was not permitted to accomplish, sickness and death putting an end to his labors when he had recorded events only to 1565–6, though in some parts of his narrative are mentioned those of a later date. The work was probably written in the latter part of the 18th century—the last dates spoken of therein being of 1777—and breaks off with only a few pages in the third book. He was not satisfied with merely fulfilling the pious duty (of itself a laborious one) of chronicling the missionary life and services of the Franciscan and other religious orders, as well as of the church in general, within the region comprised in the Franciscan 'custodia' (as first constituted), and 'provincia' (as it became in 1566), of Michoacan and Jalisco, but taking up history from the earliest time of the western continent, gave an introduction, called by him *Aparato*, containing a narrative of events from the discovery of America to the capture of the Aztec capital by Cortés.

For the purpose of his work he gathered, as he tells us, a large quantity of MSS. and authentic documents, from which and from pertinent printed material (some 30 standard writers, with whom he at times disagrees) he drew his information, forming a collection of historical facts relating to the interior provinces, as far as New Mexico, and even to general history. Of many of the documents he gives full copies. The last part gives general remarks on Michoacan, physically and politically considered, from 1525 to 1566, and quite full information on agriculture, food of the natives, etc. The style of the work, like that of most writings of churchmen of that period, is too prolix, and confused at times; the writer's judgment is often open to doubt, and his Spanish somewhat defective, which Beaumont himself attributes to his education in Paris; but such drawbacks must be overlooked, and the importance of the material chiefly considered. The Indian paintings at the end of the MS. copy give incidents of the first visits of the Spaniards to Michoacan, their reception by the Jarascans, labors of Franciscan priests, establishment of the episcopal see, litigation anent the capital of the province, and the last sheet gives colored drawings of coats-of-arms of the principal cities of Michoacan. My manuscript copy was taken from the Mexican archives.

Of the *Aparato* above alluded to, Bustamante (C. M.) published an edition, *Historia del Descubrimiento de la América Septentrional por Cristóbal Colon, escrita por R. P. Fr. Manuel de la Vega*, of the Franciscan province of the Santo Evangelio de México, Mex., 1826, 4to, an incomplete, untrue, and useless edition. Vega, placed as the author, was but the owner of the MS. which served Bustamante as original. Beristain does not know of the *Crónica*, but refers to the author as a doctor and man of the world before he took the habit.

The authorities I have consulted on church affairs, utilizing facts pertinent to the subject, have been: *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eclesiástico*, and *Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana*, on the history of the older dioceses and the religious orders; *Concilios Provinciales*, 1° y 2°, and *Concilios Mexicanos*, iii. iv., for the general rules adopted by the several episcopal councils of Mexico for the government of the church, and for biographies of bishops; *Vetancur, Tratado de la Ciudad de México*, and *Vetancurt, Menologio; Grijalua, Chrónica de San Agustin; Medina, Chrónica de San Diego; Michoacan, Provincia de San Nicolás, Basalenque, Historia de San Nicolás; Florencia, Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, and *Alegre, Historia de la Compañía de Jesus;* for the chronicles of the religious orders to which the authors respectively belonged. Humboldt, *Essai Politique*, has furnished much valuable matter on general history and statistics. Another contributor, valued for his well considered opinions upon religious policy and history, is *Lúcas Alaman, Historia de Méjico*, and *Disertaciones*. Other writers of more modern date, and entitled to more or less credit for arriving at the view taken by them of ecclesiastical policy and conduct from both the Spanish and Mexican standpoint, have been duly considered. Among these the chief one is *Francisco Sosa, Episcopado Mexicano*, who gives biographies of the archbishops of Mexico from the earliest colonial time to the latest days; out of this work I have obtained a great deal of information on the rule of each archbishop, and consequently on the relations of church and state, thus at the same time furnishing much interesting matter of a secular nature. As the reader will perceive, a very long list of writers has been carefully read, and some important item culled out of each. But among the sources that have afforded me useful and incontrovertible data, and to which I must give a prominent place, have been the several collections of papal briefs or bulls, and royal cédulas for the government of the church, that I possess; some of them being in print, such as *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbi, Recopilacion de Indias, Beleña, Recopilacion, Montemayor, Sumarios*, and *Zamora, Biblioteca de Legislacion Ultramarina*, and a large number in manuscript; the reports of several viceroys to their immediate successors, and edicts of the court of the inquisition issued with the view of checking immoral practices of the clergy, and generally for the promotion of public morals. Some of the original manuscripts throw light upon the mode of procedure of that dread tribunal. Other important sources have been also the *Gacetas de Mexico*, from 1784 to 1805, and several preceding and succeeding numbers. The manuscripts alluded to are: *Papeles Franciscanos, Figueroa, Vindicias de la Verdad, Providencias Diocesanas*, and *Disturbios de Frailes*, which are filled with ecclesiastical matter, particularly laws and decrees; *Órdenes de la Corona, Rescriptos Reales, Disposiciones Varias, Cedulario, Reales Cédulas, Providencias Reales, Varias Anotaciones de las Leyes*, and other collections, the names of all of which indicate their contents.

For broader references the reader may consult the following: *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., i. 31 et seq.; ii., passim; iii. 81, 134, 169–73; iv. 21 et seq.; v. 1–7, 31–85, 100, 106–9, 121–7; vi. 65, 117–30, 143–6; vii. 11, passim; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 193 et seq.; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 1–80, 114–25, 129–38, 148; *Disturbios de Frailes*, MS., i., passim; ii. 1–5, 37, 129–227, 242–5, 331–40; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., i. 13, 64, 80, 222–46, 375, 378, 414, 473, 564; ii. 67–72, 154, 178–200, 253–67, 312–13; *Azanza, Ynstruc.*, MS., 95–103; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 52 et seq.; *Sierra, Dictámen*, MS., 351–501; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 27–35, 73–83, 90–2, 192–6, 200–13; ii. 53–4, 116–18, 124–58, 239–41; *Provincia de S. Diego*, MS., 148–67; *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., 1–31; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Misiones*, passim; *Id., Doc. Son.*, MS., i. 6–14; *Id., Doc. Chih.*, MS., i. 6–7; *Veitia Linage, Cuatro Imagenes*, MS., passim; *Proceso sobre Religiosos*, MS., passim; *Enriquez, Proceso y Causa Criminal*, MS., passim; *Mex., Providencias Diocesanas*, MS., passim; *Dur., Doc. Hist.*, MS., 51–9; *Ximenez, Inquisidor fiscal contra*, MS., passim; *Fund. Prov. Santiago*, MS., 7; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 10–15; *Id., Glorias de Quer.*, 11–37; *Id., Parayso Occid.*, 39, passim; *Nueva España, Breve Res.*, MS., i. 141; *Rescriptos Reales Ecles.*, MS., 8, passim; *Bernal y Malo, Defensa Prov. Merced.*, MS., passim; *Morfi, Col. Doc.*, MS., 26–33; *Tamayo, Al Regente Romá*, MS., passim; *Lobo, Relacion*, MS., 1; *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 19 et seq.; *Galvez, Informe del Visitador*, MS., 64–81; *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 1; *Coloquio entre Sophronico y Leonido*, MS., passim; *Concilio Prov.*, MS., iv. 206; *Vireyes de Mex., Instruc.*, MS., 3, 12; *Recop. de Indias*, i., passim; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 49–77; iii. 63, passim; *Doc. Ecles. Mex.*, MS., i. 1, 5, 8; ii. 1–3; iii. 1–3; iv. 2–5; v. 1–3; *Reales Ordenes*, i. 447–9; v. 167–72, 244–59; vi. 65–8; *Branciforte, Instruc.*, MS., 44–6; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 469–85, 512–18; *Gomez, Diario*, 20, passim; *Robles, Diario*, i.–ii., passim; *Rivera, Diario*, 11 et seq.; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie ii. tom. i. 7–100; iv., passim; *Colon, Juzgados Militares*, i. 224–43; *Diezmos de Indias*, nos. iv. vi. x.–xiv.; *Constitucion Fiel y Literal*, passim; *Breve Apostolico*, passim; *Fabian, Col. Providencias*, passim; *Zavaleta, Carta*, passim; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., i., passim; *Id., Bandos*, 2, 4–14, 54, 60, 81–2; *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 128–9; *Montemayor, Semarios*, 3–56; *Cedulario Nuevo*, i. 390; *Nuevo Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 301–2; *Guijo, Diario*, i. 4, passim; *Disposiciones Varias*, i. 78; iii. 152; v. 13, 533; vi., passim; *Leyes, Varias Anotaciones*, 4, passim; *Guat., Col. Cédulas Reales*, passim; 63–202; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 212–17, 291, 336–40; ii. 387–8; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 324; xvii. 290–1; *Gonzalez Dávila, Theatro Ecles.*, i., passim; ii. 15–16, 33–43, 64; *Arlegui, Prov. Zac.*, 49, passim; *Puga, Cedulario*, 27, 78, 112, 210; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 45, passim; *Vetancvrt, Chron. Sto. Evang.*, 24–135; *Id., Menologio*, 11, passim; *Id., Trat. Ciudad Mex.*, 26–53; *Alegre, Hist. Comp.*, i. 201–3; ii. 15, passim; iii. 8, passim; *Salguero, Vida*, passim; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 11, passim; *Id., Vida Rodriguez*, passim; *Castro, Diario*, 6 et seq.; *Espinosa, Chron. Apost.*, 12, passim; *Morelli, Fast. Nov. Orb.*, 151, passim; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 324, 360; *Id., Compendio*, 288–98, 322–6, 359; *Santos, Chronologia Hospitalaria*, 433–98; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Galicia*, 178, 184, 346, 509; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 186–7; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 302–15, 473–4, 693–9, 704–8; *Torquemada*, i. 337; iii. 337–82; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 28–53, 241–58; ii. 28, 205, passim; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 546; *Robles, Vida Cuevas*, 122–34, 304–5; *Gage's Voyage*, ii. 67–50; *Iglesias y Conventas de Mex.*, 65–8, 245–61, 316–20; *Iglesia Catedral, Reglas y Ordenanzas*, passim; *Iglesias San Miguel, Relacion Sencilla*, passim; *Gonzalez, N. Leon*, 15, 98–107, 122, 152, 373–7; *Tumultos de Mex.*, MS., 2–7; *Fernandez, Hist. Ecles.*, 134–6; *Fernando VII., Decretos*, 86–90; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 112–13; iii. 1–5, 29–30; iv. 175–9; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, i. 108, 493; ii. 245–6; iii. 141; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráfica*, passim; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 97–106, 170–1; *Campillo, Nuevo Sistema*, 43–51; *Zúñiga y O., Calendario*, 34–79; *Ladron de Guevara, Manifiesto*, 14, passim; *Navarrete, Trat. Hist.*, 295–6; *Id., Rel. Peregrina*, ii. 14, passim; iii. 3, passim; *Prov. Mich.*, 111–215; *Beau-*

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

SOCIETY.

1500–1800.

EVOLUTION OF A RACE—TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS—STATISTICS OF POPULATION—PROPORTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF RACES—CAUSES FOR DECREASE OF ABORIGINES—CREOLE VERSUS SPANIARD—JEALOUSIES AND IMPOLITIC MEASURES—IMMIGRATION AND CHARACTER OF ARRIVALS—STATUS OF FOREIGNERS—INDIAN POLICY AND ITS EFFECT—RACE STIGMA—NEGRO SLAVERY—CONDITION OF THE MIXED BREEDS—BEGGARS AND NOBLES—NATURE AND EXTENT OF DISEASES—MATLAZAHUATL, SMALLPOX, VÓMITO PRIETO, AND FAMINES—DOCTORS AND TREATMENT—HOSPITALS AND ASYLUMS—MOURNING AND CEMETERIES—MEAT AND DRINK—SUMPTUARY LAWS—NATIONAL DRESS—LOVE OF DISPLAY—FALSE GLOSS—WOMEN, MORALS, AND MARRIAGE—THE HOME—HOLIDAY CELEBRATION—COACHES AND RIDERS—BARBARIC SPORT—GAMBLING—THE DRAMA—SOCIAL REUNIONS.

SPANISH Americans present the distinct features of what may be essentially classed as a new race, sprung from the union of the proudest of European peoples, and the most advanced of Americans; the former itself an anomalous mixture, wherein lay blended the physical and mental characteristics of half a dozen nations, from sturdy Goth to lithe and fiery Arab;[1] the other possibly autochthonic, and evolved amidst the rise and fall of mighty empires, whose records are entombed in the most imposing monuments of the continent.[2] While the latter may be divided into two great branches, the Maya and Nahua, originally cradled perhaps within the region drained by the

[1] See introduction to *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. this series, for the evolution and characteristics of Spaniards.

[2] Humboldt, who favors an Asiatic origin for the Americans, sees in this meeting with the Spaniard a reunion of two branches that once parted on the plains of Asia in opposite directions. *Essai Pol.*, i. 134–5. The different theories on origin are discussed in *Native Races*, v. chapter i. this series.

Usumacinta, yet they consist of a large number of nations, distinct in language, and differing greatly in culture, such as the Otomís, Zapotecs, Tarascos, and the representative Aztecs, forming a greater variety even than that which could be distinguished on the Iberian peninsula at the opening of the conquest. There was, therefore, no homogeneity of race which might prevent intermingling, while the geographic features of the country with its profound influence on race development presented similarities to the new-comers that brought involuntarily to their lips the name New Spain, by which term it was thereafter for a time known. Although the name was first pronounced upon the seaboard, these resemblances existed more particularly on the high table land where a temperate clime had lured to settlement and culture most of the nations referred to. Here flourished the cereals and fruits of Spain, wheat and barley by the side of maize and maguey, while the slopes of lofty ranges, under snow-crowned peaks, stood clad in rugged firs. In the sheltered valley grew the sugar-cane and indigo, and on either side of the plateau a fringe of heated coast line revelled in all the luxuriance of tropic nature. But this line was comparatively narrow, and so scantily occupied as to have little influence on Mexican development. A strange commingling truly of peoples and of climates to form a new race, with characteristics now modified, now intensified, the inheritor of past glories, the guardian of a transplanted culture. Even two of the earth's great divisions did not suffice to create it, for during early stages already a third element was infused by negroes from the dark continent, with a slight sprinkling from the fourth part of the world by Chinese and Malays. The latter have never been counted as an element however, and the recognized mixed breeds are mestizos, mulattoes, and zambos, or Indian zambos,[3] with their degrees of admixture.

[3] The term for the offspring of negroes and Indians varies in different countries, and even the lexicographers are at a loss. They have been called

Of the three original races the Indian, which may be regarded as the mother, presents a less favorable appearance by the side of the symmetrical and bright-eyed Spaniard and the tall and muscular negro. While different provinces exhibit marked variations in stature, build, and comeliness, the general verdict must be that the aborigine is neither handsome nor graceful; nor has he the strength and adaptability of the others. The long black hair is thick and glossy, but the beard is so scant as to render more marked the uniformity of type in the black elongated eyes set widely apart, the oval face, with its narrow forehead, the prominent cheek-bones, and the large lips. The complexion varies from olive to brown and copper color, in certain districts with a yellowish or bluish tinge, and inclining to black in the torrid region.[4] The mestizo throws off many of these attributes, and may be classed as more intelligent and handsome, with fine eyes and hair, but he is generally small of stature, inclined to corpulency, and lacks energy and strength.[5] The mulattoes inherit the vivacity of their dark sires, and unite with it greater industry. The zambos are ugly, fiery, and turbulent. Indeed, gentleness and beauty increase with the proportion of white admixture.[6]

Whatever may be the case with mulatto castes the intermarriage of mestizos certainly does not tend toward sterility. Under favorable skies like those of California their fecundity has been surprising,[7] and in

zambos in decrees within New Spain, and especially Caracas; yet at Mexico, Habana, and Lima, chino was a common appellation, and in the latter place also Chino-cholo. Zambo by itself more generally denotes three fourths of black admixture, and zambo prieto seven eighths. A deepening of color is termed *salto atras*, 'back-leap,' and a heightening by greater mingling with white, *tente en el aire*, 'holding one's self in the air.' The Asiatic mixture was brought by the Philippine fleets.

[4] The Indian type is fully considered in *Native Races*, i.–ii., and the Spanish in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. introd., this series.

[5] The hands and feet are usually praised and the teeth condemned.

[6] The odor of the different races can be distinguished also in the castes; and for the different effluvia the Peruvians have distinct names. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 136.

[7] Navarro applies this in general to half-castes: 'la fecundidad notoria de

other parts the birth rate varies according to climate and soil. Deformity is very rare, particularly among Indians.[8] Age falls lightly upon the latter, with few instances of grey hair, and quite a number of centenarians are claimed, although the proportion of persons over fifty years of age appears larger among the white race, with their later puberty and better mode of living.[9]

Orders were repeatedly issued from Spain to form statistics of population and resources, and viceroys and civil and ecclesiastic officials responded with more or less elaborate reports,[10] but the first worthy to be called a census was that taken in 1793–4 by order of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. Incomplete as even this proved, one sixth of the population being merely estimated, it has nevertheless been accepted in most respects as a base. The total here presented is 4,483,000,[11] including the Californias, New Mexico, and Texas; but the pertinent objection has been raised that this figure was considerably below the actual number, owing to the general effort of the people to avoid registration, from economic and superstitious ideas.[12] Humboldt accordingly added ten per cent to

las castas.' *Mem.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 83. Instances of fecundity are to be found in *Gaceta Mex.*, i. 35 etc.

[8] Certain afflictions like goitre do not affect Indians and rarely mestizos. Giants and dwarfs are uncommon although such giants as Salmeron and more than one dwarf have come from this country. In *Diario, Mex.*, xi. 128, a pigmy is spoken of as less than three fourths of a vara in height.

[9] Yet the exemption from wrinkles observed by Humboldt does not appear to be sustained. Instances of longevity are given in *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 136; *Gaceta Mex.*, i. 291, 379–80, 397, 403–4, x. etc.; *Diario, Mex.*, iii. 128, 159, vi. 11–12 etc.; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 343. One working-man of 135 left 400 descendants; another had sons varying from 8 to 120 years of age. The average claimed for the centenarians is 116–120.

[10] Besides a number of statements on special departments or subjects a record exists of 19 formal reports made by order of the government between 1585 and 1787; for a compiled list thereof, with names of the framers, see *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 10. A specimen of the orders to this effect and a district report may be seen in *Tamaron, Visita Dur.*, MS., i. et seq.

[11] Different copies vary slightly.

[12] In evidence of this it was pointed out that while Mexico City in 1793 received 112,926 inhabitants, this figure rose to 168,846 in 1811, although it fell greatly during the following two years. This variation must be attributed greatly to the war, which at times drove fugitives in large numbers to the capital. A better test for the deficiency was the birth-rate, which raised the estimate for the city to more than 130,000, instead of 112,926.

cover this deficiency, while expressing a belief that the addition of a sixth or seventh would not be wrong. Navarro, followed by several others, adds a fifth. The former author took special pains to obtain statistics, in order to arrive at an estimate for 1803. This was no easy task in a country subject to such extremes of climate from the hot malarious coast to the temperate plateau and the cold mountain region occupied by so many different races with varying modes of life. He came to the conclusion, however, that the birth-rate could be placed at one in seventeen, and the death-rate at one in thirty, and that the population would double in about thirty-eight years. The average proportion of births to deaths appearing as 183 to 100, he accepted this, within a small fraction, as a rate for calculating the increase during the decade following the census of 1793, and thus arrived at a total population for 1803 of 5,837,100.[13]

Since this time a number of calculations have been made which take the census of 1793 for a base, but reduce the increase to about one and a half per cent yearly for the two following decades. During the revolutionary period this rate must be lowered still more, and even afterward the unsettled condition of affairs operated against large recuperation. The most valuable estimates appear to be those made for 1810 by the auditor-general of ways and means for New Spain, Fernando Navarro y Noriega, whose sources could not have been well surpassed by any contemporary. Even his calculations, however, had for several provinces to rest on comparative estimates, but for others he was able to present more reliable

[13] This was the corrected calculation of a later date. He brings in a number of comparisons with the rates in European countries, and finds that those ruling in Prussia approximate more closely. The proportion there of births to deaths stood as 180 to 100, while in the United States it rose to 201 : 100, and in France it fell to 110 : 100. Although the births of males in New Spain exceeded those of females—Humboldt has it 100 : 95, others, more correctly, 100 : 98.6—yet it appeared that males preponderated among Indians and castes. The studies of the German savant are very exhaustive and interesting, although in several respects less exact than could have been desired, owing chiefly to unreliable data. *Essai Pol.*, i. 54 et seq.

figures than those of Revilla Gigedo. Where this was not possible he added twenty per cent to the returns of 1793 for deficiency, and twenty-five more for the increase during the seventeen years, obtaining a total of 6,122,354.[14] The proportion of races gives the Indians sixty hundredths, the castes twenty-two, and the whites eighteen.[15] Of the last he assumes only fifteen thousand to have been European Spaniards,[16] while raising the proportion of castes with negro blood to nearly half a million. Large as this number appears, it is certain that both economic motives among slave-holders, and natural predilection among aboriginal women favored the diffusion of African blood. Navarro agrees with Humboldt that the slaves could not exceed ten thousand, the pure blacks forming two thirds of this number.[17]

Even without the impulse given by republican principles in modern times for the amalgamation of races, it is evident that the castes strictly speaking must gain in number by encroaching on the other classes, even if these were to show a constant increase—an increase which becomes somewhat fictitious when we consider

[14] While several points in the table on page 737 are subject to criticism, the area for instance being in some cases obviously inexact, yet these defects affect the value of the paper so little as not to render changes and attempts at better estimates advisable at this stage of the history. Indeed, the figures tend in this form to better represent the official views at the close of the colonial period. In a later volume the population topic will demand and necessarily receive a more critical treatment.

[15] Humboldt raised the whites slightly to one fifth and lowered the Indians to about two fifths, leaving a large remainder to castes. Navarro has the tribute lists to prove the greater correctness of his Indian figures, those of 1807 showing 2,925,179 aborigines.

[16] Humboldt estimated their number in 1803 at about 70,000, but this appears to have been based on their proportion at the capital, where they were gathered in large force as the leading holders of offices and commercial positions. Navarro's figure certainly is very low, but he had access to migration statistics, and such a careful student as Alaman corrects his own larger estimates by this. The government gave no special encouragement to emigration.

[17] The negroes and negro mixtures rest on rather vague estimates, for those recognized as of this class were included among Indians as tributaries, and those not so recognized merged into other classes. The estimate for white people is also somewhat misleading, since amid the general effort to approach the superior race a number of persons with imperceptible Indian or negro admixture declared themselves white, many indeed obtaining legal permission to do so.

POPULATION STATISTICS.

INTENDENCIAS.	Area in square leagues.	Partidos, or Districts.	Curacies.	Missions.	Cities.	Villas, or Towns.	Pueblos, or Villages.	Reales de Minas, or Mining Camps.	Haciendas.	Ranchos.	Estancias de ganados or Stock Ranges.	Monasteries.	Nunneries.	Clergy.	Friars.	Nuns.	Spaniards.	Indians.	Mixed Castes.	Total Population.	Inhabitants for each square league.
Mexico	5,927	43	248	1	6	15	1,228	31	824	871	57	62	25	1,300	1,357	1,026	269,416	1,052,862	265,883	1,591,844	269
Guadalajara	9,612	28	100	9	2	7	326	33	370	1,511	118	29	7	441	192	225	164,420	172,676	179,720	517,674	54
Puebla	2,696	21	151	.....	5	1	764	.....	478	911	14	21	12	619	446	427	82,609	602,871	124,313	811,285	301
Vera Cruz	4,141	11	57	3	2	5	147	.....	60	157	.....	12	.....	200	150	.....	19,379	137,774	28,432	185,935	45
Mérida	5,977	16	85	.....	2	2	276	.....	563	312	756	24	1	368	181	50	78,375	384,185	65,541	528,700	88
Oaxaca	4,447	22	145	.....	1	5	928	10	83	269	5	11	5	380	173	169	37,694	526,466	31,444	596,326	134
Guanajuato	911	10	27	.....	3	4	62	10	445	416	29	18	3	225	175	72	149,183	254,014	172,931	576,600	633
Valladolid	3,446	21	76	.....	2	3	309	18	311	708	115	14	3	282	147	129	108,970	168,027	117,134	394,689	114
San Luis Potosí	2,357	10	23	19	1	2	49	15	124	431	18	5	.....	23	63	.....	22,609	88,949	62,007	173,651	74
Zacatecas	2,355	6	17	.....	1	2	28	19	108	438	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,296	40,872	77,555	140,723	60
Tlaxcala government	.....	1	22	.....	1	.....	110	.....	139	68	.....	3	.....	83	22	.....	11,683	62,173	11,884	85,845	.....
PROVINCIAS INTERNAS DE ORIENTE.																					
Nuevo Leon	2,621	1	13	1	2	4	16	4	23	.....	.....	3	.....	45	13	.....	27,412	2,431	13,838	43,739	17
Nuevo Santander	5,193	1	26	8	.....	18	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,639	13,251	28,825	56,715	11
Coahuila	6,702	1	10	4	.....	7	7	.....	32	44	22	1	.....	15	11	.....	13,285	12,411	17,215	42,937	6
Texas	10,948	1	2	4	.....	1	2	.....	.....	8	2	.....	.....	.....	13	.....	1,326	912	1,083	3,334	.....
PROVINCIAS INTERNAS DE OCCIDENTE.																					
Durango	16,873	34	40	27	1	8	168	26	155	184	32	5	.....	153	63	.....	35,992	63,890	77,302	177,400	10
Arizpe	19,143	12	30	24	1	7	138	40	34	356	11	.....	.....	95	29	.....	38,640	60,855	35,766	135,385	7
Nuevo Mexico	5,709	1	.....	28	.....	3	109	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	.....	10,557	23,628	34,205	6
CALIFORNIAS.																					
Old or Baja, the peninsula	7,295	1	.....	18	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	2,325	2,153	4,496	.....
New or Alta	2,125	1	.....	19	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39	.....	.....	18,780	2,052	20,871	10
Total	118,478	242	1,072	165	30	95	4,682	206	3,749	6,684	1,195	208	56	4,229	3,112	2,098	1,097,928	3,676,281	1,338,706	6,122,354	52

San Luis Potosí has really 14 partidos, of which 4 fall under the jurisdiction of the Provincias Internas de Oriente.

the large number of castes that by intermarriage seem to return gradually to the mother race. We find no such withering influence on the aboriginal population as in the north, and this must be due partly to the similarity between them and the invaders in their settled condition, which demanded no radical change for adaptation. While making few efforts to increase the population with emigrants, the government certainly did all to foster a natural growth by promoting early marriages, by introducing seeds and live-stock, and by other measures. Following in the wake of Las Casas early foreign writers have indulged in lamentations over the havoc inflicted by the conquerors and later by encomenderos, notably in working the natives to death in the mines. The disturbances ever accompanying war could not have failed in effect, as shown at the fall of Mexico, and the mines entombed vast numbers, less, however, by overtaxing strength than by the effect of climatic changes on persons suddenly transferred from a warm district to cold and rugged mountain regions. To this was added the change from quiet plantation life to rough mining toil. Nevertheless the losses by these means were comparatively small, and the great ravages that took place must be ascribed almost wholly to the diseases following the new civilization, such as small-pox, measles, and probably syphilis.[13]

Endemics and famines also ruled periodically, and different districts had their special afflictions. The former, however, had less effect, since the people either became inured to or avoided the pestiferous regions. There remains no doubt that their total has fallen greatly from what it was in the time of Montezuma, when Tezcuco, Cholula, and a number of other cities

[13] Las Casas' exaggerated attacks on his countrymen for cruelty have already been exposed, and I have also alluded to De Pauw's views in his *Recherches*. Raynal lowers the estimate of losses suffered by the Indians, but places too much stress on the effect of mines. Zamacois in seeking to prove that they increased under Spanish rule finds no difficulty in dealing with figures and readily accepts the vague statements of early chroniclers concerning the ravages of epidemics.

now decayed figured as populous centres, for which the Spaniards erected but sparse equivalents. Mexico appears from monumental and documentary evidence to have been more extensive and populous, and in Tlascala a census was taken by Cortés which showed that there were several times more occupants than toward the close of the colonial period.[19] Franciscan missionaries alone claimed to have baptized 6,000,000 natives between 1524 and 1540, and Dominicans and Augustinians worked hard to swell the number, yet immense fields remained untrodden. These claims cannot of course be relied upon, nor the estimates of deaths from small-pox and other ravages. In 1576 about 2,000,000 are said to have been swept away in the central provinces alone, and at other times whole districts to have been almost depopulated.[20]

We find the population distributed in a somewhat different manner from that of South America and the United States, not along the coasts, which are here low-lying and malarious, but mainly on the interior plateau, where culture and wealth had ever centred, notably along a narrow strip embracing Puebla and Mexico, and two other towns of from 35,000 to 130,000 inhabitants, and only one or two days' journey apart, while elsewhere great stretches of fine country lie almost uninhabited. With the influx of negroes the coast line received in time an increase of occupants, on whom the fevers had little effect, and with their aid thriving plantations of sugar-cane and other produce drew riches from a hitherto neglected soil. The Indians maintained their preponderance at the rate of three fourths to seven eighths in Puebla,

[19] As indicated in *Hist. Mex.*, i., this series. It is true that many Tlascaltecs were sent away to colonize other provinces, but this could not have affected the total very seriously. An estimate for 1729 reduces the Indians greatly. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iv. 341–2.

[20] As referred to in this and the preceding volume. Clavigero indulges in quite a dissertation on this topic, chiefly as a reply to De Pauw. *Storia, Mess.*, iv. 271–87. It is widely claimed that excepting the ravages suffered from epidemics, the aboriginal race has increased in number during the colonial rule, and this assertion cannot well be disproved for want of reliable data concerning either the pests or the original population.

Tlascala, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Oajaca, and Alta California, particularly in the last two. In Mexico intendencia they formed two thirds of the population. The castes were most numerous in Guadalajara, Puebla, the north-east provinces, and the mining regions, and the whites mustered in force along the same parallels, where mining and stock-raising presented opportunity for enrichment, and predominated in Nuevo Leon and Sonora. Indeed the sparsely settled north was occupied chiefly by Spaniards and half-breeds, although they assisted to swell the central group of Guanajuato, Puebla, and Mexico, which greatly exceeded the rest in population.[21]

Class distinctions have ever been jealously guarded in Spain, and, proud of his race and country, the Spaniard in early days especially looked upon the foreigner with pity and contempt. These ideas could not fail to become intensified in the New World where he trod the soil as conqueror and master over a dusky and half-naked race to whom the possession of a soul was at first denied. Under such conditions it is not strange that even in framing the most benevolent of laws the preëminence of the superior people was sustained to the disadvantage of the others. Indeed, the education, wealth, and honors of the country centred almost exclusively in the whites. They held the civil, military, and highest ecclesiastic offices; they filled the professions; they controlled all the leading branches of trade and manufacture, and owned the

[21] The excess of females in the large towns, as noticed by Humboldt, is attributable to the influx of domestic servants and the exodus of men for mines and traffic. The evident care with which Navarro prepared his table on population indicates an amount of research that would have given value to comments and speculations on its different items, but his remarks are confined to a few criticisms on Humboldt and to indicating the sources for the figures. The treatise was prepared in 1814 for the body of national representatives and published at Mexico in 1820 as *Memoria sobre la Poblacion del Reino de Nueva España*, 12mo, 23 pp. with a table. It has been reprinted in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ii. 75–83. The facts therein are greatly confirmed by the calculations made two years before by Cancelada in his *Ruina de la Nueva España*, Cádiz, 1811, 12mo, 84 pp. But in this the estimate for towns and mining camps has fallen too low, being placed merely at 55 and 97 respectively.

large plantations and rich mines. Between them and the castes lay an immense gulf. To be of the former was to be of the noble race; to be of the latter was to be branded; and eager became the strife among the progeny of caste admixtures to enroll themselves as whites, the courts being frequently petitioned so to declare them.[22] Such strife naturally led to many a severe discrimination against alliances that might imperil the color line, and the regard for this was significantly illustrated by the question which frequently could be heard during altercations: "Do you consider yourself whiter than I?"

Another gulf, less wide yet more dangerous to the nation, was formed by the government in granting the higher offices in state, army, and church almost exclusively to Spaniards born in Spain, a policy due partly to long established system, partly to the better opportunity of claimants near the throne for obtaining a hearing, but chiefly to jealousy of the more distant subjects whose occasional complaints supported by wealth and growing numbers often savored of disloyalty, and whose very right to the country with its offices, acquired by their efforts as conquerors and colonists, made them appear dangerous.[23]

The natural result of such injustice was a bitterness of feeling which manifested itself as early as the first decade of the conquest, when Cortés' soldiers saw the best officers and the choicest grants bestowed on men who had done nothing toward acquiring the rich domains, and who showed themselves unworthy and

[22] This legal whitewashing was conveyed in the rather ambiguous term, 'que se tengan por blancos.' They may regard themselves as white.

[23] Frequent remonstrances were made, notably in the representation by the city council of Mexico in 1792, which elicited decrees favorable to the creoles, but these were either disregarded or overruled by the counsel of prejudiced Spanish dignitaries, like Archbishop Haro, who suggested that American-born subjects should be kept at a distance, in humbler positions, and not fostered in arrogance with lofty aspirations. The liberation of the United States was pointed to as a warning. According to *Vetancvrt, Derecho*, 40, less than four per cent of the bishoprics in America had been filled by creoles during the first century of Spanish rule; by the end of the eighteenth century their proportion had increased to fifteen per cent, but chiefly of inferior sees.

dishonest. Frequent were the quarrels that resulted, leading often to bloodshed, and fostering a certain disloyalty which became manifest during such episodes as the Cortés-Ávila conspiracy, the overthrow of Gelves, and the burning of the palace in 1692. The whites indeed early divided themselves into two national parties, the *creoles*, or native-born,[24] and *chapetones* or *gachupines*,[25] nicknames applied to those from Spain.

Many viceroys took special care to smooth the ruffled feelings,[26] but this availed little against the insolence of the favored party and the measures of a distrusting government, at times blinded, at times clearly revealing a disposition to sow discord so as to strengthen itself at the expense of factions. This refined policy was brought into play also among Indians, and to keep apart the dangerous negroes.[27] The party spirit raged with actual bitterness even among the religious orders, some provincias excluding creoles, others Europeans, from higher positions, and still others alternating or quafrelling when it came to the election of prelates.

While the nickname for European Spaniards could

[24] From *criollo*, nursed, brought up, that is, on the new soil.

[25] According to the learned professor Chimalpopocatl Galicia, this word is derived from *cactli*, Aztec for shoe, and *tzopinia*, to prick; as shown in *Molina, Vocabvlario*. In combining words the Aztecs would drop or modify the last syllables, leaving *cactzopin*, he who pricks with the shoe, in allusion to the spur. *Gachupin* or *Cachupin* would be a natural corruption by Spaniards. This is the general version supported by *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 7, *Guerra, Hist. Rev.*, i. 142, etc., and others; but Ramirez, *Hist. Dur.*, 78–9, is rather inclined to attribute the word to some corrupted term introduced by the creoles. Guerra traces *chapeton* from *chapi*, a Haitian word signifying a man from far off lands, but it is also likely to have been taken from the last two syllables of gachupin, with addition of the common ending *ton*. Gage, *Voy.*, i. 201, states that it was applied only to the new-comers, who soon fell under the more general head of gachupin. While the names are of early date, as shown in *Herrera*, dec. v., lib. iv., cap. xii. etc., and *Garcilaso de la Vega, Coment. Reales*, i., cap. 36, yet Indians in many parts called Spaniards for a long time Christians, till instructed not to apply a term indicating a religious distinction. *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 81.

[26] Mancera commended a similar course to his successors. *Instruc. Vireyes*, 259.

[27] This is revealed in the tenor of restrictive laws; and Gage, ubi sup., alludes to the effect; but Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 368, is rather carried away by exaggerated deductions.

hardly be offensive owing to their superior position, the term creole did acquire a tinge of reproach from their indolent habits, and lack of sustained energy, which impeded them in competing with the enterprising immigrants in trade or industries. The latter were more precocious, but fell short in reflection and judgment; eager to do, they failed to execute. Climate had much to do with this, but the cause must partially be ascribed to their training as the children of rich or well-to-do men,[23] with a superficial education which raised their pretensions above those of the toiler for fortune. They were spoiled by home indulgence. The frugality of the father disappeared; forethought and prudence were thrown to the winds; frivolity tainted even serious topics, and dissipation grew so fast that the saying, "the father a trader, the son a gentleman, the grandson a beggar," became general in application. Associated with such characteristics the term creole was not courted; and latterly those to whom it applied began to affect the designation of Americans, upholding it with great pride after a succession of reverses had lowered Spanish prestige in Europe. The education of the daughters saved them from most of the vices which clung to the sons; they became admirable wives and kind mothers, though wanting in parental strictness, and they were generally rated superior to the men.

Those who in early days under Cortés and subsequent leaders assisted in subduing the country, and thereupon retired to enjoy the reward of their toil on some encomienda, may be regarded as the founders of the leading creole aristocracy—military adventurers

[28] Robertson attributes the cause wholly to enervating climate and government policy, which broke the vigor of mind and led to luxurious indulgence, superstition and effeminacy; but Mexican writers will not admit climatic influence. Alaman dwells on bad training, *Hist. Mej.*, i. 10 et seq., and Mora adds the restrictive laws on advancement and education. Yet Feijoo wrote an apology to prove that premature decrepitude was not general among Americans. Ulloa, *Voy.* i., 27, etc., hints at wider causes. See also *Consulado, Mem.*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 363; *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., serie i. tom. i. pt. i. 31 etc.

though they were, and that of all grades, from hidalgo to artisan, sailor, and even criminal, and drawn chiefly from Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia. In later times the in-wanderers came principally from Vizcaya, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Santander mountains; they were young, of poor families, frugal and industrious, superior in character even to the average Spaniard, and vastly surpassing in energy and steadiness the spoiled creoles. Business men recognized their value and employed them; they were prudent also, watched for opportunity, and soon embarked in enterprises on their own account, often marrying daughters of their principals. They became owners of plantations and mines, and the holders of municipal offices, forming a sort of confederacy with the other Spaniards, the higher officials and judges, who numbered a proportion of men both educated and of good families. Although the mass of officials and traders were inferior to the prosperous creoles in requirements and manners, and therefore objects of contempt, yet a ready adaptability soon enabled them to make amends; and since they were as a rule sure to advance in wealth and position, the women of the soil looked upon them with favor, thus adding jealousy to the many enmities entertained by creoles against the new-comers. Aware of their superior advantages, the latter returned the feeling in the form of contempt, which cut deeper than overt acts. The Spaniard soon became himself a creole, however, for he begat children against whom the exasperated father might exclaim, "You are a creole and that accounts for it!"[29]

The influx of energetic men from the mother country could not under such circumstances have been otherwise than desirable, except in the case of officials, whose positions ought to have been shared more liberally with the children of the soil, as a matter of justice. Yet the government gave no impulse to emi-

[29] 'Eres criollo y basta.' *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 10 et seq.; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 114, 136, etc.

gration, but rather hampered it with restrictions. At one time none might go to the Indies without special permit from the king or the casa de contratacion. This relaxed for a while, and mere registration of name was demanded, so that a number of persons with Jewish, Moorish, Gypsy, and heretic blood slipped out. Such leaven would not answer in America, there to threaten eruption among half-converted natives and reckless colonists; and so sworn declarations were demanded from proposed adventurers; but it was soon found that the allurements of the new country frequently outweighed the fear of perjury, and henceforth the applicant for passage must bring certificates from his native district to vouch for his social and religious standing.[30] The audiencias kept a record of the immigrants. Nevertheless a number of unregistered persons managed to enter, and severe laws were enacted against them, involving confiscation and eight years' service as soldiers, or transportation to the West Indies or Florida if married.[31] Such interlopers were called *polizones*, a name applied as scurrilous to any foreigner. European was a term synonymous in New Spain with Spaniard, for the restrictions against foreigners allowed but a small number to gain entrance. They had either to be naturalized by a twenty years' residence in Spain, or live under surveillance with license till naturalized.[32]

Special licenses were issued for traders to deal for a time at a port, and through their agency many not authorized managed to slip into the country, so that decrees came every now and then for their expulsion,[33]

[30] *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 365 etc.; *Solorzano*, i. 397 etc.; *Antuñez, Mem. Com.*, 307–25.

[31] Vagrants were sent to the Philippines. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 182, 284.

[32] For 10 out of the 20 years they must own real estate to the value of 4,000 ducats, and be married to a Spanish-born subject. Their children were Spaniards. They must give an inventory of their property, and infringement of the law sent them to the Philippines. *Id.*, 190. Forms of application for migration and passport may be found in *Papeles Franciscanos*, MS., série i. tom. i. 261, and *Ordenes de Corona*, MS., ii. 159.

[33] *Grambila, Tumultos*, MS., 1; *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 166; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 136–9. Portuguese were among those regarded as foreigners, and at one time

particularly in war times. Those who were married generally received permission to remain. They did not as a rule enjoy great favor, to judge by decrees to protect them from abuse,[34] and it was only in later times, with the spread of French and English literature, that the better classes began to form comparisons in favor of hitherto despised Europeans.

If torn by discord the white people in New Spain at the opening of the present century were nevertheless united in oppressing the lower orders, through whom they obtained wealth, and to a certain extent position, the Europeans being impelled to greater recklessness by want of sympathy for a people and country strange to them, and regarded only as a means to fortune. Indians, as the most remote in kinship, were oppressed more than others. We have seen how at first nearly all were distributed as serfs to labor on plantations, in mines, on roads, and in towns; how they were often torn from home and family, and dragged to a bitter death; how their complaints were carried by kind-hearted friars to the throne to evoke reforms—ineffective though they proved in only too many cases—and how they were gradually liberated from the control of encomenderos and placed under crown agents, free to sell their labor to whom they pleased. Maltreatment now became comparatively rare, but oppression hardly less cruel was practised by greedy officials, who used their position to extort products and labor in return for useless articles. During their term of five years, some of these corregidores and alcaldes mayores managed to rob their

natives of other Spanish provinces than those of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña, and Navarre, were held as such so far as concerned the Indies. See regulations in *Linage, Norte*, i. 238 etc. One reason for official objections to foreigners lay in the impulse they gave to freemasonry, to which consideration is given in *Farol*, 314–28, and other works.

[34] *Gaceta Mex., 1808*, xviii. 557. In remote districts many could not grasp the fact that nations existed beyond the sea who were not Spanish, and where they did understand it such peoples were classed as very low, on the ground that only low strata in New Spain did not know Spanish, as Humboldt observes.

protégés of as much as two hundred thousand pesos. With the creation of intendentes and subdelegates the infliction decreased, so that in general the Indian enjoyed greater protection under royal than under republican rule, when the peonage system reduced large numbers to practical serfdom. During the last period of colonial sway this enslavement was counteracted by the law, which annulled any indebtedness exceeding five pesos, and regulated the conduct of the employer.[35]

While freed from bondage they were kept in pupilage. They were exempt from tithes and most other imposts exacted from the whites, but subject to tribute. Fast days were reduced in their favor, and marriage made more easy—so that they might yield more toilers; the church must lower its rates to them, and the inquisition withhold its dreaded fangs.[36] And all because they were held to possess less capacity than those with other blood infusion. The imputation must have been galling in the extreme to every manly spirit among them. They must not idle, however,[37] and under cover of this order the officials, aided by native alcaldes, managed ever to exercise a despotic control for personal advantage. Thus the laws for their protection were often used as weapons against them. They were gathered under compulsion into village communities, and kept apart from the other races, an isolation which could serve only to retard advancement. Here they worked land held in common and granted to them for life only,[38] permanent ownership of land being rare among them, thus causing a lack of the chief inducement for economy. They

[35] Whether in free labor, or when sent to forced labor for crime or debt. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 45–9; *Reales Cedulas*, MS., i. 183. In *obrages*, or freed labor, four months' advance was allowed. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. ii. 77. Negroes and castes could contract for any advance, and otherwise act freely as 'abites y capaces.'

[36] As shown in the chapter on the church.

[37] Regulations to this effect are to be found in *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 285, etc., and a synopsis of privileges is to be found in *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 391.

[38] See the chapter on agriculture.

were ordered to be at home, out of the street, by eight o'clock in winter and nine in summer, and attendance at church was compulsory under penalty of the lash and the prison.[39]

The secularization of missions served not to promote their welfare, for it gave a rather nominal freedom under a negligent curate, in lieu of the guardian care of a comparatively disinterested and unselfish friar who took a paternal delight in watching over his flock. Mining labor still fell chiefly to their share, even after they became free to dispose of themselves; and allured by gain they freely submitted to the destructive methods in vogue. The lack of beasts of burden, which they were as a rule too poor to purchase, forced them to toil as such. The prohibition against riding also restricted the acquisition of horses. They were moreover forbidden to carry arms or to dress like Spaniards. These degrading and repressive measures were added to official tyranny to keep them poor, ignorant, and humble; a policy dictated partly by fear of their number, partly by caste jealousy; and so they remained the feet of the social body.

Centuries of serfdom and humiliation had not failed to leave its stamp on the Indian's character, already moulded under the despotic rule of native emperors. Accustomed to servitude, he yields with hypocritical servility and deceitful timidity, and is naturally suspicious, yet without harboring any deep malice or cruel vindictiveness. The bloody features of his ancestral religion are by no means an index to a cruel disposition. It indicates rather a stolid indifference to suffering and occurrences; and although the outward apathy is somewhat exaggerated, it veils no very sensitive feelings. This is shown by his taci-

[39] Gage relates some anecdotes concerning the method of Indian officials in hunting up negligent worshippers. *Voy.*, ii. 67–250; *Montemayor, Svmarios*, 15–16. Of course the rules for Indian conduct were occasionally relaxed or disregarded, as in the case of other races, yet less frequently, since so many persons existed, from alcalde and curate to subdelegate and intendente, who sought to be officious.

turnity, his cold reasoning devoid of mobility and imagination. His look is gloomy, and a general air of melancholy hangs over him; his very dance and music lack gayety; his song is lugubrious; yet the more vivacious woman can evoke a smile which for sweetness belies the customary trait, and reveals a deep vein of gentleness that favors the attribute of patience under adversity, of fidelity and constancy. While rather chaste and frugal, he has not been trained in provident habits, and yields readily to the cup, though not more so than could be expected from persons in his condition. He shares in the general indolence of his surroundings; and kept in ignorance, he yields readily to superstition, and incorporates puerile and ridiculous fancies and practices in his worship, impressing the beholder with the idea that he is less intelligent than is really the case. Indeed, he is docile, and grasps any lessons easily enough, though not impulsively; but he lacks creative power; his speech and writing are rather bare, and his art servile imitation. These defects are due in part to the lack of opportunity for development, and vary somewhat in different parts of the country, where environment and change of condition have evolved characteristics that may still be classed as distinctively tribal.[40]

On the whole the Indian mind has not the breadth, strength, or subtilty of the European; and this was early intimated by the Spaniards in withholding from

[40] Many writers, with the beggarly idlers of the capital ever before them, have been led to exaggerate his defects, calling him cunning, false, and vindictive, or pusillanimous and atrocious, as Mancera writes in *Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 445, while sympathizing friars extol inordinately his virtues. Las Casas dwells on his ingenuity and goodness; Zumárraga on his chastity, favored indeed by stolidity of nature; Motolinia on his prudence and wide capacity for acquiring anything, and herein Clavigero agrees by declaring him fully as able as a Spaniard. Humboldt invests him with a natural logic, with a ready perception; Mora makes him persevering and temperate; and Alaman, Portilla, and others exhibit a non-committal description of traits. Many of the contradictory attributes may be explained by the claim that Indian children are more precocious than whites, but the latter certainly attain a higher degree of maturity. The Tlascaltecs held themselves rather high on the strength of the special privileges accorded them since the conquest; a love for litigation augmented their poverty. The adjoining Cholultecs, with few claims to nobility, were more sober and prosperous.

them alone the term *gente de razon*, rational people, as unfit to hold office or to govern themselves. With the growth of education among the better class they attained to the superior designation of *ladinos*,[41] and laws opened the portal to civil and ecclesiastic offices, and to the orders; yet none but persons of great influence such as nobles managed to enter even the latter precincts. Certain few of the cacique class obtained military rank, but most of them had to rest content with petty municipal positions in the villages, of which they made the most by claiming exemptions, or even tribute, and joining the officials in oppressing the rest. A large portion obtained only a nominal recognition of their rank as nobles, and merged otherwise in the mass with little or no distinction in dress, mode of life, or attainments, affecting poverty even when rich. More conscious than the plebeians of the humility heaped upon them, rather than be buffeted by the arrogant whites they preferred to hide among their own race, nursing there together with the remembrance of ancestral glories a slumbering hatred or tenacious aversion for the invaders and their institutions which contributed to check advancement.[42]

The impression left by most writers on the Indian question is that of a race ground into the dust by oppression, but their material condition was after all much better than that of the lowest classes in Europe, favored as they were by a beneficent nature which called for little of the exhaustive toil falling to the lot of the laborer in civilized Germany or England. In later colonial times the despotism of official or employer was rarely severe enough to evoke despair or lamentation, and indignation must be confined rather to the measures which restrained the liberty and ad-

[41] Anciently applied in Spain to a person who knew a foreign tongue, and now given to a native who acquired Spanish.

[42] Arrangoiz, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. app. 75, shows that this feeling exists even to-day, and that many an Indian is by his village people shamed out of any attempt to adopt the habits of the superior race. The learned Sigüenza comments on this feeling in 1691–2. *Carta al Almirante*, MS., 40–4. See also *Mex., Manifiesto al Rey*, 22, etc.

vancement of a race; and stamped it with ignominy.[43] Nevertheless race stigma was not nearly so severe as in the United States,[44] or even in British India, as shown by the constant intermarriage of the peoples, which formed a bond between them of ever-growing strength. A proof of the greater liberality in the south is furnished by the condition of the negroes. Originally imported as slaves, provision was made for their liberation by self-purchase, at a rate fixed by the courts, and without much consideration for the price paid by the owner, or their value to him. Possessed both of strength and energy, they readily availed themselves of the privilege; so that at the beginning of this century those in bondage could not have exceeded ten thousand,[45] congregated chiefly in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz and Acapulco. The introduction was limited in New Spain,[46] partly for political reasons, owing to their turbulent disposition.[47] The trade lay in the hands of certain licensed firms.[48] The privilege of purchasing their freedom indicates considerable liberty of action, so as to acquire the necessary means. A number of laws were issued for their protection, giving orders that they

[43] It is the feeling we would entertain for a slave, happier though he might be in servitude than as a free man. Only too many writers on the topic have confined their studies to works like *Solorzano, De Ind. Ivre*, of the seventeenth century, without considering the improvements since effected among Indians; but there are also more comprehensive investigators; and among them I notice with pleasure José Antonio Saco, who in *Revista de Cuba*, a most attractive and well edited review of Habana, contributes a series of articles on the encomienda system, which indicate much research and promise to be quite exhaustive.

[44] It must be admitted, however, that the Indians of northern latitudes had not attained to the same high level of culture as in Mexico, so that intercourse there could not be so readily entertained.

[45] Some estimates reduce them to 6,000, including mulattoes and zambos.

[46] Humboldt estimates it at less than $^1/_{100}$ of the export from Africa. *Essai Pol.*, i. 130.

[47] As shown in *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 384–5, this series, and at the beginning of this volume.

[48] Between 1664 and 1673 two Genoese had the sole contract and introduced only four cargoes. *Mancera, Instruc.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xxi. 465–7. In 1699 the Compañia Real de Guinea del Reino de Portugal had an agent in New Spain for their trade. *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 103. Shortly after Frenchmen obtained the exclusive right to import slaves and established a factory at Vera Cruz in 1702; ten years later Englishmen tried the business, and so the privilege changed hands. In 1794 a tax of 6% was placed on money

should be housed, fed, and clothed just as well as free laborers, and instructed in religion; tasks could not be imposed when under seventeen or over the seventieth year, and the aged and sick had to be cared for. Branding was stopped in 1784.[49] The roll of free negroes was swelled by means of a law of 1750 which conferred liberty on all slaves who escaped from the Dutch and English colonies, and adopted the Roman Catholic religion; but they as well as the free negro admixtures were subject to tribute like the 'irrational' Indians.

The disadvantages under which Indians and negroes labored, applied also in a measure to mixed breeds, though less so to the mestizos. Although the latter were recognized as citizens and gente de razon in not being subject to the damning tribute, to restriction in ordinary dress or of movement, or to exemption from tithes, regular church fees, or the inquisition, yet they were almost wholly excluded from civil, military, and ecclesiastical offices, subject to forced labor in cases of crime,[50] and to other disabilities, from which they could become free only by intermarriage with a superior race. In early days there was no hesitation about a union with the colored classes, owing to the informality of the first ties and to the almost entire lack of white women; and since the Indian maidens were only too eager to wed conquerors, the latter could choose from among the most select. Comparatively few Spanish women came over;[51] and so the mingling

and goods exported for the purchase of negroes. *Ordenes de Corona*, MS., vi. 34. Sales of slaves are frequently recorded in *Gaceta Mex.*, i.–x., and *Diario Mex.*, i. et seq. Between 1807 and 1810 we find good servant girls of above 20 years sold as low as 100 and 150 pesos. See also *Guerra, Hist. Rev.*, i. 151–5.

[49] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 74, 265, etc. For those in non-productive domestic service, a tax of $2 a year had to be paid. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 98–104. Further regulations are given in *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 360–4, 539, etc.

[50] Spaniards enjoyed certain exemption wherever the dignity of the white race might be imperilled. *Ordenes de Corona*, MS., i. 33, etc.

[51] Humboldt shows that less than ten per cent of the European Spanish population at Mexico in 1803 were females. In the provinces the proportion must have been still smaller.

continued, though more and more with mestizos, particularly with those who had grown white. While the intermarriage with darker mestizos came to be more and more discountenanced by the higher classes, alliances with negro admixtures actually received a check from the law itself.[52] This open stigma cast upon a race numbering nearly half a million, and that as late as 1805, was hardly a judicious measure. The negro classes for that matter had ever been subject to limitations as degrading as those applying to Indians. Even the sacred profession was wholly closed to them; they must reside with recognized employers under penalty of being consigned to mines or contractors; and the women could not wear silks, gold, and similar articles unless allied to whites. Yet this population ranked among the most useful in the country for its strength and energy. Aware of their superiority, they looked down on the Indians, and were not a little encouraged in this respect by the evident preference accorded them by female aborigines, who were allured also by their greater vivacity.[53] Slaveholders no doubt favored an inclination that increased their chattels with such vigorous specimens, superior also in certain moral traits, for the latter possessed greater boldness, or rather audacity, zambos being more vicious than mulattoes.

The creoles in particular were anxious to keep back intruders from the lower ranks, and to maintain the restrictions even against fairer mestizos, on the ground that their vindictiveness and arrogance might imperil the safety of Spaniards and the authority of the crown; not considering that as much or more peril lay in fostering the ignorance, misery, and hatred of an able and powerful class, ever growing stronger. The government nevertheless found it necessary to make certain concessions to the latter; yet these were not

[52] *Cedulario*, MS., i. 92.

[53] It is even said that they preferred them to Europeans. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 94.

sufficient even to counteract the irritation created by certain other restrictive laws.

One result of the efforts for maintaining caste distinction, together with the prevalence of indolent and improvident habits, was the comparative absence of a middle class, so essential to the advancement of a country; and society could well be divided into rich and poor, noble and base, half-cultured and illiterate. This is readily understood from the concentration among the people of the wealth and refinement, and a mere glance at Mexico would confirm it with the extreme presented of nudity and glitter, grossness and refinement, profusion and squalor. This was here the more striking owing to the congregation of vagrants, beggars, and indigent sick, allured from all quarters by the fame of the capital for wealth, gorgeous displays, and liberality.

At the beginning of the century about one fifth of its inhabitants consisted of these classes known as *zaragates*, *guachinangos*, and *zaramullos*, the last being also termed *léperos* and corresponding to the lazzaroni of Naples; equally lazy and careless, but less vicious. Most of them depended for a livelihood on labor, but this was limited to a day or two in the week, sufficient to procure them a little food and liquor. The sky was their roof, and the bed their square mantle or blanket, which served also for almost sole raiment. Dress gave them indeed little concern, for as they lay basking in the sun the day long the covering was generally cast aside regardless of decency. Laws existed against such classes, and a special society had been formed, as we have seen, to discourage mendicancy and almsgiving, and provide for the deserving.[54]

[54] This society was given control of the asylum for the poor, with power to deal summarily with all impostors and idlers. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 203. Different decrees against vagabonds are also given in *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, vi. 173–8; *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 358–60. Males were to be sent to mines and plantations, females into families, children to asylums.

The other extreme was presented by the nobility of local origin; for that of Spain found no inducement to abandon the sunshine of the court for a barbarous colony, save on temporary official duty. Cortés was the first of this titled nobility, and 'the marquis' long remained a distinctive attribute of him alone. In time, with the growing need of funds by the king, the reward bestowed for distinguished military and diplomatic services was extended to those who chose to promote such service by the gift of money. At first this was somewhat cautiously bestowed, and limited to a cross of Santiago or Calatrava;[55] but in the eighteenth century almost any rich miner or trader might secure the title of marquis or count, or a military title.[56] The ignorance, vulgarity, and want of merit in the holder, subjected the title to ridicule, which, however, decreased as it grew older. The creation usually brought about an entail for its maintenance, a reservation of estate frequent enough among the old creole families.[57] The testamentary bond was not much respected, however, for the audiencias had power to interfere with the property and even to authorize its sale,[58] and only too frequently the heirs squandered their fortune within two generations.

The two great causes affecting population, disease and famine, obtained in New Spain with periodic frequency and great virulence, owing to peculiar climatic conditions and national improvidence. The miasmatic

[55] Viceroy Mendoza revived the native order of tecuhtli, not long after the conquest, in order to bind the Indian nobles. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, ii. 201–2. The order of Cárlos III. was rather limited in distribution.

[56] A list of these from the conquest down to 1792 is given in *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, iv. 249–53. In Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro Ecles.*, i. 14, 107 etc.; *Morfi, Nobleza*, 37 etc.; *Vireyes, Instruc.*, serie i. pts. 5–6, 18–20 etc., may be found additional names, and in a later volume will figure a number of them. The census of 1790 mentions 44 persons at Mexico with nobility titles and 38 with knighthood. *Gaz. Mex.*, v. 8.

[57] Several of these mayorazgos existed with a rental of from 10,000 to 60,000 pesos, chiefly held by the descendants of traders and miners, but also by those of conquerors and officials. Conde de Regla founded several; two untitled sons were consoled with $700,000 each. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, i. 17.

[58] *Providencias Reales*, MS., 25–6, 152–3; *Col. de Diarios*, MS., 424.

coast lines formed an actual fever belt which could not fail to have a certain effect even beyond its limits. Still, the plateau, which contained the mass of the people, enjoyed as fine a climate as could be desired; and as the Indians with their frugal and more natural habits were a rather healthy race, ordinary maladies and slighter ills did not greatly affect them, such as indigestion and accompanying troubles. Colds, acute fevers, pleurisy, catarrh, diarrhœa, and consumption did of course have their victims, particularly with the increase of artificial habits among the wealthier classes. Spasms and intermittent fevers were frequent on the coast, bilious fevers on the western slopes,[59] and measles, introduced shortly after the conquest, committed at times extensive ravages.[60] Leprosy, known as San Lázaro's evil, existed, and had its special hospitals, the use of pork and chile being reckoned among influencing causes, and also uncleanliness and venereal diseases, although the latter were not very severe.[61]

The great scourges were matlazahuatl, small-pox, yellow-fever, and famine, of which the first two made seemingly periodic visitations with desolating effects, and almost exclusively among Indians, especially the matlazahuatl. Of this little is known save that it bore a resemblance to yellow fever in its vomit symptoms, and raged with equal vehemence on the highland, both before and after the advent of the Spaniards. The most severe years were 1545 and 1576, when from 800,000 to 2,000,000 persons perished, according to Torquemada. The years 1736–7 and 1761–2 were long remembered for their inflictions.[62] Small-pox

[59] Degenerating into adynamic form. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, ii. 757. Certain marshes near Acapulco gave rise to cholera morbus. A common affliction was a sort of frenzy followed by alternate cold and heat, with fits of laughter, weeping, and convulsions. St Anthony's fire was not uncommon, and apoplectic attacks, called *insultos*. *Estalla*, xxvi. 299–300. At one time appeared a disease called *bola*, which infected through the breath; and numbered among its victims the great philanthropist, Conde de Valenciana.

[60] As Alegre relates, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 233–4, and *Guijo, Diario*, i. 428–9.

[61] 'Quizá por la benignidad del clima.' *Estalla*, xxvi. 288, 299. Concerning its origin see *Native Races*, ii. 594.

[62] As referred to in this and the preceding volume.

was introduced in 1520 by one of Narvaez' vessels, and committed such havoc that many districts became almost depopulated. Its recurrence may be placed at about every eighteenth year; and although later attacks did not equal the first, yet they committed great havoc. Inoculation was introduced during the latter half of the eighteenth century,[63] but not properly made known, nor much appreciated; vaccination on the other hand received immediate acceptance. Viceroy Iturrigaray brought it with him in 1803, as we have seen, and in the following year the special commission from Spain secured its general application.

Vómito prieto, the name in New Spain for yellow-fever, had at least this difference from the matlazahuatl, that it was confined to the low-lying coast, and seldom attacked those born in such regions; it gathered victims chiefly among visitors from cooler climates, sometimes every year during the hot term, sometimes with an intermission of several years, yet ever infusing terror among the fleets, so that both vessels and caravans sought to avoid its dreaded hot-bed, the region of Vera Cruz, the west coast so far being free from it.[64] Arguments have been adduced to show that it was not known till the beginning of the eighteenth century,[65] but the records are probably at fault. Its development depending on certain condition, as shown sufficiently in the preceding brief remarks, the growth from an ever present germ was gradual, the full effect appearing only in later times. Who can gainsay that the sudden and extensive mortality recorded among arrivals at Vera Cruz even during the sixteenth century was not due to a form of this disease?

Famine cannot be classed as less destructive than

[63] Alzate insists on attributing this to Doctor Morell, in 1779, *Gacetas Lit.*, i. 335, but it appears to have been used here earlier.

[64] The deaths did not exceed 2,000 to 3,000 a year. From 1766 to 1774 it did not appear. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 69, ii. 750 et seq. The people at Vera Cruz believed in a *las once* luncheon with stimulants to keep it off. *Estalla*, xxvii. 300.

[65] 'Mon era ivi conosciata avanti l'anno 1725,' says that the learned Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, i. 117, in which statement he is widely followed.

epidemics; for while it may not kill so rapidly, the asthenic effect on population is even more injurious. In New Spain the causes for it existed in a fine sky and fertile soil, which fostered both indolence and improvidence; in a more than usual lack of means for communication by which to open markets for surplus produce; and in the simple tastes of the masses, with little or no inducement to extend the range of agriculture. It need not excite astonishment, therefore, when we learn that in 1784 alone three hundred thousand persons are supposed to have perished from hunger and its attendant train.

The practice of medicine was neither extensive nor well advanced, and the empiric and superstitious method of 'wise people' and quacks had free sway; notably the Indian medicine-men, whose art was not disdained even by the superior class, despite the efforts of Spanish physicians to restrict it.[66] A protomédico was early sent over from Spain with power to supervise[67] other members of the profession, and apothecaries to test their drugs, and to communicate discoveries to and from the mother country, and later to examine candidates and grant certificates to practise. In 1621 a chair of surgery and anatomy was established at the university of Mexico, and twenty-five years later the protomédico office was combined with the professorship, forming the head of a medical board with wide jurisdiction, including later the functions of a board of health. A protomédico-general came over at times to carry out reforms, such as to exact a more thorough hospital course for surgeons, and a more thorough training for apothecaries.[68]

[66] The attainments of the native doctors will be found described in *Native Races*, ii. 598 et seq., this series.

[67] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 251, this series.

[68] *Protomedicato, Vindicacion*, 1–18. Four courses were required after 1784. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 126. Earlier regulations for the profession may be found in *Recop. de Ind.; Montemayor, Svmarios*, 167–8; and other collections. The Cesarean operation was well understood. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 64–5. In 1790 there were in Mexico 51 doctors, and 221 surgeons and barbers.

Treatment varied with the influence exercised by the different medical schools and sects, the asthenic system being long in vogue, coupled with prophylactic measures.

The abuse of bleeding, purging, and the like grew altogether excessive, with inordinate application even to healthy persons. Adynamic forms were treated as inflammatory; and in prostration the crisis was passively awaited. With the propagation of the Brunonian theory toward the end of the last century, the profession awoke to the faults of the prevailing system which had cost so many lives; and now a headlong reaction set in which had at least the effect of directing to more independent study, and to diminish somewhat the reliance on unaided prayers, appeals for saintly interference,[69] and superstitious mummery. The aboriginal vapor bath ever remained a favorite remedy,[70] the health-giving qualities of mineral and hot springs were recognized, and also the beneficial effects of change of climate.[71]

Hospitals were founded at Mexico by Cortés, and the early friars and royalty took an interest in their extension, a law of 1541 ordering them to be established in all Spanish and Indian towns,[72] which was in a measure carried out. By decree of 1540, an institution existing at Mexico was transformed into the famous Royal Hospital, with an encomienda for its support.[73] This grant received

Gaceta Mex., v. 8. The last two offices were often combined at this period. In other parts medical men were scarce, and Yucatan does not appear to have had one till about 1710.

[69] In *Guijo, Diario*, i. 428–9, and similar chronicles, are given instances of the common recourse to the saints and to religious rites. In fluxion, the women used to tie a handkerchief to the hair on one side of the head, and in certain cases round the forehead, the color of the bandage being duly considered. *Estalla*, xxvi. 302.

[70] As described in *Native Races*, ii. 595–6.

[71] As Herrera already indicated. dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. ix.

[72] *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 23. As recommended by the royal council in 1533. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 135.

[73] Copies of decrees in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 10–221. The founding has been a mooted question, some like Fonseca placing it much later. This Cabrera, *Escudo*, 396, etc., seeks to disprove in an elaborate argument, although he himself merely hovers round the true fact.

additions at different times, notably from the tax of half a real on every Indian tributary, for whom the institution was intended.[74] Furthermore, several special and general hospitals were erected in the capital, Cabrera describing nine in the middle of the last century, without counting private establishments;[75] three were added by the beginning of the present cycle. Of these, three were cared for by the three charity orders of San Juan de Dios, San Hipólito, and the Bethlehemites, whose labors extended over the whole country, wherever the need for their special aid called them, and their means permitted the founding of hospitals.[76] Mexico preponderated greatly, however, in the number both of hospitals and other benevolent institutions; to them the indigent sick and needy congregated from afar, and also the rich, who here found the best doctors and care.[77]

Three of the hospitals were for the insane, a Magdalen asylum existed since the seventeenth century, and orphan asylums may be said to date from the time when Cortés opened his palace to a number of noble maidens and the early missionaries began to care for neglected children. Regular establishments to this end soon became numerous under royal, religious, and private patronage, with special attention to foundlings. The consideration for these castaway waifs was singularly

[74] The history of this tax is given in *Fonseca, Hist. Hac.*, vi. 199 et seq., together with rules for the hospitals. The income of the Royal Hospital in 1808 reached 40,000 pesos. *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 529–30.

[75] One attended more particularly to ecclesiastics; another to venereal diseases, a third to leprosy, a fourth to St. Anthony's fire, and so forth. *Cabrera, Escudo*, 82, 396 et seq. The viceroys gave them special attention and suggested reforms as instanced in the *Relacion* of Mendoza, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 497, and the *Instruccion* of Revilla Gigedo, MS., i. 33–7, and *Azanza*, MS., 67–9; the chroniclers Motolinia, Mendieta, Torquemada, Vetancurt, Beaumont, Villa-Señor, and others speak freely of them, the latter especially alluding to them in every town; and in the series of *Gaceta de Mex.*, and *Diario de Mex.*, are constant reports of their operations.

[76] For the history of these orders I refer the reader to the epoch when they were founded or introduced. The Bethlehemite hospital at Mexico was for convalescents; the Hipólito for lunatics.

[77] This feature, together with the number of ecclesiastics and idle people without family ties, explains the small number of births as compared with deaths, so misleading to the careless student.

marked. The king issued decrees declaring that they should all be held legitimate before the law, and moreover enjoy the same exemption from shameful punishments as those of gentle birth on the ground that they might be of noble blood,[78] a measure no doubt creditable to the heart of the prince, but questionable in its bearing on morality. Prominent among the benevolent institutions of the capital was the asylum for the poor opened in 1774, a huge establishment with a training school for the useful arts, with public and private reformatory, refuge, and lying-in departments;[79] also the Monte de Piedad, or public pawnshop, founded in 1775 by Conde de Regla with a gift of three hundred thousand pesos.[80]

It would be difficult to find another city so richly endowed by benevolence as Mexico. To this contributed no doubt the congregation there of wealthy people, some the possessors of seemingly inexhaustible mines, and with comparatively few means for investment; but the explanation lies mainly in the indolence, improvidence, and impulsiveness of the people, traits closely allied to generosity and sympathy; yet it does not require these evidences to indicate that the Mexicans are kind-hearted. The Roman Catholic religion also fosters a less selfish sentiment than the colder reasoning creeds of Protestantism.[81]

Reverence for the dead was also more marked among this warm-hearted though volatile people, and

[78] *Cedulario*, MS., i. 55–6; *Mex.*, *Prov. Dioces.*, MS., 189–90. The regulations for the royal asylum, which in 1803 contained 213 children, are given in *Nuñez, Constit. de la Real Casa del Señor S. Joseph*, Mex. (1775), 8vo, 60 pages; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 239.

[79] Its different features are fully explained in *Dublan, Leg. Mex.*, i. 307–13; *Diario Mex.*, iii. 261–8; iv. 45–7; vi. 294–6. It was founded by a church dignitary with royal aid.

[80] Under royal patronage; a charge of three per cent was made on loans. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 255–6.

[81] Among the philanthropists of New Spain are the condes of Bassoco, Valenciana, and Regla, the marquises of San Francisco and San Cristóbal, and workers like Andrés de Carbajal, who gave to the poor more than $2,000,000 during his life, besides founding colleges and other institutions. During epidemics the wealthy vied with a benevolent clergy in distributing

funerals were pompous; the mourning was deep and of long duration. Indeed, the king found it necessary to interfere in more than one decree with the reckless extravagance in this respect that must prove a serious burden to many. The draping of the church and house was limited to the coffin vault and the widow's reception room; candles or torches were reduced to about a dozen, coaches forbidden for the funeral procession, and the funeral dress was prescribed to narrow forms. Mourning should be worn for not more than six months, and only for nearer relatives, not by servants of the family.[82] The fees of the clergy for the necessary masses, tolling of bells, and other ceremonies, also suffered a reduction.[83] These like other regulations were either overruled or fell into disuse, and had to be repeated with different modifications,[84] and with indifferent result. A peculiar feature was the rejoicing which attended the funeral of a child, with singing, drinking, and dancing, in token of gladness over its incorporation among the angels while yet uncorrupted. Cemeteries beyond the limits of the towns were rare before the time of Revilla Gigedo, who urged their formation on sanitary grounds, but it required special royal and ecclesiastic orders to enforce the measure.[85]

It did not require much effort to sustain life in so sunny a clime, where the masses were content to sub-

food and medicine. An association called the Junta de Caridad was latterly active in relieving the poor by a judicious system which had for its aim to discourage indiscriminate charity, and the consequent dismissal of the pest of beggars infesting the capital. *Diario, Mex.*, iv. 368–74. A royal decree sought to regulate bequests by recommending that preference should be given to the people or church of the district where the testator had lived and acquired his means. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 155.

[82] Even for royalty the servants in a family were not to wear the mourning expected from the master. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., iii. 65–7; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 221–2; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 134.

[83] And here papal ordinances came to support the decree. *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 348–9.

[84] *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 188–92. For a description of a pompous funeral I refer the reader to the opening chapter of this volume.

[85] As early as 1554 burying-grounds distant from churches were ordered to be set apart for the poor, to whom removal to the temple might prove too

sist on stewed frijoles or brown beans, and tortilla, the plain hot maize cakes, seasoned with a pepper sauce of chile, varying occasionally with a maize porridge called atolli, similarly seasoned. These Indian dishes[86] appeared also on the tables of the higher classes, as adjuncts, for with them both meals and dishes were numerous. They began the day with chocolate, thin, foaming, and flavored with vanilla or other ingredients, and taken with cake and fruit, a refreshment indulged in by the women at frequent intervals.[87]

The regular breakfast with meats and other substantial dishes came a little later. In some parts a *las once*, wine or liquor with cake, or other light food, was taken before the heavy noon meal, with its soup, *sopa*, cooked rice or roasted bread with melted fat, *puchero*, equivalent to the Spanish *olla podrida*, a mixture of different meats and vegetables,[88] supported by plainer dishes, including the frijoles with fresh cheese, and followed by the excessively sweet preserves and confectionery. Hot tortillas were served throughout the meal instead of bread, although this lay on the table. Wine or water was seldom taken till after eating. The siesta lasted till four o'clock. Toward dusk was laid a lighter meal, and chocolate with sweets and other drinks, or even *tamales*, meat pies, served for supper.[89]

costly. *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 155–8. The first remote cemetery opened at Revilla Gigedo's instance was at Vera Cruz in 1790. Puebla followed the example in the following year, but Mexico delayed longer. *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 48–52. Distinguished persons were not supposed to be consigned beyond the church precincts, but decrees of 1813–14 abolished this exemption. *Mex., Prov. Dioces.*, MS., 490–1.

[86] Described in *Native Races*, ii. 354 et seq., this series.

[87] Gage relates that they used even to take it during mass at church, pleading the need of sustenance. In Chiapas a bishop attempted to stop the custom, but only evoked hostility which resulted in his death by poisoning. Thenceforth it became a saying: Beware of the Chiapas chocolate. *Voy.*, ii. 165–70.

[88] Most European vegetables were used, but veal and butter rarely.

[89] Estalla, xxvi. 301–2, rightly attributes much decrepitude to this excessive indulgence, and declares that this together with the climate made women of 30 appear as old as those of 50 in Spain. See also *Pike, Explor.*, 373–4. Humboldt gives a list of the staple food of Mexico, and shows that this city

This excess, in a climate demanding comparatively little sustenance, could hardly be said to extend to drinking, although a good deal of liquor was consumed, and although the frequent laws against intoxication might lead to this belief. The Indians were certainly addicted to the fermented liquors prepared from the maguey and the sugar-cane, but drunkards were not numerous.[90] In its pure state the favorite pulque, which had to be drunk the day after its brewing, was less intoxicating than grape wine; but the desire to preserve it, and the longing for something stronger, caused it to be adulterated with different preparations,[91] and against this abuse the laws were more especially directed.[92] The higher classes, deeming these drinks unfashionable, patronized grape wine from Spain, the introduction of which increased as the Brunonian medical theory came in vogue.

Dress in New Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century served to mark the classes, not alone by its abundance and quality, but by its distinctive features for different professions and ranks. Thus the official, the judge, the doctor, the barber, could be recognized by their hats, capes, collars, cuffs, sword, and the like; and so with the humble classes and Indians, the latter being restricted to their peculiar covering,[93] which must not be adopted by even the lower mixed breeds. Nevertheless the simple *maxtli*,

consumed more meat per head than Paris, although the large Indian population hardly ever touched this article; the bread consumption was slightly less than in Paris. His estimates show that $72 was expended on the food and clothing of a laborer's family in the hot regions, and $20 less on the plateau. One third of the colored classes expended $300 a year. *Essai Pol.*, i. 110, 198, etc. The last observation may explain the peculiarity in the preceding figures.

[90] Three days in the street-cleaning gang was one of the punishments.

[91] See *Native Races*, ii. 359, this series.

[92] The wine-shops were reduced in number, their hours limited, a special body was formed to supervise the enforcement of liquor laws—*Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 32–4, dwells on this measure—and other steps were taken at different times, often dictated by excessive prudence, and of little value, except as regards the adulteration.

[93] For which I refer the reader to the *Native Races*, ii. 363 et seq.

or short cotton drawers, with the straw hat, and square mantle, were widely encroached upon, with a disregard for decency that was particularly striking and objectionable in the large towns, and evoked several decrees with the usual ineffectiveness. Revilla Gigedo took a more energetic course in compelling the numerous workmen in public factories and departments to adopt a better dress, consisting of shirt, vest, and *chupa*, a linen coat similar in form to our dress coat; also trousers, shoes, and socks. None might join in public meetings or processions covered in mantle or serape.[94]

Those with means, whether white or of mixed blood, were naturally impelled by the common class vanity to distinguish themselves from the poor by an extravagant display which again provoked frequent repressive edicts, as instanced already in the time of the first audiencias.[95] Whatever effect these may have had for the time, the pent-up love for finery burst forth with strength renewed by its momentary check, and Gage describes how those standing examples of humility, the religious and curates, sallied forth in state to reprove sinners. He saw a "Frier of the Cloister riding with his lackey-boy by his side, upon a good gelding, with his long habit tucked up to his girdle, making shew of a fine silk Orange-colour Stockin upon his legs, and a neat Cordovan shoe upon his foot, with a fine Holland pair of Drawers, with a lace three inches broad at knee." He speaks of other friars "under whose broad sleeves we could perceive their Doublets quilted with silk, and at their wrists the Laces of their Holland shirts."[96]

The characteristic dress of the people can be recognized in that of the different provinces of Spain, as

[94] Even Indians could adopt this new regulation, issued in 1799, although it was not compulsory with them. *Diario, Mex.*, vi. 262–72; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 33–4; *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 58; *Maltrat. de Indios*, MS., pt. xviii. 14; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 111, etc.

[95] And as spoken of by early officials in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 120–1; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii. tom. v. 233–4; *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vi.

[96] *New Survey*, 57.

described in the introduction to my *History of Central America*,[97] the shielding *capa* and *mantilla*, for the respective sexes, being also here the striking feature. Among men prevailed the broad-brimmed hat with low crown, shirt with wide collar loosely bound by a bright necktie, gaudy vest, and short jacket, knee-breeches with leggings, or long trousers open on the outer side below the knee, and provided with rows of metal buttons and displaying the white drawers. Reaching only to the hips, the trousers, often with flaps thrown back, allowed a glimpse of the many-colored sash which bound the drawers and hung in a knot behind from under the jacket. Each of these vestments, from hat to leggings, was braided and embroided with silk, according to the wealth of the wearer and the skill and devotion of the wife or mistress. It was only too common to invest all surplus means on these decorations, and to combine them with superior fabrics. When travelling a *serape* or *manga* was used, consisting of an oblong or square blanket with a slit in the center through which the head was passed. The dress of women appeared less complex, and included a chemise, with woollen or starched muslin skirt, and the small *rebozo* shawl which hung from the head over the shoulder, with one end flung across the bosom to the opposite shoulder, and high enough to cover the lower half of the face. Bodices and jackets more or less gaudy were added according to the occasion; then there were glittering glass beads for the neck, and satin shoes for the bare feet. Silk and velvet were widely used, and rich embroidery and braiding like those of the men, a favorite gala-covering being a shawl called *batas*, so stiff with this embroidery as to stand erect. Variegated sashes could be seen everywhere, and bright colors prevailed among the upper classes; except in the more substantial arti-

[97] i. 39, et seq., and as given in *Menonville, Voy.*, i. 105, etc.; *Gage, Voy.*, i. 202–3; *Estalla*, xxvi. 306; *Pike's Explor.*, 372; *Walton*, ii. 301; *Reales Ordenes*, iv. 407.

cles of dress, which were generally black, the Indians adhered to the quieter blue. Latterly the European fashions received more attention among the wealthy, but ever combined with an excessive parade of jewelry and a frequent change of attire. Even the men affected jewelry, and often sprinkled their apparel and belongings with diamonds. Particular pride was taken in the abundant black hair, which the women wore exceedingly long, even to the feet, often loose, but generally in broad plaits, with floral and other more elaborate adornments that formed as a rule its sole covering even when they went abroad. Indian males allowed their hair to reach the shoulder, and regarded its curtailment as a disgrace.

While the bath was general enough,[93] the women cannot be accused of excessive tidiness; a slovenly appearance too often prevailed among the better classes during the morning hours, and among the rest during the week days, manifesting itself especially in uncombed hair and stale oily cosmetics, but covered as well as fostered by the all-shielding mantilla or shawl. Another not exactly attractive feature was the prevalence of smoking among the fair sex, even in public assemblies; and yet they sought to dissimulate on this point, especially before parents, in the presence of whom it was considered disrespectful to display the cigarette.

Gloss seemed to cover almost everything. A legal whitening covered the aboriginal admixture in the veins; a title the horny hand or stigma of tradesman; a showy dress or shielding mantle the negligence beneath; a few shallow acquirements the lack of education; a self-deceptive egotism the absence of profundity; a lightsome smile and sympathetic tone the lurking love for such barbaric sports as bull and cock

[93] 'La sequedad del clima los hace tambien precisos con mucha frecuencia.' *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, 58. Owing to a lack of change of underclothing, or of drawers and shirt, it was common for the family to resort to the river or lake at intervals, and while the wife washed for the husband and children they awaited the operation wrapped in their mantles.

fighting; oppressive social ceremonies the want of more elevating means for intercourse. After all, there was nothing harmful beneath this simulation, nothing more than that covered by the politeness of society which hides the disagreeable in order to promote the happiness of all concerned. In this case the gloss covered crudities which a really kind disposition served greatly to excuse. Relaxing somewhat from the proud dignity of the Spanish ancestor, the creole intensified his proverbial courtesy and decorum till they became tiresome. In sprightliness of spirit, volubility, and neatness of manner both he and the mestizo resembled the French, whom they began to copy, without possessing their ability or innate taste.

While not to be classed as beautiful the women of New Spain possessed a confiding and affectionate disposition which was most alluring; add to this a bright eye, a pretty arm, and a small foot indicative of a fine figure, and they need not complain of nature's gifts. Those of Puebla and Sonora were even famed for beauty. The lack of education extended among all classes, and even the smattering of music, drawing, and cognate arts was denied domestic life until of late. The cultivation of the passions was paramount; and thus taught they abandoned themselves to frivolities, to dress and blandishments; but, while guarded by formalities similar to those which protected their sisters in Spain, these forms, like the laws in general, were less strictly enforced. Social and legal class and caste restrictions in New Spain, as well as certain habits, tended rather to foster a lax feeling and conduct, and where the curate, vowed to celibacy and chastity, openly recognized his progeny, the flock could hardly be blamed for following the example.[99]

The young people knew little or nothing of the

[99] I have already commented on the loose ideas in this respect prevalent in Spain. *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 54, etc., this series. Regulations existed for restricting illicit love, for the compulsory reunion of absent husbands with their wives, and similar measures. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 355, 380, etc. But what availed these against tacit permission and fostering causes? Mora, *Hist. Rev.*,

bliss connected with courtship, for the opportunity was withheld, or spoiled by the congealing presence of a dueña; but then marriage took place so much earlier. According to Navarro the number of persons joined in matrimony before the age of sixteen was 16.27 in 1000, a proportion due chiefly to the climate, but also to food, and to interested encouragement from ecclesiastic and civil officers.[100] The courtesy of the men and the affectionate disposition of the women tended toward a happy family relation, which was increased by the ever respectful obedience of the children, manifested by such acts as abstaining from smoking in the parental presence, and by the requirement of the parents' consent to the marriage of a son even when past the age of twenty-five.[101]

This happy intercourse depended wholly on character; for no systematic or strict training was brought to bear upon the youthful mind, and few of the cherished comforts and conveniences of a northern home existed in this southern clime to strengthen the family bond, unless we seek it in such features as the shaded courts of the superior houses, cooled by playing fountains, and in the comparatively small number of attractions beyond their precincts. The apartments surrounding the court[102] were poorly and deficiently furnished, more attention evidently being paid to carpets, pictures, and fancy articles for show than to useful things. The comparative abundance of table plate was due as much to the difficulty of introducing

i. 135–8, seeks to palliate these defects by attributing them to a faulty training. The decade following the Independence brought about a radical reform he declares.

[100] Marriage regulations are set forth in *Nuñez de Haro, Edicto*, Mex. 1779, 1–30; *Mex., Provid. Diocesanas*, MS., passim; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 197, 285, etc. The last authority treats of marriage and the separate property of women. *Navarro, Mem.*, 22–3.

[101] If withheld, the judge could interfere, however. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 186. Tatita and nanita were the affectionate terms for father and mother; the latter often called the daughter *hermanita*, little sister. *Estalla*, xxvi. 341, 379–80.

[102] Not unlike the arrangement in the houses of aboriginal Mexico, as described in *Native Races*, ii. 570–1.

chinaware as to ostentation. The native pottery was hardly deemed sufficiently good for the banquet-table.

The dwelling-houses on the plateau were usually of adobes, or sun-dried bricks, with a flat cement roof, containing one large room, *sala*, the general reception and living apartment, a bedroom, and a kitchen. The sala had seldom more than one paneless window, as a rule not toward the street, and this was generally closed with a shutter, so that light came from the door, which opened direct upon the street.[103] While the walls shone with lustrous whiteness, the ceiling disclosed the bare beams, and the floor consisted either of cement or bricks. At one end of the sala extended a rough carpet, bordered along the walls with low cushioned benches, elsewhere a few chairs. In some of the corners stood small gilded tables supporting candlesticks and porcelain figures, and the walls were relieved with a few gaudy pictures or images of saints, the madonna figure with its burning light in front being accorded the place of honor.

Dwellings among the lower classes descended the scale until they reached the common standard in the hot region of a cane hut thatched with palm leaves and provided with a portico, but without windows, for the wide chinks between the canes of the wall admitted both light and air. Its one room served for the whole family, with pigs and poultry, and it was but occasionally that a partition appeared in one corner. The bed consisted of a rush or palm-leaf mat, sometimes raised on a framework of canes, on which the women would sit cross-legged during the leisure moments of the day. This and the earthenware, with the stone for grinding maize, and the saint images, comprised the furniture, for even a bench was deemed

[103] Even the rarer two-story buildings had few windows in the upper story, the door opening on the balcony serving chiefly to admit light. Where appropriate timber abounded, shingles and other wood work entered more freely into the construction.

unnecessary.[104] Yet in the poorest households hospitality was extended to any one with a profusion and good-will that seemed religious in its universality.

The light-hearted disposition of the people was best manifested at their numerous and spirited festivities, connected principally with the church, but multiplied by holidays in honor of birthdays and other incidents pertaining to the royal family; on the occasion of good news, and on the birthday of the viceroy there was likewise rejoicing.[105] Nearly all these were celebrated with processions, bell-ringing, bull-fights, balls, fireworks, and general merriment. On royal birthdays the ceremonies began with solemn mass, attended by the official bodies, and were followed by a public reception at the viceregal palace, where the hand of the ruler was kissed by the different bodies, in prescribed order of precedence. Meanwhile artillery salvos resounded, and in the afternoon a promenade in coaches and on horseback was made by the leading personages in the alameda of Mexico.[106]

This afternoon promenade was for that matter a daily feature, which gave the best opportunity for displays of toilets and wealth. Hundreds of the heavy springless coaches of the time,[107] covered and embellished with profuse designs, then rolled slowly

[104] Even rich Indians seldom made an effort to rise above the poor neighbor in comforts. *Alzate, Gazeta Lit.*, ii. 99; *Estalla*, xxvi. 307; *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 179–80; *Pike's Explor.*, 373. While benches or chairs were provided in the churches for certain classes of men, the women had to sit humbly on the floor, with or without mats.

[105] For the tribunals the holidays extended over easter, the week preceding it, and Christmas, ash-Wednesday, and two carnival days preceding, and over 30 other days, chiefly of saints. *Ordenes de Corona*, 1747–50, MS., i. 42–3. In *Guijo, Diario*, i., passim, and *Robles, Diario*, are indicated a number of casual festivals. *Reales Ordenes*, iv. 375–6.

[106] As prescribed in *Ordenes de Corona*, MS., v. 113–15.

[107] Curtains were at one time used instead of doors. Latterly English vehicles came into vogue. Estalla alludes to the frequent sight of incomplete livery, a half-naked coachman with one boot, and so forth. More than once coaches had been forbidden in connection with other sumptuary restrictions, but this served only as a momentary check, and in 1785 the capital had 637 with an average of 4 or 5 servants attending. *Villarroel, Enferm. Pub.*, 103. Gage claims that in his time, 1625, there were about 2,000, *Voy.*, i. 213, but this is a mere guess.

down the avenue, drawn by two or four horses or mules, and attended by servants in conspicuous livery, generally negro slaves, some walking, some seated. Within sat the ladies in rich evening dress, without veil or head-covering, and glittering with jewels, exchanging glances or greetings with those passing them. Litters could be seen on the sides; and high above the throng, between the two lines of carriages, were prancing steeds whose riders were seated in saddles stamped, gilded, or even embossed in massive gold or silver, and forming one piece with the leather or fur covering that extended over the hind-quarters of the horse. The covering was embellished like the saddle, and fringed with dangling pieces of precious or common metal which jingled at every step. The bridle was also heavily ornamented, and the rider still more adorned, in broad-brimmed hat edged with gold or silver lace, his fur-trimmed and embroidered jacket, breeches with silver buttons, stamped leather leggings, immense silver spurs, and inlaid whip, the whole representing quite a fortune, and forming a picturesque feature, heightened by a display of the fine horsemanship for which the people are well known, especially in the northern provinces. A humbler imitation of this guise is still common in the country. Women ride chiefly on the right side of the animal, sometimes astride, or seated before the cavalier.

Church festivals were exceedingly gorgeous at the capital and attracted people from afar, stands being frequently erected for spectators on such occasions, while windows were rented at prices measured both by the length of the procession and the sacredness of the relics wherewith the clergy impressed the eye and stirred the emotion. The privilege to participate and to carry some banner was much sought, and involved no little expense for costume and other accessories.[108] The sacred portion of the programme

[108] Carrying the banner on August 13th, the anniversary of the capture of

over, the multitude turned with haste to the profane entertainments, notably the bull-fight, for which one of the city squares was usually reserved;[109] or to the boisterous amusements of the fair-ground with its gambling, cock-fighting, and other sports, combined of course with drinking and other excesses glaringly in contrast to the solemnity of the day.

Cock-fighting was a favorite sport among all classes, and under its alluring excitement rich and poor, noble and beggar, freely mingled their shouts and bets.[110] While hardly any restrictions were imposed on brutal pastimes of this nature, gambling with dice, cards, and other implements was subject to a number of prohibitions, which embraced certain games of hazard, limited the stakes of a person to ten pesos de oro a day, and excluded from any contact with the vice judges, agents of merchants, and some other classes.[111] Safeguards were no doubt required among a people with whom the passion for gambling, so prevalent already among the Spaniards, was greatly intensified by a frivolous and impulsive nature; yet the government fostered it in another direction by extending royal patronage over lotteries. An official institution of this kind was established in 1770, with fourteen drawings a year, and prizes ranging as high as twelve thousand pesos. Within fifteen years the government made a profit of over a million pesos.[112]

For a people so addicted to the drama as the Spanish, and boasting such names as Lope de Vega and

Mexico, devolved on a regidor, and was declined by many owing to the outlay required.

[109] In addition to the necessary stands for the occasion the windows of the houses around were controlled by the committee in charge. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 161; *Villaroel, Enferm. Pol.*, 86.

[110] At the instance of the archbishop the sport was forbidden in 1688, and the revenue therefrom ordered to be drawn from other sources, with the usual result. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 474, etc. Later the stakes were limited to a small amount. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 218. But this served only the better to protect the dishonorable. *Museo Mex.*, i. 284–6. In the time of Revilla Gigedo, *Instruc.*, 321–5, it yielded a revenue to the crown of $50,000.

[111] *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 352–3; *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 217; *Estalla*, xxvi. 377; *Concilios Prov.*, MS., pt. iii. 120–1; pt. iv. 36, 49.

[112] As more fully explained in the chapter on finance.

Calderon, it must be confessed that the efforts made in behalf of the stage by their American children were meagre indeed. Comedies had been presented at the palace of Mexico, and sacred pieces at the convents, as early as the first decade after the conquest, and a theatre appears to have been erected in the seventeenth century,[113] but at the close of the following only one worthy of the term existed, in the Coliseo, supplied by mediocre actors from Spain.[114] Nevertheless, encouragement for a better personnel was not wanting, for favorites frequently received liberal presents from the impressed audience, which showered gold and silver on the stage, and even pieces of jewelry.[115]

Although the performance began somewhat earlier than with us, yet it lasted at times till midnight, owing partly to extended entr'actes for exchanging visits in the boxes, and indulging in chat, confectionery, and smoking, the vivacious ladies delighting in such by-play as casting cigarette stumps at the public.[116] The custom of bestowing presents on performers extended also to private reunions, where any one excelling in a song or dance was obliged to accept the contributions of admirers known as *la gala*.[117]

The social party, *tertulia*, lasting from about half past six till half past nine in the evening, was a merry affair with its exuberant fun and its comparative freedom. With volubility of tongue conversation flowed fast, and a trifle sufficed to provoke merriment. Par-

[113] Cavo certainly mentions that the 'nuevo coliseo' was burned in 1722, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 122, implying the existence of an earlier building.

[114] Vera Cruz opened one in 1791, and other towns were aspiring toward the same end; even Mérida possessed a theatre in 1806, although a fire soon destroyed it. *Ancona, Hist. Yuc.*, iii. 246.

[115] One actress thus lured 3,000 pesos in gold by a recitation. *Estalla*, xxvi. 284. The supervision of drama and order devolved on a regidor. Boxes were frequently rented by the year. *Villarroel, Enferm. Polit.*, 92–5. The personnel and salaries at Mexico were quite numerous and high, as shown by a table of 1806, in *Diario Mex.*, ii. 306–7. Reviews of performances may be read in *Vega, Discurso*, 1–16; *Gacetas Mex.*, iii. 69–72, 83, xv. 116 etc.

[116] Marionettes and masks and disguises were forbidden in 1731 and 1749 owing to scandalous proceedings. *Beleña, Recop.*, i. 129, 225.

[117] Hence *llevarse la gala* was a term for 'carrying off the prize.'

lor games were frequently indulged in, with forfeits, but singing and dancing prevailed. Words were readily improvised to the simple melody, and all joined in the refrain. Dancers also sang at times, while the spectators assisted the guitar orchestra with occasional clapping of hands. The favorite dances were the minuet, confined to the higher class, the waltz, bolero, and fandango, all executed with a grace for which Spaniards are well known, yet not free from features that savored of the indelicate.[118]

Athletic sports were rare, except in connection with horseback-riding,[119] and even aboriginal games and feats had fallen into neglect. Equally lacking was love for natural scenery and rustic life as manifested in our picnics and rambles, yet the fondness for flowers remained as strong as in aboriginal times, when it entered as the chief decoration for festive occasions, and as the choicest gift to the guest. Even now the market stalls appeared as bowers, and the fruit lay hidden in a fringe of green and blossoms, while from the dark tresses of the passing señoras gleamed the opening buds in white and red.

Thus have passed two more centuries of viceregal sway in New Spain; so quietly they passed as to cause not a ripple beyond its immediate vicinity. It is the unattractive period of the growing child, who has yet all his mark to make.

We still hear occasionally the din of battle, but not for conquest: merely the skirmish with rude tribes of the north, at bay against an encroaching civilization, upon which they retaliate in organized descents from shielding mountain fastnesses, or in flitting like lowering shadows along the outskirts of

[118] Both in motion and accompanying words. Pike expresses himself strongly on this subject. *Explor.*, 373.

[119] As shown in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 50, this series. In *Diario, Mex.*, ii. 279, is described a house for the game of ball. Laws concerning the hunt are given in *Galvan, Ord.*, 89; *Tierras*, 33–6. For aboriginal games see *Native Races*, ii. 283–301.

settlements. The conqueror disappeared with the fading mirage of newer, richer lands which had urged him onward till repeated disappointment shattered his hopes. He yielded to the change of circumstances calling to settled life and development of resources so far discovered, and to rearing a varied progeny. Military operations against Indians dwindled to a cordon of outposts, assisted by a temporizing and even humiliating policy savoring little of the spirit which impelled a handful to overthrow an empire and disclose a southern sea. But it promoted peaceful enjoyment, with farming and stock-raising in the secure provinces of the south and centre, while in the exposed regions of the north the mines proved the main incentive to face isolation and danger. The latter branch ever received special attention with its prospect of immediate returns, but commerce and other industries as a rule lacked the beneficent impulses springing from improved communication, wider range of markets, and fostering care.

As for the Indians, while ever subjected to the whims of greedy officials who were protected in their disregard for laws by interested colonists, their lot, since the inauguration of viceregal rule, could not at any period have been worse than under the exactions of Aztec tyrants and their unscrupulous tax collectors and garrisons; and it certainly became better with the progress of centuries. Add to this the absence of wars which in aboriginal times kept the country in turmoil and under constant drain; add the new beneficent arts and industries bestowed by Caucasian civilization and the products brought by trans-oceanic trade; add the gentle religion which replaced bloody rites, and finally the effort toward a higher and more general education which for a time placed the country on a level with many a European state, and the natives may indeed congratulate themselves on the change. In vain do we look for similar results among Anglo-Saxon colonizers.

The improvements should have been greater, but the policy of Spain was short-sighted and selfish, despite the benevolent motives often impelling it. That policy was aggravated by the rule of appointing to nearly all positions of control officials born in the Peninsula, whose inclination leaned too strongly toward the mother country and against the colony, at least where their interests clashed. They managed moreover to set aside or thwart many a humane and progressive measure, and to subordinate the interests of the crown and the people to their own dishonest aims.

Official integrity was not a prominent virtue, as we have seen, even among the viceroys; yet the latter must on the whole be classed as men of fair character and ability. Several shine brightly for their wise and philanthropic administration, and many more would no doubt have attained a similar record but for their duty to carry out the mandates of the home government, swayed too frequently by an impoverished treasury. The aim was to make the American possessions subservient in every respect to the will of Spain, although these efforts proved in the main disastrous, as I shall have occasion to show in a later volume. This aim went so far as to cause a rigid isolation of the colonies from foreign intercourse, attended by suppression of information about them which evoked wide-spread comments among writers on the New World. Such policy could not fail to meet objections within the countries concerned, though it might not have created any decided ill-feeling but for the jealous reservation of officers which touched a weak spot among the creoles, ever eager for position and honor, and drove them to sympathize and seek common cause with the disturbing elements to be expected among a mixture of races, with antagonistic interests and feelings, especially against the dominant classes. It is the maturing and coalescing of these elements, and the mighty convulsions which ensue, that will form the subject of my next volume.

Like the subject of industries, information regarding society is meagre. It is chiefly based on scraps gathered during the researches called for by the general history, and woven with the threads of observation resulting therefrom, yet on several points the information has been more massed or more fully considered. Thus, in the different collections of laws, as *Puga, Cedulario, Ordenes de la Corona,* and other MS. sets, *Recop. de Ind., Beleña, Solórzano, Dé Ind. Ivre,* I have found decrees relating to different features of social life and institutions, supplemented in such books as *Calle, Mem. y Not.,* with statistical data. Clavigero in his dissertations, *Storia, Mess.,* iv., gives some admirable reflections on the origin of diseases and ancient condition of the Indians. Humboldt speaks at length on epidemics and on population statistics, the latter receiving some valuable comments from Navarro, *Mem. sobre la Poblacion.* Pimentel, *Raza Indígena,* considers the treatment to which the aborigines have been subjected, and shows a considerable study of his theme, although it does not cover the whole field or the whole period in question. More interesting and exhaustive is the *Hist. Repartimientos,* by Saco. Portilla takes up the same subject in *España en Mexico,* but as a defender of Spanish policy, and consequently with less freedom from bias; yet offering thereby some useful arguments for one side of the issue. The policy of the government in this and other social respects finds a commentator, rare for this period, in Villarroel, *Enfermedades Políticas,* who suggests some very useful reforms. The need for these can be readily understood by the glimpses of character and life to be found in the *New Survey* of that noted friar Thomas Gage, who peeped behind the scenes and failed not to relieve his burdened mind. Less committing are the sketches given by Estalla, Pike, *Explor.,* in the introductories of Alaman, *Hist. Mej.,* i., and Mora, *Méj. y sus Rev.,* by Guerra, *Hist. Rev.,* and others. More varied are the facts presented in *Instrucciones de Vireyes,* in the biographic sketches of Gallo, *Hombres, Ilustres* and *Dicc. Univ.,* in the critical paragraphs of the learned Alzate, *Gacetas Lit.,* and in the news items and articles of the *Gaceta de Mexico* and *Diario de Mex.*

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